PR96
D39

THE SAN FRANCISCO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
Alcove 1
Case 5
Shelf e
San Anselmo.

BURROWES LIBRARY.

SAN FRANCISCO

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

OF THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Presented by the Rev. GEO. BURROWES, D. D.

No. 3545

THE

ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY,

WHAT IT IS,

WITH

ALL THE KINDS, CAUSES, SYMPTOMS, PROGNOSTICS, AND SEVERAL CURES OF IT.

IN THREE PARTITIONS.

WITH THEIR SEVERAL

SECTIONS, MEMBERS, AND SUBSECTIONS, PHILOSOPHICALLY, MEDICALLY, HISTORICALLY OPENED AND CUT UP.

By DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR.

WITH

A SATIRICAL PREFACE, CONDUCING TO THE FOLLOWING DISCOURSE.

A NEW EDITION.

CORRECTED AND ENRICHED BY TRANSLATIONS OF THE NUMEROUS CLASSICAL EXTRACTS.

By DEMOCRITUS MINOR.

VOL. II.

BOSTON:
WILLIAM VEAZIE,
62 AND 64 CORNHILL.
1859.

THE SAN FRANCISCO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
SAN ANSELMO
MARIN CO
CALIF.

SAN FRANCISCO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
Alcove L
Case 5
e

PR
2223
A1
1859
v. 2

S

RIVERSIDE, CAMBRIDGE:
STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED BY
H. O. HOUGHTON AND COMPANY.

THE FIRST PARTITION.

[CONTINUED.]

THE THIRD SECTION, FIRST MEMBER, FIRST SUBSECTION.

Symptoms, or Signs of Melancholy in the Body.

PARRHASIUS, a painter of Athens, amongst those Olynthian captives Philip of Macedon brought home to sell, [1] bought one very old man; and when he had him at Athens, put him to extreme torture and torment, the better by his example to express the pains and passions of his Prometheus, whom he was then about to paint. I need not be so barbarous, inhuman, curious, or cruel, for this purpose to torture any poor melancholy man, their symptoms are plain, obvious and familiar, there needs no such accurate observation or farfetched object, they delineate themselves, they voluntarily betray themselves, they are too frequent in all places, I meet them still as I go, they cannot conceal it, their grievances are too well known, I need not seek far to describe them.

Symptoms therefore are either [2] universal or particular, saith Gordonius, *lib. med. cap.* 19, *part.* 2, to persons, to species; "some signs are secret, some manifest, some in the body, some in the mind, and diversely vary, according to the inward or outward causes," Cappivaccius; or from stars,

1 Seneca, cont. lib. 10, cont. 5.
2 Quædam universalia, particularia, quædam manifesta, quædam in corpore, quædam in cogitatione et animo, quædam à stellis, quædam ab humoribus, quæ ut vinum corpus variè disponit, &c. Diversa phantasmata pro varietate causæ externæ vel internæ.

according to Jovianus Pontanus, *de reb. cœlest. lib.* 10, *cap.* 13, and celestial influences, or from the humours diversely mixed, Ficinus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 4, *de sanit. tuendâ;* as they are hot, cold, natural, unnatural, intended or remitted, so will Ætius have *melancholica deliria multiformia*, diversity of melancholy signs. Laurentius ascribes them to their several temperatures, delights, natures, inclinations, continuance of time, as they are simple or mixed with other diseases, as the causes are divers, so must the signs be, almost infinite, Altomarus, *cap.* 7, *art. med.* And as wine produceth divers effects, or that herb Tortocolla in [1] Laurentius, "which makes some laugh, some weep, some sleep, some dance, some sing, some howl, some drink," &c., so doth this our melancholy humour work several signs in several parties.

But to confine them, these general symptoms may be reduced to those of the body or the mind. Those usual signs appearing in the bodies of such as are melancholy, be these cold and dry, or they are hot and dry, as the humour is more or less adust. From [2] these first qualities arise many other second, as that of [3] colour, black, swarthy, pale, ruddy, &c., some are *impensè rubri*, as Montaltus, *cap.* 16, observes out of Galen, *lib.* 3, *de locis affectis*, very red and high-coloured. Hippocrates in his book [4] *de insania et melan.* reckons up these signs, that they are [5] "lean, withered, hollow-eyed, look old, wrinkled, harsh, much troubled with wind, and a griping in their bellies, or bellyache, belch often, dry bellies and hard, dejected looks, flaggy beards, singing of the ears, vertigo, light-headed, little or no sleep, and that interrupt, terrible and fearful dreams," [6] *Anna soror, quæ me suspensam insomnia terrent?* The same symptoms are repeated by Melanelius in his book of melancholy collected out of Galen, Ruffus, Ætius, by Rhasis, Gordonius, and all the juniors, [7] "continual, sharp,

[1] Lib. 1, de risu, fol. 17. Ad ejus esum alii sudant, alii vomunt, flent, bibunt, saltant, alii rident, tremunt, dormiunt, &c. [2] T. Bright, cap. 20. [3] Nigrescit hic humor aliquando supercalefactus, aliquando superfrigefactus. Melanel. é Gal. [4] Interprete F. Calvo. [5] Oculi his excavantur, venti gignuntur circum præcordia, et acidi ructus, sicci ferè ventres, vertigo, tinnitus aurium, somni pusilli, somnia terribilia et interrupta. [6] Virg. Æn. [7] Assiduæ eæque acidæ

and stinking belchings, as if their meat in their stomachs were putrefied, or that they had eaten fish, dry bellies, absurd and interrupt dreams, and many fantastical visions about their eyes, vertiginous, apt to tremble, and prone to venery." [1] Some add palpitation of the heart, cold sweat, as usual symptoms, and a leaping in many parts of the body, *saltum in multis corporis partibus*, a kind of itching, saith Laurentius, on the superficies of the skin, like a flea-biting sometimes. [2] Montaltus, *cap.* 21, puts fixed eyes and much twinkling of their eyes for a sign, and so doth Avicenna, *oculos habentes palpitantes, tremuli, vehementer rubicundi, &c., lib.* 3, *Fen.* 1, *Tract.* 4, *cap.* 18. They stut most part, which he took out of Hippocrates's aphorisms. [3] Rhasis makes "headache and a binding heaviness for a principal token, much leaping of wind about the skin, as well as stutting, or tripping in speech, &c, hollow eyes, gross veins, and broad lips." To some, too, if they be far gone, mimical gestures are too familiar, laughing, grinning, fleering, murmuring, talking to themselves, with strange mouths and faces, inarticulate voices, exclamations, &c. And although they be commonly lean, hirsute, uncheerful in countenance, withered, and not so pleasant to behold, by reason of those continual fears, griefs, and vexations, dull, heavy, lazy, restless, unapt to go about any business; yet their memories are most part good, they have happy wits, and excellent apprehensions. Their hot and dry brains make them they cannot sleep, *Ingentes habent et erebras vigilias* (Areteus), mighty and often watchings, sometimes waking for a month, a year together. [4] Hercules de Saxoniâ faithfully averreth, that he hath heard his mother swear, she slept not for seven months together; Trincavellius, *Tom.* 2, *cons.* 16, speaks of one that waked fifty days,

ructationes quæ cibum virulentum culentumque nidorem, etsi nil tale ingestum sit, referant ob cruditatem. Ventres hisce aridi, somnus plerumque parcus et interruptus, somnia absurdissima, turbulenta, corporis tremor, capitis gravedo, strepitus circa aures et visiones ante oculos, ad venerem prodigi. [1] Altomarus, Bruel, Piso, Montaltus. [2] Frequentes habent oculorum nictationes, aliqui tamen fixis oculis plerumque sunt. [3] Cent. lib. 1, Tract. 9. Signa hujus morbi sunt plurimus saltus, sonitus aurium, capitis gravedo, lingua titubat, oculi excavantur, &c. [4] In Pantheon, cap. de Melancholia.

and Skenckius hath examples of two years, and all without offence. In natural actions their appetite is greater than their concoction, *multa appetunt, pauca digerunt*, as Rhasis hath it, they covet to eat, but cannot digest. And although they [1] "do eat much, yet they are lean, ill-liking," saith Areteus, "withered and hard, much troubled with costiveness," crudities, oppilations, spitting, belching, &c. Their pulse is rare and slow, except it be of the [2] Carotides, which is very strong; but that varies according to their intended passions or perturbations, as Struthius hath proved at large, *Spigmaticæ artis, l.* 4, *c.* 13. To say truth, in such chronic diseases the pulse is not much to be respected, there being so much superstition in it, as [3] Crato notes, and so many differences in Galen, that he dares say they may not be observed, or understood of any man.

Their urine is most part pale, and low coloured, *urina pauca, acris, biliosa*, (Areteus), not much in quantity; but this, in my judgment, is all out as uncertain as the other, varying so often according to several persons, habits, and other occasions not to be respected in chronic diseases. [4] "Their melancholy excrements in some very much, in others little, as the spleen plays his part," and thence proceeds wind, palpatation of the heart, short breath, plenty of humidity in the stomach, heaviness of heart and heartache, and intolerable stupidity and dulness of spirits. Their excrements or stool hard, black to some and little. If the heart, brain, liver, spleen, be misaffected, as usually they are, many inconveniences proceed from them, many diseases accompany, as incubus, [5] apoplexy, epilepsy, vertigo, those frequent wakings and terrible dreams, [6] intempestive laughing, weeping, sighing, sobbing, bashfulness, blushing, trembling, sweating, swooning, &c. [7] All their senses are

[1] Alvus arida nihil dejiciens, cibi capaces, nihilominus tamen extenuati sunt. [2] Nic. Piso. Inflatio carotidum, &c. [3] Andræas Dudith Rahamo, ep. lib. 3. Crat. epist. multa in pulsibus superstitio, ausim etiam dicere, tot differentias quæ describuntur à Galeno, neque intelligi à quoquam nec observari posse. [4] T. Bright, cap. 20. [5] Post 40 ætat. annum, saith Jacchinus in 15, 9 Rhasis. Idem Mercurialis, consil. 86. Trincavellius, Tom. 2, cons. 17. [6] Gordonius, modò rident, modò flent, silent, &c. [7] Fernelius, consil. 43 et 45. Montanus,

troubled, they think they see, hear, smell, and touch that which they do not, as shall be proved in the following discourse.

Subsect. II.—*Symptoms or Signs in the Mind.*

Fear.] Arculanus *in* 9 *Rhasis ad Almansor. cap.* 16, will have these symptoms to be infinite, as indeed they are, varying according to the parties, "for scarce is there one of a thousand that dotes alike," [1] Laurentius, *c.* 16. Some few of greater note I will point at; and amongst the rest, fear and sorrow, which as they are frequent causes, so if they persevere long, according to Hippocrates [2] and Galen's aphorisms, they are most assured signs, inseparable companions, and characters of melancholy; of present melancholy and habituated, saith Montaltus, *cap.* 11, and common to them all, as the said Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, and all Neoterics hold. But as hounds many times run away with a false cry, never perceiving themselves to be at a fault, so do they. For Diocles of old (whom Galen confutes), and amongst the juniors, [3] Hercules de Saxoniâ, with Lod. Mercatus, *cap.* 17, *l.* 1, *de melan.* take just exceptions at this aphorism of Hippocrates, 'tis not always true, or so generally to be understood, "fear and sorrow are no common symptoms to all melancholy; upon more serious consideration, I find some (saith he) that are not so at all. Some indeed are sad, and not fearful; some fearful and not sad; some neither fearful nor sad; some both." Four kinds he excepts, fanatical persons, such as were Cassandra, Nanto, Nicostrata, Mopsus, Proteus, the Sibyls, whom [4] Aristotle confesseth to have been deeply melancholy. Baptista Porta seconds him, *Physiog. lib.* 1, *cap.* 8, they were *atrâ bile perciti;* demoniacal persons, and such as speak strange languages, are of this rank; some poets, such as laugh always,

consil. 230. Galen. de locis affectis. lib. 3, cap. 6. [1] Aphorism. et lib. de Melan. [2] Lib. 2, cap. 6, de locis affect. timor et mœstitia, si diutiùs perseverent, &c. [3] Tract. posthumo de Melan. edit. Venetiis, 1620, per Bolzettam Bibliop. Mihi diligentius hanc rem consideranti, patet quosdam esse, qui non laborant mœrore et timore. [4] Prob. lib. 3.

and think themselves kings, cardinals, &c., sanguine they are, pleasantly disposed most part, and so continue. [1] Baptista Porta confines fear and sorrow to them that are cold; but lovers, sibyls, enthusiasts, he wholly excludes. So that I think I may truly conclude, they are not always sad and fearful, but usually so; and that [2] without a cause, *timent de non timendis* (Gordonius), *quæque momenti non sunt*, "although not all alike (saith Altomarus), [3] yet all likely fear, [4] some with an extraordinary and a mighty fear," Areteus. [5] "Many fear death, and yet in a contrary humour, make away themselves," Galen, *lib.* 3, *de loc. affect. cap.* 7. Some are afraid that heaven will fall on their heads; some they are damned, or shall be. [6] "They are troubled with scruples of consciences, distrusting God's mercies, think they shall go certainly to hell, the devil will have them, and make great lamentation," Jason Pratensis. Fear of devils, death, that they shall be so sick of some such or such disease, ready to tremble at every object, they shall die themselves forthwith, or that some of their dear friends or near allies are certainly dead; imminent danger, loss, disgrace, still torment others &c.; that they are all glass, and therefore will suffer no man to come near them; that they are all cork, as light as feathers; others as heavy as lead; some are afraid their heads will fall off their shoulders, that they have frogs in their bellies, &c. [7] Montanus, *consil.* 23, speaks of one "that durst not walk alone from home, for fear he should swoon or die." A second [8] "fears every man he meets will rob him, quarrel with him, or kill him." A third dares not venture to walk alone, for fear he should meet the devil, a thief, be sick; fears all old woman as witches, and every black dog or cat he sees he suspecteth to be a devil, every person comes

[1] Physiog. lib. 1, c. 8. Quibus multa frigida bilis atra, stolidi et timidi, at qui calidi, ingeniosi, amasii, divinosi, spiritu instigati, &c. [2] Omnes exercent metus et tristitia, et sine causa. [3] Omnes timent licet non omnibus idem timendi modus. Ætius Tetrab. lib. 2, sect. c. 9. [4] Ingenti pavore trepidant. [5] Multi mortem timent, et tamen sibi ipsis mortem consciscunt, alii cœli ruinam timent. [6] Affligit eos plena scrupulis conscientia, divinæ misericordiæ diffidentes, Orco se destinant fœda lamentatione deplorantes. [7] Non ausus egredi domo ne deficeret. [8] Multi dæmones timent, latrones, insidias, Avicenna.

near him is malificiated, every creature, all intend to hurt him, seek his ruin; another dares not go over a bridge, come near a pool, rock, steep hill, lie in a chamber where cross-beams are, for fear he be tempted to hang, drown, or precipitate himself. If he be in a silent auditory, as at a sermon, he is afraid he shall speak aloud at unawares, something indecent, unfit to be said. If he be locked in a close room, he is afraid of being stifled for want of air, and still carries biscuit, aqua vitæ, or some strong waters about him, for fear of deliquiums, or being sick; or if he be in a throng, middle of a church, multitude, where he may not well get out, though he sit at ease, he is so misaffected. He will freely promise, undertake any business beforehand, but when it comes to be performed, he dare not adventure, but fears an infinite number of dangers, disasters, &c. Some are [1] "afraid to be burned, or that the [2] ground will sink under them, or [3] swallow them quick, or that the king will call them in question for some fact they never did (Rhasis *cont.*), and that they shall surely be executed." The terror of such a death troubles them, and they fear as much and are equally tormented in mind, [4] "as they that have committed a murder, and are pensive without a cause, as if they were now presently to be put to death." Plater, *cap.* 3, *de mentis alienat.* They are afraid of some loss, danger, that they shall surely lose their lives, goods, and all they have, but why they know not. Trincavellius, *consil.* 13, *lib.* 1, had a patient that would needs make away himself, for fear of being hanged, and could not be persuaded for three years together, but that he had killed a man. Plater, *observat. lib.* 1, hath two other examples of such as feared to be executed without a cause. If they come in a place where a robbery, theft, or any such offence hath been done, they presently fear they are suspected, and many times betray themselves without a cause. Lewis XI., the French king, suspected every man a traitor

1 Alii comburi, alii de Rege, Rhasis.
2 Ne terra absorbeantur. Forestus.
3 Ne terra dehiscat. Gordon.
4 Alii timore mortis tenentur et mala gratia principum putant se aliquid commisisse, et ad supplicium requiri.

that came about him, durst trust no officer. *Alii formidolosi omnium, alii quorundam* (Fracastorius, *lib.* 2, *de Intellect.*) [1] "some fear all alike, some certain men, and cannot endure their companies, are sick in them, or if they be from home." Some suspect [2] treason still, others "are afraid of their [3] dearest and nearest friends." (*Melanelius è Galeno, Ruffo, Ætio,*) and dare not be alone in the dark for fear of hobgoblins and devils; he suspects everything he hears or sees to be a devil, or enchanted, and imagineth a thousand chimeras and visions, which to his thinking he certainly sees, bugbears, talks with black men, ghosts, goblins, &c., [4] *Omnes se terrent auræ, sonus excitat omnis.* Another through bashfulness, suspicion, and timorousness, will not be seen abroad, [5] "loves darkness as life, and cannot endure the light," or to sit in lightsome places, his hat still in his eyes, he will neither see nor be seen by his good-will, Hippocrates, *lib. de Insania et Melancholia.* He dare not come in company for fear he should be misused, disgraced, overshoot himself in gesture or speeches, or be sick; he thinks every man observes him, aims at him, derides him, owes him malice. Most part [6] "they are afraid they are bewitched, possessed, or poisoned by their enemies, and sometimes they suspect their nearest friends; he thinks something speaks or talks within him, or to him, and he belcheth of the poison." Christophorus à Vega, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 1, had a patient so troubled, that by no persuasion or physic he could be reclaimed. Some are afraid that they shall have every fearful disease they see others have, hear of, or read, and dare not therefore hear or read of any such subject, no, not of melancholy itself, lest by applying to themselves that which they hear or read, they should aggravate and increase it. If they see one possessed,

[1] Alius domesticos timet, alius omnes. Ætius. [2] Alii timent insidias. Aurel. lib. 1, de morb. Chron. cap. 6. [3] Ille charissimos, hic omnes homines citra discrimen timet. [4] Virgil. [5] Hic in lucem prodire timet, tenebrasque quærit, contra, ille caliginosa fugit. [6] Quidam larvas et malos spiritus ab inimicis, veneficiis et incantationibus sibi putant objectari. Hippocrates, potionem se veneficam sumpsisse putat, et de hac ructare sibi crebrò videtur. Idem Montaltus, cap. 21, Ætius, lib. 2, et alii. Trallianus, l. 1, cap. 16.

bewitched, an epileptic paroxysm, a man shaking with the palsy, or giddy-headed, reeling or standing in a dangerous place, &c., for many days after it runs in their minds, they are afraid they shall be so too, they are in like danger, as *Perk. c.* 12, *sc.* 2, well observes in his Cases of Consc., and many times by violence of imagination they produce it. They cannot endure to see any terrible object, as a monster, a man executed, a carcass, hear the devil named, or any tragical relation seen, but they quake for fear, *Hecatas somniare sibi videntur* (Lucian), they dream of hobgoblins, and may not get it out of their minds a long time after; they apply (as I have said) all they hear, see, read, to themselves; as [1] Felix Plater notes of some young physicians, that study to cure diseases, catch them themselves, will be sick, and appropriate all symptoms they find related of others, to their own persons. And therefore (*quod iterum moneo, licet nauseam paret lectori, malo decem potius verba, decies repetita licet, abundare, quam unum desiderari*) I would advise him that is actually melancholy not to read this tract of Symptoms, lest he disquiet or make himself for a time worse, and more melancholy than he was before. Generally of them all take this, *de inanibus semper conqueruntur et timent*, saith Areteus; they complain of toys, and fear [2] without a cause, and still think their melancholy to be most grievous, none so bad as they are, though it be nothing in respect, yet never any man sure was so troubled, or in this sort. As really tormented and perplexed, in as great an agony for toys and trifles (such things as they will after laugh at themselves) as if they were most material and essential matters indeed, worthy to be feared, and will not be satisfied. Pacify them for one, they are instantly troubled with some other fear; always afraid of something which they foolishly imagine or conceive to themselves, which never peradventure was, never can be, never likely will be; troubled in mind upon every small

[1] Observat. l. 1. Quando iis nil nocet, nisi quod mulieribus melancholicis. [2] —timeo tamen metuoque causæ nescius, causa est metus. Heinsius Austriaco.

occasion, unquiet, still complaining, grieving, vexing, suspecting, grudging, discontent, and cannot be freed so long as melancholy continues. Or if their minds be more quiet for the present, and they free from foreign fears, outward accidents, yet their bodies are out of tune, they suspect some part or other to be amiss, now their head aches, heart, stomach, spleen, &c., is misaffected, they shall surely have this or that disease; still troubled in body, mind, or both, and through wind, corrupt fantasy, some accidental distemper, continually molested. Yet for all this, as [1] Jacchinus notes, "in all other things they are wise, staid, discreet, and do nothing unbeseeming their dignity, person or place, this foolish, ridiculous, and childish fear excepted; which so much, so continually tortures and crucifies their souls, like a barking dog that always bawls, but seldom bites, this fear ever molesteth, and so long as melancholy lasteth, cannot be avoided."

Sorrow is that other character, and inseparable companion, as individual as Saint Cosmus and Damian, *fidus Achates*, as all writers witness, a common symptom, a continual, and still without any evident cause, [2] *mœrent omnes, et si roges eos reddere causam, non possunt:* grieving still, but why they cannot tell: *Agelasti, mœsti, cogitabundi*, they look as if they had newly come forth of Trophonius's den. And though they laugh many times, and seem to be extraordinary merry (as they will by fits), yet extreme lumpish again in an instant, dull and heavy, *semel et simul*, merry and sad, but most part sad; [3] *Si qua placent, abeunt; inimica tenacius hærent:* sorrow sticks by them still continually, gnawing as the vulture did [4] Titius's bowels, and they cannot avoid it, No sooner are their eyes open, but after terrible and troublesome dreams their heavy hearts begin to sigh; they are still fretting, chafing, sighing, grieving, complaining, finding faults, repining,

[1] Cap. 15, in 9 Rhasis, in multis vidi, præter rationem semper aliquid timent, in cæteris tamen optimè se gerunt, neque aliquid præter dignitatem committunt. [2] Altomarus, cap. 7. Areteus, tristes sunt. [3] Mant. Egl. 1. [4] Ovid. Met. 4.

grudging, weeping, *Heautontimorumenoi*, vexing themselves, [1] disquieted in mind, with restless, unquiet thoughts, discontent, either for their own, other men's or public affairs, such as concern them not; things past, present, or to come, the remembrance of some disgrace, loss, injury, abuses, &c., troubles them now being idle afresh, as if it were new done; they are afflicted otherwise for some danger, loss, want, shame, misery, that will certainly come, as they suspect and mistrust. Lugubris Ate frowns upon them, insomuch that Areteus well calls it *angorem animi*, a vexation of the mind, a perpetual agony. They can hardly be pleased or eased, though in other men's opinion most happy, go, tarry, run, ride, [2]—— *post equitem sedet atra cura;* they cannot avoid this feral plague, let them come in what company they will, [3] *hæret lateri lethalis arundo*, as to a deer that is struck, whether he run, go, rest with the herd, or alone, this grief remains; irresolution, inconstancy, vanity of mind, their fear, torture, care, jealousy, suspicion, &c., continues, and they cannot be relieved. So [4] he complained in the poet,

> "Domum revortor mœstus, atque animo ferè
> Perturbato, atque incerto præ ægritudine,
> Assido, accurrunt servi: soccos detrahunt,
> Video alios festinare, lectos sternere,
> Cœnam apparare, pro se quisque sedulo
> Faciebant, quo illam mihi lenirent miseriam."

"He came home sorrowful, and troubled in his mind, his servants did all they possibly could to please him; one pulled off his socks, another made ready his bed, a third his supper, all did their utmost endeavours to ease his grief, and exhilarate his person, he was profoundly melancholy, he had lost his son, *illud angebat*, that was his Cordolium, his pain, his agony which could not be removed."

Tædium vitæ.] Hence it proceeds many times, that they are weary of their lives, and feral thoughts to offer violence

[1] Inquies animus. [2] Hor. l. 3, Od. 1. [4] Mened. Heautontim. Act. 1, sc. 1. "Dark care rides behind him." [3] Virg.

to their own persons come into their minds, *tædium vitæ* is a common symptom, *tarda fluunt, ingrataque tempora,* they are soon tired with all things; they will now tarry, now be gone; now in bed they will rise, now up, then go to bed, now pleased, then again displeased; now they like, by and by dislike all, weary of all, *sequitur nunc vivendi, nunc moriendi cupido,* saith Aurelianus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 6, but most part [1] *vitam damnant,* discontent, disquieted, perplexed upon every light, or no occasion, object; often tempted, I say, to make away themselves: [2] *Vivere nolunt, mori nesciunt:* they cannot die, they will not live; they complain, weep, lament, and think they lead a most miserable life, never was any man so bad, or so before, every poor man they see is most fortunate in respect of them, every beggar that comes to the door is happier than they are, they could be contented to change lives with them, especially if they be alone, idle, and parted from their ordinary company, molested, displeased, or provoked; grief, fear, agony, discontent, wearisomeness, laziness, suspicion, or some such passion forcibly seizeth on them. Yet by and by when they come in company again, which they like, or be pleased, *suam sententiam rursus damnant, et vitæ solatio delectantur,* as Octavius Horatianus observes, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 5, they condemn their former dislike, and are well pleased to live. And so they continue, till with some fresh discontent they be molested again, and then they are weary of their lives, weary of all, they will die, and show rather a necessity to live, than a desire. Claudius the emperor, as [3] Sueton describes him, had a spice of this disease, for when he was tormented with the pain of his stomach, he had a conceit to make away himself. Julius Cæsar Claudinus, *consil.* 84, had a Polonian to his patient, so affected, that through [4] fear and sorrow, with which he was still disquieted, hated his own life, wished for death every moment, and to be freed of his misery. Mercurialis another, and another that was

[1] Altomarus. [2] Seneca. [3] Cap. 31. Quo stomachi dolore correptum se etiam de consciscenda morte cogitâsse dixit. [4] Luget et semper tristatur, solitudinem amat, mortem sibi precatur, vitam propriam odio habet.

often minded to dispatch himself, and so continued for many years.

Suspicion, jealousy.] Suspicion, and jealousy, are general symptoms; they are commonly distrustful, apt to mistake, and amplify, *facilè irascibiles*, [1] testy, pettish, peevish, and ready to smarl upon every [2] small occasion, *cum amicissimis*, and without a cause, *datum vel non datum*, it will be *scandalum acceptum*. If they speak in jest, he takes it in good earnest. If they be not saluted, invited, consulted with, called to counsel, &c., or that any respect, small compliment, or ceremony be omitted, they think themselves neglected, and contemned; for a time that tortures them. If two talk together, discourse, whisper, jest, or tell a tale in general, he thinks presently they mean him, applies all to himself, *de se putat omnia dici*. Or if they talk with him, he is ready to misconstrue every word they speak, and interpret it to the worst; he cannot endure any man to look steadily on him, speak to him almost, laugh, jest or be familiar, or hem, or point, cough, or spit, or make a noise sometimes, &c. [3] He thinks they laugh or point at him, or do it in disgrace of him, circumvent him, contemn him; every man looks at him, he is pale, red, sweats for fear and anger, lest somebody should observe him. He works upon it, and long after this false conceit of an abuse troubles him. Montanus, *consil.* 22, gives instance in a melancholy Jew, that was *Iracundior Adriâ*, so waspish and suspicious, *tam facilè iratus*, that no man could tell how to carry himself in his company.

Inconstancy.] Inconstant they are in all their actions, vertiginous, restless, unapt to resolve of any business, they will and will not, persuaded to and fro upon every small occasion, or word spoken; and yet if once they be resolved, obstinate, hard to be reconciled. If they abhor, dislike, or distaste, once settled, though to the better by odds, by no

[1] Facilè in iram incidunt. Aret. [2] Ira sine causa. velocitas iræ. Savanarola, pract. major. velocitas iræ signum. Avicenna, l. 3, Fen. 1, Tract. 4, cap. 18. Angor sine causa. [3] Suspicio, diffidentia. symptomata, Crato. Ep. Julio Alexandrio cons. 185 Scoltzii.

counsel, or persuasion to be removed. Yet in most things wavering, irresolute, unable to deliberate, through fear, *faciunt, et mox facti pœnitet (Areteus), avari, et paulo post prodigi.* Now prodigal, and then covetous, they do, and by and by repent them of that which they have done, so that both ways they are troubled, whether they do or do not, want or have, hit or miss, disquieted of all hands, soon weary, and still seeking change; restless, I say, fickle, fugitive, they may not abide to tarry in one place long.

> [1] "Romæ rus optans, absentem rusticus urbem
> Tollit ad astra"

no company long, or to persevere in any action or business.

> [2] "Et similis regum pueris, pappare minutum
> Poscit, et iratus mammæ lallare recusat,"

eftsoons pleased, and anon displeased, as a man that's bitten with fleas, or that cannot sleep turns to and fro in his bed, their restless minds are tossed and vary, they have no patience to read out a book, to play out a game or two, walk a mile, sit an hour, &c., erected and dejected in an instant; animated to undertake, and upon a word spoken again discouraged.

Passionate.] Extreme passionate, *Quicquid volunt valdè volunt;* and what they desire, they do most furiously seek; anxious ever and very solicitous, distrustful, and timorous, envious, malicious, profuse one while, sparing another, but most part covetous, muttering, repining, discontent, and still complaining, grudging, peevish, *injuriarum tenaces*, prone to revenge, soon troubled, and most violent in all their imaginations, not affable in speech, or apt to vulgar compliment, but surly, dull, sad, austere; *cogitabundi* still, very intent, and as [3] Albertus Durer paints melancholy, like a sad woman lean-

[1] Hor. "At Rome, wishing for the fields; in the country, extolling the city to the skies." [2] Pers. Sat. 3, 18. "And like the children of nobility, require to eat pap, and, angry at the nurse, refuse her to sing lullaby." [3] In his Dutch work picture.

ing on her arm with fixed looks, neglected habit, &c., held therefore by some proud, soft, sottish, or half-mad, as the Abderites esteemed of Democritus; and yet of a deep reach, excellent apprehension, judicious, wise, and witty; for I am of that [1] nobleman's mind, "Melancholy advanceth men's conceits, more than any humour whatsoever," improves their meditations more than any strong drink or sack. They are of profound judgment in some things, although in others *non rectè judicant inquieti*, saith Fracastorius, *lib.* 2, *de Intell.* And as Arculanus, *c.* 16, *in* 9 *Rhasis* têrms it, *Judicium plerumque perversum, corrupti, cum judicant honesta inhonesta, et amicitiam habent pro inimicitia:* they count honesty dishonesty, friends as enemies, they will abuse their best friends, and dare not offend their enemies. Cowards most part *et ad inferendam injuriam timidissimi*, saith Cardan, *lib.* 8, *cap.* 4, *de rerum varietate:* loath to offend, and if they chance to overshoot themselves in word or deed; or any small business or circumstance be omitted, forgotten, they are miserably tormented, and frame a thousand dangers and inconveniences to themselves, *ex musca elephantem*, if once they conceit it; overjoyed with every good rumour, tale, or prosperous event, transported beyond themselves; with every small cross again, bad news, misconceived injury, loss, danger, afflicted beyond measure, in great agony, perplexed, dejected, astonished, impatient, utterly undone; fearful, suspicious of all. Yet again, many of them desperate harebrains, rash, careless, fit to be assassins, as being void of all fear and sorrow, according to [2] Hercules *de Saxoniâ*, "Most audacious, and such as dare walk alone in the night, through deserts and dangerous places, fearing none."

Amorous.] "They are prone to love," and * easy to be taken; *Propensi ad amorem et excandescentiam (Montaltus, cap.* 21), quickly enamoured, and dote upon all, love one dearly, till they see another, and then dote on her, *Et hanc,*

[1] Howard, cap. 7, differ. [2] Tract. de et loca periculosa, neminem timent. mel. cap. 2. Noctu ambulant per sylvas, * Facilè amant. Aitom.

et hanc, et illam, et omnes, the present moves most, and the last commonly they love best. Yet some again *Anterotes*, cannot endure the sight of a woman, abhor the sex, as that same melancholy [1] duke of Muscovy, that was instantly sick if he came but in sight of them; and that [2] Anchorite, that fell into a cold palsy when a woman was brought before him.

Humorous.] Humorous they are beyond all measure, sometimes profusely laughing, extraordinarily merry, and then again weeping without a cause (which is familiar with many gentlewomen), groaning, sighing, pensive, sad, almost distracted, *multa absurda fingunt, et à ratione aliena* (saith [3] Frambesarius), they feign many absurdities, vain, void of reason; one supposeth himself to be a dog, cock, bear, horse, glass, butter, &c. He is a giant, a dwarf, as strong as an hundred men, a lord, duke, prince, &c. And if he be told he hath a stinking breath, a great nose, that he is sick, or inclined to such or such a disease, he believes it eftsoons, and peradventure by force of imagination will work it out. Many of them are immovable, and fixed in their conceits, others vary upon every object, heard or seen. If they see a stage-play, they run upon that a week after; if they hear music, or see dancing, they have nought but bagpipes in their brain; if they see a combat, they are all for arms. [4] If abused, an abuse troubles them long after; if crossed, that cross, &c. Restless in their thoughts and actions, continually meditating, *Velet ægri somnia, vanæ finguntur species;* more like dreams, than men awake, they fain a company of antic, fantastical conceits, they have most frivolous thoughts, impossible to be effected; and sometimes think verily they hear and see present before their eyes such phantasms or goblins, they fear, suspect, or conceive, they still talk with, and follow them. In fine, *cogitationes somniantibus similes, id vigilant, quod alii somniant cogitabundi:* still, saith Avicenna, they

[1] Bodine. [2] Io. Major, vitis patrum, fol. 202. Paulus Abbas Eremita tanta solitudine perseverat, ut nec vestem nec vultum mulieris ferre possit, &c. [3] Consult. lib. 1, 17 Cons. [4] Generally as they are pleased or displeased, so are their continual cogitations pleasing or displeasing.

wake as others dream, and such for the most part are their imaginations and conceits, [1] absurd, vain, foolish toys, yet they are [2] most curious and solicitous, continual, *et supra modum*, *Rhasis*, *cont. lib.* 1, *cap.* 9, *præmeditantur de aliqua re.* As serious in a toy, as if it were a most necessary business, of great moment, importance, and still, still, still thinking of it: *sæviunt in se*, macerating themselves. Though they do talk with you, and seem to be otherwise employed, and to your thinking very intent and busy, still that toy runs in their mind, that fear, that suspicion, that abuse, that jealousy, that agony, that vexation, that cross, that castle in the air, that crotchet, that whimsey, that fiction, that pleasant waking dream, whatsoever it is. *Nec interrogant* (saith [3] Fracastorius) *nec interrogatis rectè respondent.* They do not much heed what you say, their mind is on another matter; ask what you will, they do not attend, or much intend that business they are about, but forget themselves what they are saying, doing, or should otherwise say or do, whither they are going, distracted with their own melancholy thoughts. One laughs upon a sudden, another smiles to himself, a third frowns, calls, his lips go still, he acts with his hand as he walks, &c. 'Tis proper to all melancholy men, saith [4] Mercurialis, con. 11. "What conceit they have once entertained, to be most intent, violent, and continually about it." *Invitus occurrit*, do what they may they cannot be rid of it, against their wills they must think of it a thousand times over, *Perpetuò molestantur nec oblivisci possunt*, they are continually troubled with it, in company, out of company; at meat, at exercise, at all times and places, [5] *non desinunt ea, quæ minime volunt, cogitare*, if it be offensive especially, they cannot forget it, they may not rest or sleep for it, but still tormenting themselves, *Sysiphi saxum volvunt sibi ipsis*, as [6] Bruner observes, *Perpetua calamitas et miserabile flagellum.*

[1] Omnes exercent vanæ intensæque animi cogitationes, (N. Piso Bruel) et assiduæ. [2] Curiosi de rebus minimis. Aretæus. [3] Lib. 2, de Intell. [4] Hoc melancholicis omnibus proprium, ut quas semel imaginationes valde recepe-rint, non facilè rejiciant, sed hæ etiam vel invitis semper occurrant. [5] Tullius de Senect. [6] Consil. med. pro Hypochondriaco.

Bashfulness.] [1] Crato, [2] Laurentius, and Fernelius, put bashfulness for an ordinary symptom, *subrusticus pudor*, or *vitiosus pudor*, is a thing which much haunts and torments them. If they have been misused, derided, disgraced, chidden, &c., or by any perturbation of mind misaffected, it so far troubles them, that they become quite moped many times, and so disheartened, dejected, they dare not come abroad, into strange companies especially, or manage their ordinary affairs, so childish, timorous, and bashful, they can look no man in the face; some are more disquieted in this kind, some less, longer some, others shorter, by fits, &c., though some on the other side (according to [3] Fracastorius) be *inverecundi et pertinaces*, impudent and peevish. But most part they are very shamefaced, and that makes them with Pet. Blesensis, Christopher Urswick, and many such, to refuse honours, offices, and preferments, which sometimes fall into their mouths, they cannot speak, or put forth themselves as others can, *timor hos, pudor impedit illos*, timorousness and bashfulness hinder their proceedings, they are contented with their present estate, unwilling to undertake any office, and therefore never likely to rise. For that cause they seldom visit their friends, except some familiars; *pauciloqui*, of few words, and oftentimes wholly silent. [4] Frambeserius, a Frenchman, had two such patients, *omnino taciturnos*, their friends could not get them to speak; *Rodericus à Fonseca, consult. tom.* 2, 85 *consil.* gives instance in a young man, of twenty-seven years of age, that was frequently silent, bashful, moped, solitary, that would not eat his meat, or sleep, and yet again by fits apt to be angry, &c.

Solitariness.] Most part they are, as Plater notes, *desides, taciturni, ægrè impulsi nec nisi coacti procedunt, &c.*, they will scarce be compelled to do that which concerns them, though it be for their good, so diffident, so dull, of small or no compliment, unsociable, hard to be acquainted with, especially of strangers; they had rather write their minds than speak,

[1] Consil. 43. [2] Cap. 5. [3] Lib. 2, de Intell. [4] Consult. 15 et 16, lib. 1.

and above all things love solitariness. *Ob voluptatem, an ob timorem soli sunt?* Are they so solitary for pleasure (one asks) or pain? for both; yet I rather think for fear and sorrow, &c.

[1] "Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent fugiuntque, nec auras
Respiciunt, clausi tenebris, et carcere cæco."

"Hence 'tis they grieve and fear, avoiding light,
And shut themselves in prison dark from sight."

As Bellerophon in [2] Homer,

"Qui miser in sylvis mœrens errabat opacis,
Ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans."

"That wandered in the woods, sad, all alone,
Forsaking men's society, making great moan."

They delight in floods and waters, desert places, to walk alone in orchards, gardens, private walks, back lanes, averse from company, as Diogenes in his tub, or Timon Misanthropus, [3] they abhor all companions at last, even their nearest acquaintances and most familiar friends, for they have a conceit (I say) every man observes them, will deride, laugh to scorn, or misuse them, confining themselves therefore wholly to their private houses or chambers, *fugiunt homines sine causa* (saith Rhasis) *et odio habent, cont. l.* 1, *c.* 9, they will diet themselves, feed and live alone. It was one of the chiefest reasons why the citizens of Abdera suspected Democritus to be melancholy and mad, because that, as Hippocrates related in his epistle to Philopœmenes, [4] "he forsook the city, lived in groves and hollow trees, upon a green bank by a brook side, or confluence of waters all day long, and all night." *Quæ quidem* (saith he) *plurimum atra bile vexatis et melancholicis eveniunt, deserta frequentant, hominumque congressum aversantur;* [5] which is an ordinary thing with melancholy men. The Egyptians therefore in their hieroglyphics expressed a

[1] Virg. Æn. 6. [2] Iliad. 3. [3] Si malum exasperetur, homines odio habent et solitaria petunt. [4] Democritus solet noctes et dies apud se degere, plerumque autem in speluncis, sub amœnis arborum umbris vel in tenebris, et mollibus herbis, vel ad aquarum crebra et quieta fluenta, &c. [5] Gaudet tenebris, alituque dolor. Ps. lxii. Vigilavi et factus sum velut nycticorax in domicilio, passer solitarius in templo.

melancholy man by a hare sitting in her form, as being a most timorous and solitary creature, *Pierius, Hieroglyph. l.* 12. But this, and all precedent symptoms, are more or less apparent, as the humour is intended or remitted, hardly perceived in some, or not at all, most manifest in others. Childish in some, terrible in others; to be derided in one, pitied or admired in another; to him by fits, to a second continuate; and howsoever these symptoms be common and incident to all persons, yet they are the more remarkable, frequent, furious, and violent in melancholy men. To speak in a word, there is nothing so vain, absurd, ridiculous, extravagant, impossible, incredible, so monstrous a chimæra, so prodigious and strange, [1] such as painters and poets durst not attempt, which they will not really fear, feign, suspect and imagine unto themselves; and that which [2] Lod. Viv. said in a jest of a silly country fellow, that killed his ass for drinking up the moon, *ut lunam mundo redderet*, you may truly say of them in earnest; they will act, conceive all extremes, contrarieties, and contradictions, and that in infinite varieties. *Melancholici plane incredibilia sibi persuadent, ut vix omnibus sæculis duo reperti sint, qui idem imaginati sint* (*Erastus de Lamiis*), scarce two of two thousand that concur in the same symptoms. The tower of Babel never yielded such confusion of tongues, as the chaos of melancholy doth variety of symptoms. There is in all melancholy *similitudo dissimilis*, like men's faces, a disagreeing likeness still; and as in a river we swim in the same place, though not in the same numerical water; as the same instrument affords several lessons, so the same disease yields diversity of symptoms. Which howsoever they be diverse, intricate, and hard to be confined, I will adventure yet in such a vast confusion and generality to bring them into some order; and so descend to particulars.

[1] Et quæ vix audet fabula, monstra parit. [2] In cap. 18, l. 10, de civ. dei, Lunam ab Asino epotam videns.

Subsect. III.—*Particular Symptoms from the influence of Stars, parts of the Body, and Humours.*

Some men have peculiar symptoms, according to their temperament and crisis, which they had from the stars and those celestial influences, variety of wits and dispositions, as Anthony Zara contends, *Anat. ingen. sect.* 1, *memb.* 11, 12, 13, 14, *plurimum irritant influentiæ cœlestes, unde cientur animi ægritudines et morbi corporum.* [1] One saith, diverse diseases of the body and mind proceed from their influences, [2] as I have already proved out of Ptolemy, Pontanus, Lemnius, Cardan, and others, as they are principal significators of manners, diseases, mutually irradiated, or lords of the geniture, &c. Ptolomeus in his centiloquy, Hermes, or whosoever else the author of that tract, attributes all these symptoms, which are in melancholy men, to celestial influences; which opinion, *Mercurialis, de affect. lib. cap.* 10, rejects; but, as I say, [3] Jovianus Pontanus and others stiffly defend. That some are solitary, dull, heavy, churlish; some again blithe, buxom, light, and merry, they ascribe wholly to the stars. As if Saturn be predominant in his nativity, and cause melancholy in his temperature, then [4] he shall be very austere, sullen, churlish, black of colour, profound in his cogitations, full of cares, miseries, and discontents, sad and fearful, always silent, solitary, still delighting in husbandry, in woods, orchards, gardens, rivers, ponds, pools, dark walks and close: *Cogitationes sunt velle ædificare, velle arbores plantare, agros colere, &c.* To catch birds, fishes, &c., still contriving and musing of such matters. If Jupiter domineers, they are more ambitious, still meditating of kingdoms, magistracies, offices, honours, or that they are princes, potentates, and how they would carry themselves, &c. If Mars, they are all for wars, brave combats, monomachies, testy, choleric, harebrain, rash, furious, and violent in their actions. They will feign them-

[1] Velc. l. 4, c. 5. [2] Sect. 2, Memb. 1, Subs. 4. [3] De reb. cœlest. lib. 10, c. 13.
[4] I. de Indagine Goclenius.

selves victors, commanders, are passionate and satirical in their speeches, great braggers, ruddy of colour. And though they be poor in show, vile and base, yet like Telephus and Peleus in the [1] poet, *Ampullas jactant et sesquipedalia verba*, "forget their swelling and gigantic words," their mouths are full of myriads, and tetrarchs at their tongues' end. If the sun, they will be lords, emperors, in conceit at least, and monarchs, give offices, honours, &c. If Venus, they are still courting of their mistresses, and most apt to love, amorously given, they seem to hear music, plays, see fine pictures, dancers, merriments, and the like. Ever in love, and dote on all they see. Mercurialists are solitary, much in contemplation, subtile, poets, philosophers, and musing most part about such matters. If the moon have a hand, they are all for peregrinations, sea voyages, much affected with travels, to discourse, read, meditate of such things; wandering in their thoughts, diverse, much delighting in waters, to fish, fowl, &c.

But the most immediate symptoms proceed from the temperature itself, and the organical parts, as head, liver, spleen, meseraic veins, heart, womb, stomach, &c., and most especially from distemperature of spirits (which, as [2] Hercules de Saxoniâ contends, are wholly immaterial), or from the four humours in those seats, whether they be hot or cold, natural, unnatural, innate or adventitious, intended or remitted, simple or mixed, their diverse mixtures, and several adustions, combinations, which may be as diversely varied, as those [3] four first qualities in [4] Clavius, and produce as many several symptoms and monstrous fictions as wine doth effect, which as Andreas Bachius observes, *lib.* 3, *de vino*, *cap.* 20, are infinite. Of greater note be these.

If it be natural melancholy, as *Lod. Mercatus*, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 17, *de melan. T. Bright*, *c.* 16, hath largely described, either of the spleen, or of the veins, faulty by excess of quantity, or thickness of substance, it is a cold and dry humour, as Mon-

[1] Hor. de art. poet. [2] Tract. 7, de Melan. [3] Humidum, calidum, frigidum, siccum. [4] Com. in 1, c. Johannis de Sacrobosco.

tanus affirms, *consil.* 26, the parties are sad, timorous and fearful. Prosper Calenus, in his book *de atra bile*, will have them to be more stupid than ordinary, cold, heavy, dull, solitary, sluggish; *Si multam atram bilem et frigidam habent.* Hercules de Saxoniâ, *c.* 19, *l.* 7, [1] "holds these that are naturally melancholy, to be of a leaden colour or black," and so doth Guianerius, *c.* 3, *tract.* 15, and such as think themselves dead many times, or that they see, talk with black men, dead men, spirits and goblins frequently, if it be in excess. These symptoms vary according to the mixture of those four humours adust, which is unnatural melancholy. For as Trallianus hath written, *cap.* 16, *l.* 7, [2] "There is not one cause of this melancholy, nor one humour which begets, but diverse diversely intermixed, from whence proceeds this variety of symptoms;" and those varying again as they are hot or cold. [3] "Cold melancholy (saith Benedic. Vittorius Faventinus pract. mag.) is a cause of dotage, and more mild symptoms; if hot or more adust, of more violent passions, and furies." Fracastorius, *l.* 2, *de intellect.* will have us to consider well of it, [4] "with what kind of melancholy every one is troubled, for it much avails to know it; one is enraged by fervent heat, another is possessed by sad and cold; one is fearful, shamefaced; the other impudent and bold; as Ajax, *Arma rapit superosque furens in prælia poscit:* quite mad or tending to madness: *Nunc hos, nunc impetit illos.* Bellerophon on the other side, *solis errat malè sanus in agris*, wanders alone in the woods; one despairs, weeps, and is weary of his life, another laughs, &c. All which variety is produced from the several degrees of heat and cold, which [5] Hercules de Saxoniâ will have wholly proceed from the distemperature of spirits alone, animal especially, and those immaterial, the next and immediate causes of melancholy, as

[1] Si residet melancholia naturalis, tales plumbei coloris aut nigri, stupidi, solitarii. [2] Non una melancholiæ causa est, nec unus humor vitii parens, sed plures, et alius aliter mutatus, unde non omnes eadem sentiunt symptomata. [3] Humor frigidus delirii causa, humor calidus furoris. [4] Multum refert qua quisque melancholiâ teneatur, hunc fervens et accensa agitat, illum tristis et frigens occupat: hi timidi, illi inverecundi, intrepidi, &c. [5] Cap. 7 et 8, Tract. de Mel.

they are hot, cold, dry, moist, and from their agitation proceeds that diversity of symptoms, which he reckons up in the [1] thirteenth chap. of his Tract of Melancholy, and that largely through every part. Others will have them come from the diverse adustion of the four humours, which in this unnatural melancholy, by corruption of blood, adust choler, or melancholy natural, [2] "by excessive distemper of heat turned, in comparison of the natural, into a sharp lye by force of adustion, cause, according to the diversity of their matter, diverse and strange symptoms," which T. Bright reckons up in his following chapter. So doth [3] Arculanus, according to the four principal humours adust, and many others.

For example, if it proceed from phlegm (which is seldom and not so frequently as the rest), [4] it stirs up dull symptoms, and a kind of stupidity, or impassionate hurt; they are sleepy, saith [5] Savanarola, dull, slow, cold, blockish, ass-like, *Asininam melancholiam*, [6] Melancthon calls it, "they are much given to weeping, and delight in waters, ponds, pools, rivers, fishing, fowling," &c. (*Arnoldus, breviar.* 1, *cap.* 18.) They are [7] pale of colour, slothful, apt to sleep, heavy; [8] much troubled with headache, continual meditation, and muttering to themselves; they dream of waters, [9] that they are in danger of drowning, and fear such things, Rhasis. They are fatter than others that are melancholy, of a muddy complexion, apter to spit, [10] sleep, more troubled with rheum than the rest, and have their eyes still fixed on the ground. Such a patient had Hercules de Saxoniâ, a widow in Venice, that was fat and very sleepy still; Christophorus à Vega, another affected in the same sort. If it be inveterate or violent, the symptoms are more evident, they plainly denote and are ridiculous to others, in all their gestures, actions, speeches;

[1] Signa melancholiæ ex intemperie et agitatione spirituum sine materia. [2] T. Bright, cap. 16. Treat. Mel. [3] Cap. 16, in 9 Rhasis. [4] Bright, c. 16. [5] Pract. major. Somnians, piger, frigidus. [6] De anima, cap. de humor. Si à Phlegmate semper in aquis fere sunt, et circa fluvios plorant multum. [7] Pigra nascitur ex colore pallido et albo, Herc. de Saxon. [8] Savanarola. [9] Muros cadere in se, aut submergi timent, cum torpore et segnitie et fluvios amant tales, Alexand. c. 16, lib. 7. [10] Semper ferè dormit somnolenta, c. 16, l. 7.

imagining impossibilities, as he in Christophorus à Vega, that thought he was a tun of wine, [1] and that Siennois, that resolved within himself not to piss, for fear he should drown all the town.

If it proceed from blood adust, or that there be a mixture of blood in it, [2] "such are commonly ruddy of complexion, and high-coloured," according to Salust. Salvianus, and Hercules de Saxoniâ. And as Savanarola, Vittorius Faventinus Emper. farther adds, [3] "the veins of their eyes be red, as well as their faces." They are much inclined to laughter, witty and merry, conceited in discourse, pleasant, if they be not far gone, much given to music, dancing, and to be in women's company. They meditate wholly on such things, and think [4] they see or hear plays, dancing, and such-like sports (free from all fear and sorrow, as [5] Hercules de Saxoniâ supposeth). If they be more strongly possessed with this kind of melancholy, Arnoldus adds, *Breviar. lib.* 1, *cap.* 18, like him of Argos in the Poet, that sate laughing [6] all day long, as if he had been at a theatre. Such another is mentioned by [7] Aristotle, living at Abydos, a town of Asia Minor, that would sit after the same fashion, as if he had been upon a stage, and sometimes act himself; now clap his hands, and laugh, as if he had been well pleased with the sight. Wolfius relates of a country fellow called Brunsellius, subject to this humour, [8] "that being by chance at a sermon, saw a woman fall off from a form half asleep, at which object most of the company laughed, but he for his part was so much moved, that for three whole days after he did nothing but laugh, by which means he was much weakened, and worse a long time following." Such a one was old Sophocles, and Democritus himself had *hilare delirium*, much in this

[1] Laurentius. [2] Cap. 6, de mel. Si à sanguine, venit rubedo oculorum et faciei, plurimus risus. [3] Venæ oculorum sunt rubræ, vide an præcesserit vini et aromatum usus, et frequens balneum, Trallian. lib. 1, 16, an præcesserit mora sub sole. [4] Ridet patiens si à sanguine, putat se videre choreas, musicam audire, ludos, &c. [5] Cap. 2, Tract. de Melan. [6] Hor. ep. lib. 2, quidam haud ignobilis Argis, &c. [7] Lib. de reb. mir. [8] Cum inter concionandum mulier dormiens è subsellio caderet, et omnes reliqui qui id viderent, riderent, tribus post diebus, &c.

vein. Laurentius, *cap.* 3, *de melan.* thinks this kind of melancholy, which is a little adust with some mixture of blood, to be that which Aristotle meant, when he said melancholy men of all others are most witty, which causeth many times a divine ravishment, and a kind of *enthusiasmus*, which stirreth them up to be excellent philosophers, poets, prophets, &c. Mercurialis, *consil.* 110, gives instance in a young man his patient, sanguine melancholy, [1] "of a great wit, and excellently learned."

If it arise from choler adust, they are bold and impudent, and of a more harebrain disposition, apt to quarrel, and think of such things, battles, combats, and their manhood, furious; impatient in discourse, stiff, irrefragable and prodigious in their tenets; and if they be moved, most violent, outrageous, [2] ready to disgrace, provoke any, to kill themselves and others; Arnoldus adds, stark mad by fits, [3] "they sleep little, their urine is subtile and fiery. (Guianerius.) In their fits you shall hear them speak all manner of languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, that never were taught or knew them before." Apponensis, *in com. in Pro. sec.* 30, speaks of a mad woman that spake excellent good Latin; and Rhasis knew another, that could prophesy in her fit, and foretell things truly to come. [4] Guianerius had a patient could make Latin verses when the moon was combust, otherwise illiterate. Avicenna and some of his adherents will have these symptoms, when they happen, to proceed from the devil, and that they are rather *dæmoniaci*, possessed, than mad or melancholy, or both together, as Jason Pratensis thinks, *Immiscent se mali genii*, &c., but most ascribe it to the humour, which opinion Montaltus, *cap.* 21, stiffly maintains, confuting Avicenna and the rest, referring it wholly to the quality and disposition of the humour and subject. Cardan, *de rerum var. lib.* 8, *cap.* 10, holds these men of all others fit to be assassins, bold, hardy, fierce, and adventurous, to undertake anything by

[1] Juvenis et non vulgaris eruditionis. [2] Si à cholera, furibundi interficiunt se et alios, putant se videre pugnas. [3] Urina subtilis et ignea, parum dormiunt. [4] Tract. 15, c. 4.

reason of their choler adust. [1] This humour, says he, prepares them to endure death itself, and all manner of torments with invincible courage, and 'tis a wonder to see with what alacrity they will undergo such tortures," *ut supra naturam res videatur;* he ascribes this generosity, fury, or rather stupidity, to this adustion of choler and melancholy; but I take these rather to be mad or desperate, than properly melancholy; for commonly this humour so adust and hot, degenerates into madness.

If it come from melancholy itself adust, those men, saith Avicenna, [2] "are usually sad and solitary, and that continually, and in excess, more than ordinarily suspicious, more fearful, and have long, sore, and most corrupt imaginations;" cold and black, bashful, and so solitary, that as [3] Arnoldus writes, "they will endure no company, they dream of graves still, and dead men, and think themselves bewitched or dead;" if it be extreme, they think they hear hideous noises, see and talk [4] "with black men, and converse familiarly with devils, and such strange chimeras and visions" (Gordonius), or that they are possessed by them, that somebody talks to them, or within them. *Tales melancholici plerumque dæmoniaci, Montaltus, consil.* 26, *ex Avicenna.* Valescus de Taranta had such a woman in cure, [5] "that thought she had to do with the devil;" and Gentilis Fulgosus *quæst.* 55, writes that he had a melancholy friend, that [6] "had a black man in the likeness of a soldier" still following him wheresoever he was. Laurentius, *cap.* 7, hath many stories of such as have thought themselves bewitched by their enemies; and some that would eat no meat as being dead. [7] Anno 1550 an advocate of Paris fell into such a melancholy fit, that he

[1] Ad hæc perpetranda furore rapti ducuntur, cruciatus quosvis tolerant, et mortem, et furore exacerbato audent et ad supplicia plus irritantur, mirum est quantam habeant in tormentis patientiam. [2] Tales plus cæteris timent, et continue tristantur, valde suspiciosi, solitudinem diligunt, corruptissimas habent imaginationes, &c. [3] Si à melancholia adusta, tristes, de sepulchris somniant, timent ne fascinentur, putant se mortuos, aspici nolunt. [4] Videntur sibi videre monachos nigros et dæmones, et suspensos et mortuos. [5] Quavis nocte se cum dæmone coire putavit. [6] Semper fere vidisse militem nigrum præsentem. [7] Anthony de Verdeur.

believed verily he was dead, he could not be persuaded otherwise, or to eat or drink, till a kinsman of his, a scholar of Bourges, did eat before him dressed like a corse. The story, saith Serres, was acted in a comedy before Charles the Ninth. Some think they are beasts, wolves, hogs, and cry like dogs, foxes, bray like asses, and low like kine, as King Prætus's daughters. [1] Hildesheim, *spicel.* 2, *de maniâ*, hath an example of a Dutch baron so affected, and Trincavellius, *lib.* 1, *consil.* 11, another of a nobleman in his country, [2] "that thought he was certainly a beast, and would imitate most of their voices," with many such symptoms, which may properly be reduced to this kind.

If it proceed from the several combinations of these four humours, or spirits, Herc. de Saxon. adds hot, cold, dry, moist, dark, confused, settled, constringed, as it participates of matter, or is without matter, the symptoms are likewise mixed. One thinks himself a giant, another a dwarf; one is heavy as lead, another is as light as a feather. Marcellus Donatus, *l.* 2, *cap.* 41, makes mention out of Seneca, of one Senecchio, a rich man, [3] "that thought himself and everything else he had, great; great wife, great horses, could not abide little things, but would have great pots to drink in, great hose, and great shoes bigger than his feet." Like her in [4] Trallianus, that supposed she "could shake all the world with her finger," and was afraid to clinch her hand together, lest she should crush the world like an apple in pieces; or him in Galen, that thought he was [5] Atlas, and sustained heaven with his shoulders. Another thinks himself so little, that he can creep into a mouse-hole; one fears heaven will fall on his head; a second is a cock; and such a one, [6] Guianerius saith he saw at Padua, that would clap his hands together and crow. [7] Another thinks he is a nightin-

[1] Quidam mugitus boum æmulantur, et pecora se putant, ut Prœti filiæ. [2] Baro quidam mugitus boum, et rugitus asinorum, et aliorum animalium voces effingit. [3] Omnia magna putabat, uxorem magnam, grades equos, abhorruit omnia parva, magna pocula, et calceamenta pedibus majora. [4] Lib. 1, cap. 16, putavit se uno digito posse totum mundum conterere. [5] Sustinet humeris cœlum cum Atlante. Alii cœli ruinam timent. [6] Cap. 1, Tract. 15, alius se gallum putat, alius lusciniam. [7] Trallianus.

gale, and therefore sings all the night long; another he is all glass, a pitcher, and will therefore let nobody come near him, and such a one [1] Laurentius gives out upon his credit, that he knew in France. Christophorus à Vega, *cap.* 3. *l.* 14, Skenckius and Marcellus Donatus, *l.* 2, *cap.* 1, have many such examples, and one amongst the rest of a baker in Ferrara, that thought he was composed of butter, and durst not sit in the sun, or come near the fire for fear of being melted; of another that thought he was a case of leather, stuffed with wind. Some laugh, weep; some are mad, some dejected, moped, in much agony, some by fits, others continuate, &c. Some have a corrupt ear, they think they hear music, or some hideous noise as their fantasy conceives, corrupt eyes, some smelling; some one sense, some another. [2] Lewis the Eleventh had a conceit everything did stink about him, all the odoriferous perfumes they could get, would not ease him, but still he smelled a filthy stink. A melancholy French poet in [3] Laurentius being sick of a fever, and troubled with waking, by his physicians was appointed to use *unguentum populeum* to anoint his temples; but he so distasted the smell of it, that for many years after, all that came near him he imagined to scent of it, and would let no man talk with him but aloof off, or wear any new clothes, because he thought still they smelled of it; in all other things wise and discreet, he would talk sensibly, save only in this. A gentleman in Limousin, saith Anthony Verdeur, was persuaded he had but one leg, affrighted by a wild boar, that by chance struck him on the leg; he could not be satisfied his leg was sound (in all other things well) until two Franciscans by chance coming that way, fully removed him from the conceit. *Sed abundè fabularum audivimus,*—enough of story-telling.

[1] Cap. 7, de mel. [2] Anthony de Verdeur [3] Cap. 7, de mel.

SUBSECT. IV.—*Symptoms from Education, Custom, Continuance of Time, our Condition, mixed with other Diseases, by Fits, Inclination, &c.*

ANOTHER great occasion of the variety of these symptoms proceeds from custom, discipline, education, and several inclinations, [1] "this humour will imprint in melancholy men the objects most answerable to their condition of life, and ordinary actions, and dispose men according to their several studies and callings." If an ambitious man become melancholy, he forthwith thinks he is a king, an emperor, a monarch, and walks alone, pleasing himself with a vain hope of some future preferment, or present as he supposeth, and withal acts a lord's part, takes upon him to be some statesman or magnifico, makes congés, gives entertainment, looks big, &c. Francisco Sansovino records of a melancholy man in Cremona, that would not be induced to believe but that he was pope, gave pardons, made cardinals, &c. [2] Christophorus à Vega makes mention of another of his acquaintance, that thought he was a king, driven from his kingdom, and was very anxious to recover his estate. A covetous person is still conversant about purchasing of lands and tenements, plotting in his mind how to compass such and such manors, as if he were already lord of, and able to go through with it; all he sees is his, *re* or *spe*, he hath devoured it in hope, or else in conceit esteems it his own; like him in [3] Athenæus, that thought all the ships in the haven to be his own. A lascivious *inamorato* plots all the day long to please his mistress, acts and struts, and carries himself as if she were in presence, still dreaming of her, as Pamphilus of his Glycerium, or as some do in their morning sleep. [4] Marcellus Donatus knew such a gentlewoman in Mantua, called Elionora Meliorina, that constantly believed she was married to a king, and [5] "would kneel down and talk with him, as if

[1] Laurentius, cap. 6. [2] Lib. 3. cap. 14, qui se regem putavit regno expulsum. [3] Dipnosophist. lib. Thrasilaus putavit omnes naves in Pireum portum appellentes suas esse. [4] De hist. Med. mirab. lib. 2, cap. 1. [5] Genibus flexis loqui

he had been there present with his associates; and if she had found by chance a piece of glass in a muck-hill or in the street, she would say that it was a jewel sent from her lord and husband." If devout and religious, he is all for fasting, prayer, ceremonies, alms, interpretations, visions, prophecies, revelations, [1] he is inspired by the Holy Ghost, full of the Spirit; one while he is saved, another while damned, or still troubled in mind for his sins, the devil will surely have him, &c., more of these in the third partition of love-melancholy. [2] A scholar's mind is busied about his studies, he applauds himself for what he hath done, or hopes to do, one while fearing to be out in his next exercise, another while contemning all censures; envies one, emulates another; or else with indefatigable pains and meditation, consumes himself. So of the rest, all which vary according to the more remiss and violent impression of the object, or as the humour itself is intended or remitted. For some are so gently melancholy, that in all their carriage, and to the outward apprehension of others it can hardly be discerned, yet to them an intolerable burden, and not to be endured. [3] *Quædam occulta quædam manifesta*, some signs are manifest and obvious to all at all times, some to few or seldom, or hardly perceived; let them keep their own counsel, none will take notice or suspect them. "They do not express in outward show their depraved imaginations," as [4] Hercules de Saxoniâ observes, "but conceal them wholly to themselves, and are very wise men, as I have often seen; some fear, some do not fear at all, as such as think themselves kings or dead, some have more signs, some fewer, some great, some less, some vex, fret, still fear, grieve, lament suspect, laugh, sing, weep, chafe, &c., by fits (as I have said) or more during and

cum illo voluit, et adstare jam tum putavit, &c. [1] Gordonius, quod sit propheta, et inflatus à spiritu sancto. [2] Qui forensibus causis insudat, nil nisi arresta cogitat, et supplices libellos, alius non nisi versus facit. P. Forestus. [3] Gordonius. [4] Verbo non exprimunt, nec opere, sed alta mente recondunt, et sunt viri prudentissimi, quos ego sæpe novi, cum multi sint sine timore, ut qui se reges et mortuos putant, plura signa quidam habent, pauciora, majora, minora.

permanent." Some dote in one thing, are most childish, and ridiculous, and to be wondered at in that, and yet for all other matters, most discreet and wise. To some it is in disposition, to another in habit; and as they write of heat and cold, we may say of this humour, one is *melancholicus ad octo*, a second two degrees less, a third half-way. 'Tis superparticular, *sesquialtera*, *sesquitertia*, and *superbipartiens tertias*, *quintas Melancholiæ*, *&c.*, all those geometrical proportions are too little to express it. [1] "It comes to many by fits, and goes; to others it is continuate; many (saith [2] Faventinus) in spring and fall only are molested, some once a year, as that Roman [3] Galen speaks of; [4] one, at the conjunction of the moon alone, or some unfortunate aspects, at such and such set hours and times, like the sea-tides, to some women when they be with child, as [5] Plater notes, never otherwise; to others 'tis settled and fixed; to one led about and variable still by that *ignis fatuus* of fantasy, like an *arthritis* or running gout, 'tis here and there, and in every joint, always molesting some part or other; or if the body be free, in a myriad of forms exercising the mind. A second once peradventure in his life hath a most grievous fit, once in seven years, once in five years, even to the extremity of madness, death, or dotage, and that upon some feral accident or perturbation, terrible object, and that for a time, never perhaps so before, never after. A third is moved upon all such troublesome objects, cross fortune, disaster, and violent passions, otherwise free, once troubled in three or four years. A fourth, if things be to his mind, or he in action, well pleased, in good company, is most jocund, and of a good complexion; if idle, or alone, à la mort, or carried away wholly with pleasant dreams and fantasies, but if once crossed and displeased,

> "Pectore concipiet nil nisi triste suo;"
>
> "He will imagine nought save sadness in his heart;"

[1] Trallianus, lib. 1, 16, alii intervalla quædam habent, ut etiam consueta administrent, alii in continuo delirio sunt, &c. [2] Prac. mag. Vere tantum et autumno. [3] Lib. de humoribus. [4] Guianerius. [5] De mentis alienat. cap. 3.

his countenance is altered on a sudden, his heart heavy, irksome thoughts crucify his soul, and in an instant he is moped or weary of his life, he will kill himself. A fifth complains in his youth, a sixth in his middle age, the last in his old age.

Generally thus much we may conclude of melancholy; that it is [1] most pleasant at first, I say, *mentis gratissimus error*,* a most delightsome humour, to be alone, dwell alone, walk alone, meditate, lie in bed whole days, dreaming awake as it were, and frame a thousand fantastical imaginations unto themselves. They are never better pleased than when they are so doing, they are in paradise for the time, and cannot well endure to be interrupt; with him in the poet, [2] *pol me occidistis, amici, non servâstis, ait?* you have undone him, he complains if you trouble him; tell him what inconvenience will follow, what will be the event, all is one, *canis ad vomitum*, [3] 'tis so pleasant he cannot refrain. He may thus continue peradventure many years by reason of a strong temperature, or some mixture of business, which may divert his cogitations; but at the last *læsa imaginatio*, his fantasy is crazed, and now habituated to such toys, cannot but work still like a fate, the scene alters upon a sudden, fear and sorrow supplant those pleasing thoughts, suspicion, discontent, and perpetual anxiety succeed in their places; so by little and little, by that shoeing-horn of idleness, and voluntary solitariness, melancholy this feral fiend is drawn on, [4] *et quantum vertice ad auras Æthereas, tantum radice in Tartara tendit*, "extending up, by its branches, so far towards Heaven, as, by its roots, it does down towards Tartarus;" it was not so delicious at first, as now it is bitter and harsh; a cankered soul macerated with cares and discontents, *tædium vitæ*, impatience, agony, inconstancy, irresolution, precipitate them unto unspeakable miseries. They cannot endure company, light, or life itself, some unfit for action, and the like. [5] Their bodies are lean and dried up, withered, ugly, their looks harsh,

[1] Levinus Lemnius, Jason Pratensis, blanda ab initio. * "A most agreeable mental delusion." [2] Hor. [3] Facilis descensus Averni. [4] Virg. [5] Corpus cadaverosum. Psa. lxvii. cariosa est facies mea præ ægritudine animæ.

very dull, and their souls tormented, as they are more or less entangled, as the humour hath been intended, or according to the continuance of time they have been troubled.

To discern all which symptoms the better, [1] Rhasis the Arabian makes three degrees of them. The first is, *falsa cogitatio*, false conceits and idle thoughts; to misconstrue and amplify, aggravating everything they conceive or fear; the second is, *falso cogitata loqui*, to talk to themselves, or to use inarticulate incondite voices, speeches, obsolete gestures, and plainly to utter their minds and conceits of their hearts, by their words and actions, as to laugh, weep, to be silent, not to sleep, eat their meat, &c.; the third is to put in practice that which they [2] think or speak. Savanarola, *Rub.* 11, *Tract.* 8, *cap.* 1, *de ægritudine*, confirms as much, [3] "when he begins to express that in words, which he conceives in his heart, or talks idly, or goes from one thing to another," which [4] Gordonius calls *nec caput habentia nec caudam*, ("having neither head nor tail,") he is in the middle way; [5] "but when he begins to act it likewise, and to put his fopperies in execution, he is then in the extent of melancholy, or madness itself." This progress of melancholy you shall easily observe in them that have been so affected, they go smiling to themselves at first, at length they laugh out; at first solitary, at last they can endure no company; or if they do, they are now dizzards, past sense and shame, quite moped, they care not what they say or do, all their actions, words, gestures, are furious or ridiculous. At first his mind is troubled, he doth not attend what is said, if you tell him a tale, he cries at last, what said you? but in the end he mutters to himself, as old women do many times, or old men when they sit alone, upon a sudden they laugh, whoop, halloo, or run away, and swear they see or hear players, [6] devils, hobgoblins, ghosts, strike, or strut, &c.,

[1] Lib. 9, ad Almansorem. [2] Practica majore. [3] Quum ore loquitur quæ corde concepit, quum subito de una re ad aliud transit, neque rationem de aliquo reddit, tunc est in medio, at quum incipit operari quæ loquitur, in summo gradu est. [4] Cap. 19, Partic. 2. Loquitur secum et ad alios, ac si vere præsentes. Aug. cap. 11, li. de cura pro mortuis gerenda. Rhasis. [5] Quum res ad hoc devenit, ut ea quæ cogitare cœperit, ore promat, atque acta permisceat, tum perfecta melancholia est. [6] Melancholicus se videre et audire putat

grow humorous in the end; like him in the poet, *sæpe ducentos, sæpe decem servos* ("at one time followed by two hundred servants, at another only by ten"), he will dress himself, and undress, careless at last, grows insensible, stupid, or mad. [1] He howls like a wolf, barks like a dog, and raves like Ajax and Orestes, hears music and outcries, which no man else hears. As [2] he did whom Amatus Lusitanus mentioneth, *cent.* 3, *cura.* 55, or that woman in [3] Springer, that spake many languages, and said she was possessed; that farmer in [4] Prosper Calenus, that disputed and discoursed learnedly in philosophy and astronomy with Alexander Achilles his master at Bologna, in Italy. But of these I have already spoken.

Who can sufficiently speak of these symptoms, or prescribe rules to comprehend them? as Echo to the painter in Ausonius, *vane, quid affectas, &c.*, foolish fellow; what wilt? if you must needs paint me, paint a voice, *et similem si vis pingere, pinge sonum;* if you will describe melancholy, describe a fantastical conceit, a corrupt imagination, vain thoughts and different, which who can do? The four and twenty letters make no more variety of words in diverse languages, than melancholy conceits produce diversity of symptoms in several persons. They are irregular, obscure, various, so infinite, Proteus himself is not so diverse, you may as well make the moon a new coat, as a true character of a melancholy man; as soon find the motion of a bird in the air, as the heart of man, a melancholy man. They are so confused, I say, diverse, intermixed with other diseases. As the species be confounded (which [5] I have showed) so are the symptoms; sometimes with headache, cachexia, dropsy, stone; as you may perceive by those several examples and illustrations, collected by [6] Hildesheim, *spicel.* 2, Mercurialis, *consil.* 118, *cap.* 6 and 11, with headache, epilepsy, priapismus. Trincavellius, *consil.* 12, *lib.* 1, *consil.* 49, with gout: *caninus*

dæmones. Lavater de spectris, part. 3, cap. 2.
[1] Wierus, lib. 3, cap. 31.
[2] Michael à musian.
[3] Malleo malef.
[4] Lib. de atra bile.
[5] Part. 1, Subs. 2, Memb. 2.
[6] De delirio, melancholia, et mania.

appetitus. Montanus, *consil.* 26, &c., 23, 234, 249, with falling-sickness, headache, vertigo, lycanthropia, &c. I. Cæsar Claudinus, *consult.* 4, *consult.* 89 and 116, with gout, agues, hæmorrhoids, stone, &c., who can distinguish these melancholy symptoms so intermixed with others, or apply them to their several kinds, confine them into method? 'Tis hard I confess, yet I have disposed of them as I could, and will descend to particularize them according to their species. For hitherto I have expatiated in more general lists or terms, speaking promiscuously of such ordinary signs, which occur amongst writers. Not that they are all to be found in one man, for that were to paint a monster or chimera, not a man; but some in one, some in another, and that successively, or at several times.

Which I have been the more curious to express and report; not to upbraid any miserable man, or by way of derision (I rather pity them), but the better to discern, to apply remedies unto them; and to show that the best and soundest of us all is in great danger; how much we ought to fear our own fickle estates, remember our miseries and vanities, examine and humiliate ourselves, seek to God, and call to Him for mercy, that needs not look for any rods to scourge ourselves, since we carry them in our bowels, and that our souls are in a miserable captivity, if the light of grace and heavenly truth doth not shine continually upon us; and by our discretion to moderate ourselves, to be more circumspect and wary in the midst of these dangers.

MEMB. II.

Subsect. I.—*Symptoms of Head-Melancholy.*

"If [1] no symptoms appear about the stomach, nor the blood be misaffected, and fear and sorrow continue, it is to be thought

[1] Nicholas Piso. Si signa circa ventriculum non apparent, nec sanguis male affectus, et adsunt timor et mœstitia, cerebrum ipsum existimandum est, &c.

the brain itself is troubled, by reason of a melancholy juice bred in it, or otherwise conveyed into it, and that evil juice is from the distemperature of the part, or left after some inflammation," thus far Piso. But this is not always true, for blood and hypochondries both are often affected even in head-melancholy. [1] Hercules de Saxoniâ differs here from the common current of writers, putting peculiar signs of head-melancholy, from the sole distemperature of spirits in the brain, as they are hot, cold, dry, moist, "all without matter from the motion alone, and tenebrosity of spirits;" of melancholy which proceeds from humours by adustion, he treats apart, with their several symptoms and cures. The common signs, if it be by essence in the head, "are ruddiness of face, high sanguine complexion, most part *rubore saturato*, [2] one calls it a blueish, and sometimes full of pimples, with red eyes. Avicenna, *l.* 3, *Fen.* 2, *Tract.* 4, *c.* 18. Duretus and others out of Galen, *de affect. l.* 3, *c.* 6. [3] Hercules de Saxoniâ to this of redness of face, adds "heaviness of the head, fixed and hollow eyes. [4] If it proceed from dryness of the brain, then their heads will be light, vertiginous, and they most apt to wake, and to continue whole months together without sleep. Few excrements in their eyes and nostrils, and often bald by reason of excess of dryness," Montaltus adds, *c.* 17. If it proceed from moisture; dulness, drowsiness, headache follows; and as Salust. Salvianus, *c.* 1, *l.* 2, out of his own experience found, epileptical, with a multitude of humours in the head. They are very bashful, if ruddy, apt to blush, and to be red upon all occasions, *præsertim si metus accesserit.* But the chiefest symptom to discern this species, as I have said, is this, that there be no notable signs in the stomach, hypochondries, or elsewhere, *digna*, as [5] Mon-

[1] Tract. de mel. cap. 13, &c. Ex intemperie spirituum, et cerebri motu, tenebrositate. [2] Facie sunt rubente et livescente, quibus etiam aliquando adsunt pustulæ. [3] Jo. Pantheon. cap. de mel. Si cerebrum primario afficiatur adsunt capitis gravitas, fixi oculi, &c. [4] Laurent. cap. 5, si à cerebro ex siccitate, tum capitis erit levitas, sitis, vigilia, paucitas superfluitatum in oculis et naribus. [5] Si nulla digna læsio ventriculo, quoniam in hac melancholia capitis, exigua nonnunquam ventriculi pathemata coëunt, duo enim hæc membra sibi invicem affectionem transmittunt.

taltus terms them, or of greater note, because oftentimes the passions of the stomach concur with them. Wind is common to all three species, and is not excluded, only that of the hypochondries is [1] more windy than the rest, saith Hollerius. Ætius, *tetrab. l.* 2, *sc.* 2, *c.* 9 and 10, maintains the same, [2] if there be more signs, and more evident in the head than elsewhere, the brain is primarily affected, and prescribes head-melancholy to be cured by meats amongst the rest, void of wind, and good juice, not excluding wind, or corrupt blood, even in head-melancholy itself; but these species are often confounded, and so are their symptoms, as I have already proved. The symptoms of the mind are superfluous and continual cogitations; [3] "for when the head is heated, it scorcheth the blood, and from thence proceed melancholy fumes, which trouble the mind," Avicenna. They are very choleric, and soon hot, solitary, sad, often silent, watchful, discontent, Montaltus, *cap.* 24. If anything trouble them, they cannot sleep, but fret themselves still, till another object mitigate, or time wear it out. They have grievous passions, and immoderate perturbations of the mind, fear, sorrow, &c., yet not so continuate, but that they are sometimes merry, apt to profuse laughter, which is more to be wondered at, and that by the authority of [4] Galen himself, by reason of mixture of blood, *prærubri jocosis delectantur et irrisores plerumque sunt*, if they be ruddy, they are delighted in jests, and sometimes scoffers themselves, conceited; and as Rodericus à Vega comments on that place of Galen, merry, witty, of a pleasant disposition, and yet grievously melancholy anon after: *omnia discunt sine doctore*, saith Areteus, they learn without a teacher; and as [5] Laurentius supposeth, those feral passions and symptoms of such as think themselves glass, pitchers, feathers, &c., speak strange languages, proceed *à calore*

[1] Postrema magis flatuosa minus molestiæ circa ventriculum aut ventrem, in iis cerebrum primario afficitur, et curare oportet hunc affectum, per cibos flatûs exortes, et bonæ concoctionis, &c., raro cerebrum afficitur sine ventriculo. [3] Sanguinem adurit caput calidius, et inde fumi melancholici adusti, animum exagitant. [4] Lib. de loc. affect. cap. 6. [5] Cap. 6.

cerebri (if it be in excess), from the brain's distempered heat.

Subsect. II.—*Symptoms of windy Hypochondriacal Melancholy.*

"In this hypochondriacal or flatuous melancholy, the symptoms are so ambiguous," saith [1] Crato in a counsel of his for a noblewoman, "that the most exquisite physicians cannot determine of the part affected." Matthew Flaccius, consulted about a noble matron, confessed as much, that in this malady he with Hollerius, Fracastorius, Falopius, and others, being to give their sentence of a party labouring of hypochondriacal melancholy, could not find out by the symptoms which part was most especially affected; some said the womb, some heart, some stomach, &c., and therefore Crato, *consil.* 24, *lib.* 1, boldly avers, that in this diversity of symptoms, which commonly accompany this disease, [2] "no physician can truly say what part is affected." Galen, *lib.* 3, *de loc. affect.* reckons up these ordinary symptoms, which all the Neoterics repeat of Diocles; only this fault he finds with him, that he puts not fear and sorrow amongst the other signs. Trincavellius excuseth Diocles, *lib.* 3, *consil.* 35, because that oftentimes in a strong head and constitution, a generous spirit, and a valiant, these symptoms appear not, by reason of his valour and courage. [3] Hercules de Saxoniâ (to whom I subscribe) is of the same mind (which I have before touched) that fear and sorrow are not general symptoms; some fear and are not sad; some be sad and fear not; some neither fear nor grieve. The rest are these, beside fear and sorrow, [4] "sharp belchings, fulsome crudities, heat in the bowels, wind and rumbling in the guts, vehement gripings, pain in the belly

[1] Hildesheim, spicel. 1, de mel. In Hypochondriaca melancholia adeo ambigua sunt symptomata, ut etiam exercitatissimi medici de loco affecto statuere non possint. [2] Medici de loco affecto nequeunt statuere. [3] Tract. posthumo de mel. Patavii edit. 1620, per Bozettum Bibliop. cap. 2. [4] Acidi ructus, cruditates, æstus in præcordiis, flatus, interdum ventriculi dolores vehementes, sumptoque cibo concoctu difficili, sputum humidum idque multum sequetur, &c. Hip. lib. de mel. Galenus, Melanelius è Ruffo et Ætio, Altomarus, Piso, Montaltus, Bruel, Wecker, &c.

and stomach sometimes, after meat that is hard of concoction, much watering of the stomach, and moist spittle, cold sweat, *importunus sudor*, unseasonable sweat all over the body," as Octavius Horatianus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 5, calls it; "cold joints, indigestion, [1] they cannot endure their own fulsome belchings, continual wind about their hypochondries, heat and griping in their bowels, *præcordia sursum convelluntur*, midriff and bowels are pulled up, the veins about their eyes look red, and swell from vapours and wind." Their ears sing now and then, vertigo and giddiness come by fits, turbulent dreams, dryness, leanness, apt they are to sweat upon all occasions, of all colours and complexions. Many of them are high-coloured, especially after meals, which symptom Cardinal Cæcius was much troubled with, and of which he complained to Prosper Calenus his physician, he could not eat, or drink a cup of wine, but he was as red in the face as if he had been at a mayor's feast. That symptom alone vexeth many. [2] Some again are black, pale, ruddy, sometimes their shoulders, and shoulder-blades ache, there is a leaping all over their bodies, sudden trembling, a palpitation of the heart, and that *cardiaca passio*, grief in the mouth of the stomach, which maketh the patient think his heart itself acheth, and sometimes suffocation, *difficultas anhelitûs*, short breath, hard wind, strong pulse, swooning. Montanus, *consil.* 55, Trincavellius, *lib.* 3, *consil.* 36 *et* 37, Fernelius, *cons.* 43, Frambesarius, *consult. lib.* 1, *consil.* 17, Hildesheim, Claudinus, &c., give instance of every particular. The peculiar symptoms, which properly belong to each part be these. If it proceed from the stomach saith [3] Savanarola, 'tis full of pain and wind, Guianerius adds vertigo, nausea, much spitting, &c. If from the myrach, a swelling and wind in the hypochondries, a loathing, and appetite to vomit, pulling upward. If from the heart, aching and trembling of it,

[1] Circa præcordia de assidua inflatione queruntur, et cum sudore totius corporis importuno, frigidos articulos sæpe patiuntur, indigestione laborant, ructus suos insuaves perhorrescunt, viscerum dolores habent. [2] Montaltus, c. 13, Wecker, Fuchsius, c. 13, Altomarus, c. 7, Laurentius, c. 73, Bruel, Gordon. [3] Pract. major: dolor in eo et ventositas, nausea.

much heaviness. If from the liver, there is usually a pain in the right hypochondrie. If from the spleen, hardness and grief in the left hypochondrie, a rumbling, much appetite and small digestion, Avicenna. If from the meseraic veins and liver on the other side, little or no appetite. Herc. de Saxoniâ. If from the hypochondries, a rumbling inflation, concoction is hindered, often belching, &c. And from these crudities, windy vapours ascend up to the brain which trouble the imagination, and cause fear, sorrow, dulness, heaviness, many terrible conceits and chimeras, as Lemnius well observes, *l.* 1, *c.* 16, "as [1]a black and thick cloud covers the sun, and intercepts his beams and light, so doth this melancholy vapour obnubilate the mind, enforce it to many absurd thoughts and imaginations," and compel good, wise, honest, discreet men (arising to the brain from the [2]lower parts, "as smoke out of a chimney") to dote, speak, and do that which becomes them not, their persons, callings, wisdoms. One by reason of those ascending vapours and gripings, rumbling beneath, will not be persuaded but that he hath a serpent in his guts, a viper, another frogs. Trallianus relates a story of a woman, that imagined she had swallowed an eel, or a serpent, and Felix Platerus, *observat. lib.* 1, hath a most memorable example of a countryman of his, that by chance falling into a pit where frogs and frogs' spawn was, and a little of that water swallowed, began to suspect that he had likewise swallowed frogs' spawn, and with that conceit and fear, his fantasy wrought so far, that he verily thought he had young live frogs in his belly, *qui vivebant ex alimento suo*, that lived by his nourishment, and was so certainly persuaded of it, that for many years following he could not be rectified in his conceit; He studied physic seven years together to cure himself, travelled into Italy, France and Germany to confer with the best physicians about it, and A°. 1609, asked his counsel amongst the rest; he told him it was

[1] Ut atra densaque nubes soli effusa, sic, &c. [2] Ut fumus è camino. radios et lumen ejus intercipit et offuscat;

wind, his conceit, &c., but *mordicus contradicere, et ore et scriptis probare nitebatur;* no saying would serve, it was no wind, but real frogs; "and do you not hear them croak?" Platerus would have deceived him, by putting live frogs into his excrements; but he, being a physician himself, would not be deceived, *vir prudens aliàs, et doctus*, a wise and learned man otherwise, a doctor of physic, and after seven years' dotage in this kind, *à phantasia liberatus est*, he was cured. Laurentius and Goulart have many such examples, if you be desirous to read them. One commodity above the rest which are melancholy, these windy flatuous have, *lucida intervalla*, their symptoms and pains are not usually so continuate as the rest, but come by fits, fear and sorrow, and the rest; yet in another they exceed all others; and that is, [1] they are luxurious, incontinent, and prone to venery, by reason of wind, *et facile amant, et quamlibet fere amant.* (Jason Pratensis.) [2] Rhasis is of opinion, that Venus doth many of them much good; the other symptoms of the mind be common with the rest.

Subsect. III.—*Symptoms of Melancholy abounding in the whole body.*

Their bodies that are affected with this universal melancholy are most part black, [3] "the melancholy juice is redundant all over," hirsute they are, and lean, they have broad veins, their blood is gross and thick. [4] "Their spleen is weak," and a liver apt to engender the humour; they have kept bad diet, or have had some evacuation stopped, as hæmorrhoids, or months in women, which [5] Trallianus, in the cure, would have carefully to be inquired, and withal to observe of what complexion the party is of, black or red. For as Forrestus and Hollerius contend, if [6] they be black, it pro-

[1] Hypochondriaci maxime affectant coire, et multiplicatur coitus in ipsis, eò quod ventositates multiplicantur in hypochondriis, et coitus sæpe allevat has ventositates. [2] Cont. lib. 1, tract. 9. [3] Wecker, Melancholicus succus toto corpore redundans. [4] Splen natura imbecilior. Montaltus, cap. 22. [5] Lib. 1, cap. 16. Interrogare convenit, an aliqua evacuationis retentio obvenerit, viri in hæmorrhoid. mulierum menstruis, et vide faciem similiter an sit rubicunda. [6] Naturales nigri acquisiti à toto corpore, sæpe rubicundi.

ceeds from abundance of natural melancholy; if it proceed from cares, agony, discontents, diet, exercise, &c., they may be as well of any other colour; red, yellow, pale, as black, and yet their whole blood corrupt: *prærubri colore sæpe sunt tales, sæpe flavi*, (saith [1] Montaltus, cap. 22.) The best way to discern this species, is to let them bleed, if the blood be corrupt, thick, and black, and they withal free from those hypochondriacal symptoms, and not so grievously troubled with them, or those of the head, it argues they are melancholy, *à toto corpore*. The fumes which arise from this corrupt blood, disturb the mind, and make them fearful and sorrowful, heavy hearted as the rest, dejected, discontented, solitary, silent, weary of their lives, dull and heavy, or merry, &c., and if far gone, that which Apuleius wished to his enemy, by way of imprecation, is true in them; [2] "Dead men's bones, hobgoblins, ghosts, are ever in their minds, and meet them still in every turn; all the bugbears of the night, and terrors, fairy-babes of tombs, and graves are before their eyes, and in their thoughts, as to women and children, if they be in the dark alone." If they hear, or read, or see any tragical object, it sticks by them, they are afraid of death, and yet weary of their lives, in their discontented humours they quarrel with all the world, bitterly inveigh, tax satirically, and because they cannot otherwise vent their passions or redress what is amiss, as they mean, they will by violent death at last be revenged on themselves.

Subsect. IV.—*Symptoms of Maids, Nuns, and Widows' Melancholy.*

Because Lodovicus Mercatus, in his second book *de mulier. affect. cap.* 4, and Rodericus à Castro, *de morb. mulier. cap.* 3, *lib.* 2, two famous physicians in Spain, Daniel Sennertus of Wittenberg, *lib.* 1, *part.* 2, *cap.* 13, with others,

[1] Montaltus, cap. 22. Piso. Ex colore sanguinis si minuas venam, si fluat niger, &c. [2] Apul. lib. 1, semper obviæ species mortuorum quicquid umbrarum est uspiam, quicquid lemurum et larvarum oculis suis aggerunt, sibi fingunt omnia noctium occursacula, omnia bustorum formidamina, omnia sepulchrorum terriculamenta.

have vouchsafed in their works, not long since published, to write two just treatises *de Melancholiâ Virginum, Monialium et Viduarum*, as a particular species of melancholy (which I have already specified) distinct from the rest; ([1] for it much differs from that which commonly befalls men and other women, as having one only cause proper to women alone) I may not omit in this general survey of melancholy symptoms, to set down the particular signs of such parties so misaffected.

The causes are assigned out of Hippocrates, Cleopatra, Moschion, and those old *Gynæciorum Scriptores*, of this feral malady, in more ancient maids, widows, and barren women, *ob septum transversum violatum*, saith Mercatus, by reason of the midriff or *Diaphragma*, heart and brain offended with those vicious vapours which come from menstruous blood, *inflammationem arteriæ circa dorsum*, Rodericus adds, an inflammation of the back, which with the rest is offended by [2] that fuliginous exhalation of corrupt seed, troubling the brain, heart, and mind; the brain, I say, not in essence, but by consent, *Universa enim hujus affectûs causa ab utero pendet, et à sanguinis menstrui malitia*, for in a word, the whole malady proceeds from that inflammation, putridity, black smoky vapours, &c., from thence comes care, sorrow, and anxiety, obfuscation of spirits, agony, desperation, and the like, which are intended or remitted; *si amatorius accesserit ardor*, or any other violent object or perturbation of mind. This melancholy may happen to widows, with much care and sorrow, as frequently it doth, by reason of a sudden alteration of their accustomed course of life, &c. To such as lie in childbed *ob suppressam purgationem;* but to nuns and more ancient maids, and some barren women for the causes aforesaid, 'tis more familiar, *crebriùs his quam reliquis accidit, inquit Rodericus*, the rest are not altogether excluded.

[1] Differt enim ab ea quæ viris et reliquis feminis communiter contingit, propriam habens causam. [2] Ex menstrui sanguinis tetra ad cor et cerebrum exhalatione, vitiatum semen mentem perturbat, &c., non per essentiam, sed per consensum. Animus mœrens et anxius inde malum trahit, et spiritus cerebrum obfuscantur, quæ cuncta augentur, &c.

Out of these causes Rodericus defines it with Areteus, to be *angorem animi*, a vexation of the mind, a sudden sorrow from a small, light, or no occasion, [1] with a kind of still dotage and grief of some part or other, head, heart, breasts, sides, back, belly, &c., with much solitariness, weeping, distraction, &c., from which they are sometimes suddenly delivered, because it comes and goes by fits, and is not so permanent as other melancholy.

But to leave this brief description, the most ordinary symptoms be these, *pulsatio juxta dorsum*, a beating about the back, which is almost perpetual, the skin is many times rough, squalid, especially, as Areteus observes, about the arms, knees, and knuckles. The midriff and heart-strings do burn and beat very fearfully, and when this vapour or fume is stirred, flieth upward, the heart itself beats, is sore grieved, and faints, *fauces, siccitate præcluduntur, ut difficulter possit ab uteri strangulatione decerni*, like fits of the mother, *Alvus plerisque nil reddit, aliis exiguum, acre, biliosum, lotium flavum.* They complain many times, saith Mercatus, of a great pain in their heads, about their hearts, and hypochondries, and so likewise in their breasts, which are often sore, sometimes ready to swoon, their faces are inflamed, and red, they are dry, thirsty, suddenly hot, much troubled with wind, cannot sleep, &c. And from hence proceed *ferina deliramenta*, a brutish kind of dotage, troublesome sleep, terrible dreams in the night, *subrusticus pudor et verecundia ignava*, a foolish kind of bashfulness to some, perverse conceits and opinions, [2] dejection of mind, much discontent, preposterous judgment. They are apt to loathe, dislike, disdain, to be weary of every object, &c., each thing almost is tedious to them, they pine away, void of counsel, apt to weep, and tremble, timorous,

[1] Cum tacito delirio ac dolore alicujus partis internæ, dorsi, hypochondrii, cordis regionem et universam mammam interdum occupantis, &c. Cutis aliquando squalida, aspera, rugosa, præcipue cubitis, genibus, et digitorum articulis, præcordia ingenti sæpe torrore æstuant et pulsant, cumque vapor excitatus sursum evolat, cor palpitat aut premitur, animus deficit, &c. [2] Animi dejectio, perversa rerum existimatio, præposterum judicium. Fastidiosæ, languentes, tædiosæ, consilii inopes, lachrymosæ, timentes, mœstæ, cum summa rerum meliorum desperatione, nulla re delectantur, solitudinem amant, &c.

fearful, sad, and out of all hope of better fortunes. They take delight in nothing for the time, but love to be alone and solitary, though that do them more harm; and thus they are affected so long as this vapour lasteth; but by and by as pleasant and merry as ever they were in their lives, they sing, discourse, and laugh in any good company, upon all occasions, and so by fits it takes them now and then, except the malady be inveterate, and then 'tis more frequent, vehement, and continuate. Many of them cannot tell how to express themselves in words, or how it holds them, what ails them, you cannot understand them, or well tell what to make of their sayings; so far gone sometimes, so stupefied and distracted, they think themselves bewitched, they are in despair, *aptæ ad fletum, desperationem, dolores mammis et hypochondriis.* Mercatus therefore adds, now their breasts, now their hypochondries, belly and sides, then their heart and head aches, now heat, then wind, now this, now that offends, they are weary of all; [1] and yet will not, cannot again tell how, where or what offends them, though they be in great pain, agony, and frequently complain, grieving, sighing, weeping, and discontented still, *sine causâ manifestâ*, most part, yet I say they will complain, grudge, lament, and not be persuaded, but that they are troubled with an evil spirit, which is frequent in Germany, saith Rodericus, amongst the common sort; and to such as are most grievously affected (for he makes three degrees of this disease in women), they are in despair, surely forespoken or bewitched, and in extremity of their dotage (weary of their lives), some of them will attempt to make away themselves. Some think they see visions, confer with spirit sand devils, they shall surely be damned, are afraid of some treachery, imminent danger, and the like, they will not speak, make answer to any question, but are almost distracted, mad, or stupid for the time, and by fits; and thus

[1] Nolunt aperire molestiam quam patiuntur, sed conqueruntur tamen de capite, corde, mammis, &c. In puteos fere maniaci prosilire, ac strangulari cupiunt, nulla orationis suavitate ad spem salutis recuperandam erigi, &c. Familiares non curant, non loquuntur, non respondent, &c., et hæc graviora, si, &c.

it holds them, as they are more or less affected, and as the inner humour is intended or remitted, or by outward objects and perturbations aggravated, solitariness, idleness, &c.

Many other maladies there are incident to young women, out of that one and only cause above specified, many feral diseases. I will not so much as mention their names, melancholy alone is the subject of my present discourse, from which I will not swerve. The several cures of this infirmity, concerning diet, which must be very sparing, phlebotomy, physic, internal, external remedies, are at large in great variety in [1] Rodericus à Castro, Sennertus, and Mercatus, which whoso will, as occasion serves, may make use of. But the best and surest remedy of all, is to see them well placed, and married to good husbands in due time, *hinc illæ lachrymæ*, that is the primary cause, and this the ready cure, to give them content to their desires. I write not this to patronize any wanton, idle flirt, lascivious or light housewives, which are too forward many times, unruly, and apt to cast away themselves on him that comes next, without all care, counsel, circumspection, and judgment. If religion, good discipline, honest education, wholesome exhortation, fair promises, fame and loss of good name, cannot inhibit and deter such (which to chaste and sober maids cannot choose but avail much), labour and exercise, strict diet, rigour and threats, may more opportunely be used, and are able of themselves to qualify and divert an ill-disposed temperament. For seldom should you see an hired servant, a poor handmaid, though ancient, that is kept hard to her work, and bodily labour, a coarse country wench troubled in this kind, but noble virgins, nice gentlewomen, such as are solitary and idle, live at ease, lead a life out of action and employment, that fare well, in great houses and jovial companies, ill disposed peradventure of themselves, and not willing to make any resistance, discontented otherwise, of weak judgment, able bodies, and subject to passions, (*grandiores virgines*, saith Mercatus, *steriles et*

[1] Clisteres et Helleborismum Mathioli summè laudat.

viduæ plerumque melancholicæ,) such for the most part are misaffected, and prone to this disease. I do not so much pity them that may otherwise be eased, but those alone that out of a strong temperament, innate constitution, are violently carried away with this torrent of inward humours, and though very modest of themselves, sober, religious, virtuous, and well given (as many so distressed maids are), yet cannot make resistance, these grievances will appear, this malady will take place, and now manifestly show itself, and may not otherwise be helped. But where am I? Into what subject have I rushed? What have I to do with nuns, maids, virgins, widows? I am a bachelor myself, and lead a monastic life in a college, *næ ego sane ineptus qui hæc dixerim*, I confess, 'tis an *indecorum*, and as Pallas a virgin blushed, when Jupiter by chance spake of love matters in her presence, and turned away her face; *me reprimam*, though my subject necessarily require it, I will say no more.

And yet I must and will say something more, add a word or two *in gratiam Virginum et Viduarum*, in favour of all such distressed parties, in commiseration of their present estate. And as I cannot choose but condole their mishap that labour of this infirmity, and are destitute of help in this case, so must I needs inveigh against them that are in fault, more than manifest causes, and as bitterly tax those tyrannizing pseudo-politicians' superstitious orders, rash vows, hard-hearted parents, guardians, unnatural friends, allies (call them how you will), those careless and stupid overseers, that out of worldly respects, covetousness, supine negligence, their own private ends (*cum sibi sit interim benè*) can so severely reject, stubbornly neglect, and impiously contemn, without all remorse and pity, the tears, sighs, groans, and grievous miseries of such poor souls committed to their charge. How odious and abominable are those superstitious and rash vows of Popish monasteries! so to bind and enforce men and women to vow virginity, to lead a single life, against the laws of nature, opposite to religion, policy, and humanity, so to

SAN FRANCISCO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY SAN ANSELMO MARIN CO. CALIF.

starve, to offer violence, to suppress the vigour of youth by rigorous statutes, severe laws, vain persuasions, to debar them of that to which by their innate temperature they are so furiously inclined, urgently carried, and sometimes precipitated, even irresistibly led, to the prejudice of their soul's health, and good estate of body and mind; and all for base and private respects, to maintain their gross superstition, to enrich themselves and their territories, as they falsely suppose, by hindering some marriages, that the world be not full of beggars, and their parishes pestered with orphans; stupid politicians, *hæccine fieri flagitia?* ought these things so to be carried? better marry than burn, saith the Apostle, but they are otherwise persuaded. They will by all means quench their neighbour's house if be on fire, but that fire of lust which breaks out into such lamentable flames, they will not take notice of, their own bowels oftentimes, flesh and blood shall so rage and burn, and they will not see it: *miserum est*, saith Austin, *seipsum non miserescere*, and they are miserable in the mean time that cannot pity themselves, the common good of all, and *per consequens* their own estates. For let them but consider what fearful maladies, feral diseases, gross inconveniences, come to both sexes by this enforced temperance, it troubles me to think of, much more to relate those frequent abortions and murdering of infants in their nunneries (read [1] Kemnitius and others), their notorious fornications, those Spintrias, Tribadas, Ambubeias, &c., those rapes, incests, adulteries, mastuprations, sodomies, buggeries of monks and friars. See Bale's visitation of abbeys, [2] Mercurialis, Rodericus à Castro, Peter Forestus, and divers physicians; I know their ordinary apologies and excuses for these things, *sed viderint Politici, Medici, Theologi*, I shall more opportunely meet with them [3] elsewhere.

> [4] "Illius viduæ, aut patronum Virginis hujus,
> Ne me forte putes, verbum non amplius addam."

[1] Examen conc. Trident. de cælibatu sacerd. [2] Cap. de Satyr. et Priapis. [3] Part. 3, sect. 2, Memb. 5, Sub. 5. [4] "Lest you may imagine that I patronize that widow or this virgin, I shall not add another word."

MEMB. III.

Immediate Cause of these precedent Symptoms.

To give some satisfaction to melancholy men that are troubled with these symptoms, a better means in my judgment cannot be taken, than to show them the causes whence they proceed; not from devils as they suppose, or that they are bewitched or forsaken of God, hear or see, &c., as many of them think, but from natural and inward causes, that so knowing them, they may better avoid the effects, or at least endure them with more patience. The most grievous and common symptoms are fear and sorrow, and that without a cause to the wisest and discreetest men, in this malady not to be avoided. The reason why they are so Ætius discusseth at large, *Tetrabib.* 2, 2, in his first problem out of Galen, *lib.* 2, *de causis sympt.* 1. For Galen imputeth all to the cold that is black, and thinks that the spirits being darkened, and the substance of the brain cloudy and dark, all the objects thereof appear terrible, and the [1] mind itself, by those dark, obscure, gross fumes, ascending from black humours, is in continual darkness, fear, and sorrow; divers terrible monstrous fictions in a thousand shapes and apparitions occur, with violent passions, by which the brain and fantasy are troubled and eclipsed. [2] Fracastorius, *lib.* 2, *de intellect.* "will have cold to be the cause of fear and sorrow; for such as are cold are ill-disposed to mirth, dull, and heavy, by nature solitary, silent; and not for any inward darkness (as physicians think) for many melancholy men dare boldly be, continue, and walk in the dark, and delight in it:" *solùm frigidi timidi:* if they be hot, they are merry; and the more hot, the more furious, and void of fear, as we see in madmen;

[1] Vapores crassi et nigri, à ventriculo in cerebrum exhalant. Fel. Platerus.
[2] Calidi hilares, frigidi indispositi ad lætitiam, et ideo solitarii, taciturni, non ob tenebras internas, ut medici volunt, sed ob frigus: multi melancholici nocte ambulant intrepidi.

but this reason holds not, for then no melancholy, proceeding from choler adust, should fear. [1] Averroes scoffs at Galen for his reasons, and brings five arguments to repel them; so doth Herc. de Saxoniâ, *Tract. de Melanch. cap.* 3, assigning other causes, which are copiously censured and confuted by Ælianus Montaltus, *cap.* 5 and 6, Lod. Mercatus *de Inter. morb. cur. lib.* 1, *cap.* 17, Altomarus, *cap.* 7, *de mel.*, Guianerius, *tract.* 15, *cap.* 1, Bright, *cap.* 37, Laurentius, *cap.* 5, Valesius, *med. cont. lib.* 5, *con.* 1. [2] "Distemperature," they conclude, "makes black juice, blackness obscures the spirits, the spirits obscured, cause fear and sorrow." Laurentius, *cap.* 13, supposeth these black fumes offend specially the diaphragma or midriff, and so *per consequens* the mind, which is obscured as [3] the sun by a cloud. To this opinion of Galen, almost all the Greeks and Arabians subscribe, the Latins new and old, *internæ tenebræ offuscant animum, ut externæ nocent pueris*, as children are affrighted in the dark, so are melancholy men at all times, [4] as having the inward cause with them, and still carrying it about. Which black vapours, whether they proceed from the black blood about the heart, as T. W. Jes. thinks in his Treatise of the passions of the mind, or stomach, spleen, midriff, or all the misaffected parts together, it boots not, they keep the mind in a perpetual dungeon, and oppress it with continual fears, anxieties, sorrows, &c. It is an ordinary thing for such as are sound to laugh at this dejected pusillanimity, and those other symptoms of melancholy, to make themselves merry with them, and to wonder at such, as toys and trifles, which may be resisted and withstood, if they will themselves; but let him that so wonders, consider with himself, that if a man should tell him on a sudden, some of his especial friends were dead, could he choose but grieve? Or set him upon a steep rock, where he should be in danger to be precipitated, could he be secure?

[1] Vapores melancholici, spiritibus misti, tenebrarum causæ sunt, cap. 1. [2] Intemperies facit succum nigrum, nigrities obscurat spiritum, obscuratio spiritûs facit metum et tristitiam. [3] Ut nubecula Solem offuscat. Constantinus, lib. de melanch. [4] Altomarus, c. 7. Causam timoris circumfert ater humor passionis materia, et atri spiritus perpetuam animæ domicilio offundunt noctem.

His heart would tremble for fear, and his head be giddy. P. Byarus, *Tract. de pest.* gives instance (as I have said) [1] "and put case (saith he) in one that walks upon a plank, if it lie on the ground, he can safely do it; but if the same plank be laid over some deep water, instead of a bridge, he is vehemently moved, and 'tis nothing but his imagination, *forma cadendi impressa*, to which his other members and faculties obey." Yea, but you infer, that such men have a just cause to fear, a true object of fear; so have melancholy men an inward cause, a perpetual fume and darkness, causing fear, grief, suspicion, which they carry with them, an object which cannot be removed; but sticks as close, and is as inseparable as a shadow to a body, and who can expel or overrun his shadow? Remove heat of the liver, a cold stomach, weak spleen; remove those adust humours and vapours arising from them, black blood from the heart, all outward perturbations, take away the cause, and then bid them not grieve nor fear, or be heavy, dull, lumpish, otherwise counsel can do little good; you may as well bid him that is sick of an ague not to be a-dry; or him that is wounded not to feel pain.

Suspicion follows fear and sorrow at heels, arising out of the same fountain, so thinks [2] Fracastorius, "that fear is the cause of suspicion, and still they suspect some treachery, or some secret machination to be framed against them, still they distrust." Restlessness proceeds from the same spring, variety of fumes make them like and dislike. Solitariness, avoiding of light, that they are weary of their lives, hate the world, arise from the same causes, for their spirits and humours are opposite to light, fear makes them avoid company, and absent themselves, lest they should be misused, hissed at, or overshoot themselves, which still they suspect. They are prone to venery by reason of wind. Angry, waspish, and fretting

[1] Pone exemplum, quod quis potest ambulare super trabem quæ est in via: sed si sit super aquam profundam, loco pontis, non ambulabit super eam, eo quod imaginetur in animo et timet vehementer, forma cadendi impressa, cui obediunt membra omnia, et facultates reliquæ. [2] Lib. 2, de intellectione. Suspiciosi ob timorem et obliquum discursum, et semper inde putant sibi fieri insidias. Lauren. 5.

still, out of abundance of choler, which causeth fearful dreams and violent perturbations to them, both sleeping and waking; That they suppose they have no heads, fly, sink, they are pots, glasses, &c., is wind in their heads. [1] Herc. de Saxoniâ doth ascribe this to the several motions in the animal spirits, "their dilation, contraction, confusion, alteration, tenebrosity, hot or cold distemperature," excluding all material humours. [2] Fracastorius "accounts it a thing worthy of inquisition, why they should entertain such false conceits, as that they have horns, great noses, that they are birds, beasts," &c., why they should think themselves kings, lords, cardinals. For the first, [3] Fracastorius gives two reasons: "One is the disposition of the body; the other, the occasion of the fantasy," as if their eyes be purblind, their ears sing, by reason of some cold and rheum, &c. To the second, Laurentius answers, the imagination inwardly or outwardly moved, represents to the understanding, not enticements only, to favour the passion or dislike, but a very intensive pleasure follows the passion or displeasure, and the will and reason are captivated by delighting in it.

Why students and lovers are so often melancholy and mad, the philosopher of [4] Conimbra assigns this reason, "because by a vehement and continual meditation of that wherewith they are affected, they fetch up the spirits into the brain, and with the heat brought with them, they incend it beyond measure; and the cells of the inner senses dissolve their temperature, which being dissolved, they cannot perform their offices as they ought."

Why melancholy men are witty, which Aristotle hath long since maintained in his problems; and that [5] all learned men, famous philosophers, and lawgivers, *ad unum ferè omnes melancholici*, have still been melancholy, is a problem much

[1] Tract. de mel. cap. 7. Ex dilatione, contractione, confusione, tenebrositate spirituum, calida, frigida intemperie, &c. [2] Illud inquisitione dignum, cur tam falsa rec piant, habere se cornua, esse mortuos, nasutos, esse aves, &c. [3] 1. Dispositio corporis. 2. Occasio Imaginationis. [4] In pro. li. de cœlo. Vehemens et assidua cogitatio rei erga quam afficitur, spiritus in cerebrum evocat. [5] Melancholici ingeniosi omnes, summi viri in artibus et disciplinis, sive circum imperatoriam aut reip. disciplinam omnes fere melancholici. Aristoteles.

controverted. Jason Pratensis will have it understood of natural melancholy, which opinion Melancthon inclines to, in his book *de Anima*, and Marsilius Ficinus, *de san. tuend. lib.* 1, *cap.* 5, but not simple, for that makes men stupid, heavy, dull, being cold and dry, fearful, fools, and solitary, but mixed with the other humours, phlegm only excepted; and they not adust, [1] but so mixed as that blood be half, with little or no adustion, that they be neither too hot nor too cold. Apponensis, cited by Melancthon, thinks it proceeds from melancholy adust, excluding all natural melancholy as too cold. Laurentius condemns his tenet, because adustion of humours makes men mad, as lime burns when water is cast on it. It must be mixed with blood, and somewhat adust, and so that old aphorism of Aristotle may be verified, *Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixturâ dementiæ*, no excellent wit without a mixture of madness. Fracastorius shall decide the controversy, [2] "phlegmatic are dull; sanguine lively, pleasant, acceptable, and merry, but not witty; choleric are too swift in motion, and furious, impatient of contemplation, deceitful wits; melancholy men have the most excellent wits, but not all; this humour may he hot or cold, thick or thin; if too hot, they are furious and mad; if too cold, dull, stupid, timorous, and sad; if temperate, excellent, rather inclining to that extreme of heat, than cold." This sentence of his will agree with that of Heraclitus, a dry light makes a wise mind, temperate heat and dryness are the chief causes of a good wit; therefore, saith Ælian, an elephant is the wisest of all brute beasts, because his brain is driest, *et ob atræ bilis copiam;* this reason Cardan approves, *subtil. l.* 12. Jo. Baptista Silvaticus, a physician of Milan, in his first controversy, hath copiously handled this question; Rulandus in his problems, Cælius Rhodiginus, *lib.* 17, Valleriola, 6^to^ *narrat. med.*, Herc. de Saxoniâ, *Tract. posth. de mel. cap.* 3, Lodo-

[1] Adeo misceantur, ut sit duplum sanguinis ad reliqua duo. [2] Lib. 2, de intellectione. Pingui sunt Minerva phlegmatici: sanguinei amabiles, grati, hilares, at non ingeniosi; cholerici celeres motu, et ob id contemplationis impatientes: Melancholici solum excellentes, &c.

vicus Mercatus, *de Inter. morb. cur. lib.* 1, *cap.* 17, Baptista Porta, *Physiog. lib.* 1, *c.* 13, and many others.

Weeping, sighing, laughing, itching, trembling, sweating, blushing, hearing and seeing strange noises, visions, wind, crudity, are motions of the body, depending upon these precedent motions of the mind; neither are tears, affections, but actions (as Scaliger holds) [1] "the voice of such as are afraid, trembles, because the heart is shaken," (*Conimb. prob.* 6, *sec.* 3, *de som.*) why they stutter or falter in their speech, Mercurialis and Montaltus, *cap.* 17, give like reasons out of Hippocrates, [2] "dryness, which makes the nerves of the tongue torpid." Fast speaking (which is a symptom of some few) Ætius will have caused [3] "from abundance of wind, and swiftness of imagination; [4] baldness comes from excess of dryness," hirsuteness from a dry temperature. The cause of much waking in a dry brain, continual meditation, discontent, fears and cares, that suffer not the mind to be at rest, incontinency is from wind, and a hot liver, Montanus, *cons.* 26. Rumbling in the guts is caused from wind, and wind from ill concoction, weakness of natural heat, or a distempered heat and cold; [5] Palpitation of the heart from vapours, heaviness and aching from the same cause. That the belly is hard, wind is a cause, and of that leaping in many parts. Redness of the face, and itching, as if they were flea-bitten, or stung with pismires, from a sharp subtile wind. [6] Cold sweat from vapours arising from the hypochondries, which pitch upon the skin; leanness for want of good nourishment. Why their appetite is so great, [7] Ætius answers: *Os ventris frigescit*, cold in those inner parts, cold belly, and hot liver, causeth crudity, and intention proceeds from perturbations, [8] our souls for want of spirits cannot attend exactly to so many intentive operations, being exhaust, and overswayed by passion, she cannot consider the reasons which may dissuade her from such affections.

[1] Trepidantium vox tremula, quia cor quatitur. [2] Ob ariditatem quæ reddit nervos linguæ torpidos. [3] Incontinentia linguæ ex copia flatuum, et velocitate imaginationis. [4] Calvities ob siccitatis excessum. [5] Ætius. [6] Lauren. c. 13. [7] Tetrab. 2, ser. 2, cap. 10. [8] Ant. Lodovicus, prob lib. 1, sect. 5, de atrabilariis.

[1] Bashfulness and blushing is a passion proper to men alone, and is not only caused for [2] some shame and ignominy, or that they are guilty unto themselves of some foul fact committed, but as [3] Fracastorius well determines, *ob defectum proprium, et timorem*, "from fear, and a conceit of our defects; the face labours and is troubled at his presence that sees our defects, and nature, willing to help, sends thither heat, heat draws the subtilest blood, and so we blush. They that are bold, arrogant, and careless, seldom or never blush, but such as are fearful." Anthonius Lodovicus, in his book *de pudore*, will have this subtile blood to arise in the face, not so much for the reverence of our betters in presence, [4] "but for joy and pleasure, or if anything at unawares shall pass from us, a sudden accident, occurse, or meeting;" (which Disarius in [5] Macrobius confirms) any object heard or seen, for blind men never blush, as Dandinus observes, the night and darkness make men impudent. Or that we be staid before our betters, or in company we like not, or if anything molest and offend us, *erubescentia* turns to *rubor*, blushing to a continuate redness. [6] Sometimes the extremity of the ears tingle, and are red, sometimes the whole face, *Etsi nihil vitiosum commiseris*, as Lodovicus holds; though Aristotle is of opinion, *omnis pudor ex vitio commisso*, all shame for some offence. But we find otherwise, it may as well proceed [7] from fear, from force and inexperience (so [8] Dandinus holds), as vice; a hot liver, saith Duretus, (*notis in Hollerium:*) "from a hot brain, from wind, the lungs heated, or after drinking of wine, strong drink, perturbations," &c.

"Laughter, what it is," saith [9] Tully, "how caused, where,

[1] Subrusticus pudor vitiosus pudor. [2] Ob ignominiam aut turpitudinem facti, &c. [3] De symp. et Antip. cap. 12, laborat facies ob præsentiam ejus qui defectum nostrum videt, et natura quasi opem latura calorem illuc mittit, calor sanguinem trahit, unde rubor, audaces non rubent, &c. [4] Ob gaudium et voluptatem foras exit sanguis, aut ob melioris reverentiam, aut ob subitum occursum, aut si quid incautius exciderit. [5] Com. in Arist. de anima. Cœci ut plurimum impudentes, nox facit impudentes. [6] Alexander Aphrodisiensis makes all bashfulness a virtue, eamque se refert in seipso experiri solitum, etsi esset admodum senex. [7] Sæpe post cibum apti ad ruborem, ex potu vini, ex timore sæpe et ab hepate calido, cerebro calido, &c. [8] Com. in Arist. de anima, tam à vi et inexperentia quam à vitio. [9] 2, De oratore. Quid ipse risus, quo pacto concitatur, ubi sit, &c.

and so suddenly breaks out, that desirous to stay it, we cannot, how it comes to possess and stir our face, veins, eyes, countenance, mouth, sides, let Democritus determine." The cause that it often affects melancholy men so much, is given by Gomesius, *lib.* 3, *de sale genial. cap.* 18, abundance of pleasant vapours, which, in sanguine melancholy especially, break from the heart, [1] " and tickle the midriff, because it is transverse and full of nerves; by which titillation, the sense being moved, and arteries distended or pulled, the spirits from thence move and possess the sides, veins, countenance, eyes." See more in *Jossius, de risu et fletu, Vives*, 3, *de Animâ.* Tears, as Scaliger defines, proceed from grief and pity, [2] " or from the heating of a moist brain, for a dry cannot weep."

That they see and hear so many phantasms, chimeras, noises, visions, &c., as Ficnus hath discoursed at large in his book of imagination, and [3] Lavater, *de spectris, part.* 1, *cap.* 2, 3, 4, their corrupt fantasy makes them see and hear that which indeed is neither heard nor seen, *Qui multum jejunant, aut noctes ducunt insomnes*, they that much fast, or want sleep, as melancholy or sick men commonly do, see visions, or such as are weak-sighted, very timorous by nature, mad, distracted, or earnestly seek. *Sabini quod volunt somniant*, as the saying is, they dream of that they desire. Like Sarmiento the Spaniard, who when he was sent to discover the straits of Magellan, and confine places, by the Prorex of Peru, standing on the top of a hill, *Amœnissimam planitiem despicere sibi visus fuit, ædificia magnifica, quamplurimos Pagos, altas Turres, splendida Templa*, and brave cities, built like ours in Europe, not, saith mine [4] author, that there was any such thing, but that he was *vanissimus et nimis credulus*, and would fain have had it so. Or as [5] Lod. Mercatus proves, by reason of inward vapours, and humours from blood, choler,

[1] Diaphragma titillant, quia transversum et nervosum, qua titillatione moto sensu atque arteriis distentis, spiritus inde latera, venas, os, oculos occupant.
[2] Ex calefactione humidi cerebri: nam ex sicco lachrymæ non fluunt.
[3] Res mirandas imaginantur: et putant se videre quæ nec vident, nec audiunt.
[4] Laet. lib. 13, cap. 2, descript. Indiæ Occident.
[5] Lib. 1, ca. 17, cap. de mel.

&c., diversely mixed, they apprehend and see outwardly, as they suppose, divers images, which indeed are not. As they that drink wine think all runs round, when it is in their own brain; so is it with these men, the fault and cause is inward, as Galen affirms, [1] mad men and such as are near death, *quas extra se videre putant Imagines, intra oculos habent*, 'tis in their brain, which seems to be before them; the brain as a concave glass reflects solid bodies. *Senes etiam decrepiti cerebrum habent concavum et aridum, ut imaginentur se videre* (saith [2] Boissardus) *quæ non sunt*, old men are too frequently mistaken and dote in like case; or as he that looketh through a piece of red glass, judgeth everything he sees to be red; corrupt vapours mounting from the body to the head, and distilling again from thence to the eyes, when they have mingled themselves with the watery crystal which receiveth the shadows of things to be seen, make all things appear of the same colour, which remains in the humour that overspreads our sight, as to melancholy men all is black, to phlegmatic all white, &c. Or else as before the organs, corrupt by a corrupt fantasy, as Lemnius, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 16, well quotes, [3] "cause a great agitation of spirits, and humours, which wander to and fro in all the creeks of the brain, and cause such apparitions before their eyes." One thinks he reads something written in the moon, as Pythagoras is said to have done of old, another smells brimstone, hears Cerberus bark; Orestes now mad supposed he saw the furies tormenting him, and his mother still ready to run upon him—

> "O mater obsecro noli me persequi
> His furiis, aspectu anguineis, horribilibus,
> Ecce ecce me invadunt, in me jam ruunt;" [4]

but Electra told him thus raving in his mad fit, he saw no such sights at all, it was but his crazed imagination.

[1] Insani, et qui morti vicini sunt, res quas extra se videre putant, intra oculos habent. [2] Cap. 10, de Spirit. apparitione. [3] De occult. Nat. mirac. [4] "O mother! I beseech you not to persecute me with those horrible-looking furies. See! see! they attack, they assault me!"

" Quiesce, quiesce miser in linteis tuis,
Non cernis etenim quæ videre te putas." [1]

So Pentheus (in Bacchis Euripidis) saw two suns, two Thebes, his brain alone was troubled. Sickness is an ordinary cause of such sights. Cardan, *subtil.* 8. *Mens ægra laboribus et jejuniis fracta, facit eos videre, audire, &c.* And. Osiander beheld strange visions, and Alexander ab Alexandro both, in their sickness, which he relates *de rerum varietat. lib.* 8, *cap.* 44. Albategnius, that noble Arabian, on his death-bed, saw a ship ascending and descending, which Fracastorius records of his friend Baptista Tirrianus. Weak sight and a vain persuasion withal, may effect as much, and second causes concurring, as an oar in water makes a refraction, and seems bigger, bended, double, &c. The thickness of the air may cause such effects, or any object not well discerned in the dark, fear and fantasy will suspect to be a ghost, a devil, &c. [2] *Quod nimis miseri timent, hoc facilè credunt*, we are apt to believe, and mistake in such cases. Marcellus Donatus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 1, brings in a story out of Aristotle, of one Antepharon which likely saw, wheresoever he was, his own image in the air, as in a glass. Vitellio, *lib.* 10, *perspect.* hath such another instance of a familiar acquaintance of his, that after the want of three or four nights' sleep, as he was riding by a river side, saw another riding with him, and using all such gestures as he did, but when more light appeared, it vanished. Eremites and anchorites have frequently such absurd visions, revelations by reason of much fasting, and bad diet, many are deceived by leger-demain, as Scot hath well showed in his book of the discovery of witchcraft, and Cardan, *subtil.* 18, suffites, perfumes, suffumigations, mixed candles, perspective glasses, and such natural causes, make men look as if they were dead, or with horse-heads, bulls'-horns, and such like brutish shapes, the room full of snakes, adders, dark, light, green, red, of all

[1] "Peace! peace! unhappy being, for you do not see what you think you see."

[2] Seneca. Quod metuunt nimis, nunquam amoveri posse, nec tolli putant.

colours, as you may perceive in Baptista Porta, Alexis, Albertus, and others, glow-worms, fire-drakes, meteors, *Ignis fatuus*, which Plinius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 37, calls Castor and Pollux, with many such that appear in moorish grounds, about churchyards, moist valleys, or where battles have been fought, the causes of which read in Goclenius, Velourius, Finkius, &c., such fears are often done, to frighten children with squibs, rotten wood, &c., to make folks look as if they were dead, [1] *solito majores*, bigger, lesser, fairer, fouler, *ut astantes sine capitibus videantur; aut toti igniti, aut forma dæmonum, accipe pilos canis nigri, &c.*, saith Albertus; and so 'tis ordinary to see strange uncouth sights by catoptrics; who knows not that if in a dark room, the light be admitted at one only little hole, and a paper or glass put upon it, the sun shining, will represent on the opposite wall all such objects as are illuminated by his rays? with concave and cylinder glasses, we may reflect any shape of men, devils, antics (as magicians most part do, to gull a silly spectator in a dark room), we will ourselves, and that hanging in the air, when 'tis nothing but such an horrible image as [2] Agrippa demonstrates, placed in another room. Roger Bacon of old is said to have represented his own image walking in the air by this art, though no such thing appear in his perspectives. But most part it is in the brain that deceives them, although I may not deny, but that oftentimes the devil deludes them, takes his opportunity to suggest, and represent vain objects to melancholy men, and such as are ill-affected. To these you may add the knavish impostures of jugglers, exorcists, mass-priests, and mountebanks, of whom Roger Bacon speaks, &c., *de miraculis naturæ et artis*, *cap.* 1, [3] they can counterfeit the voices of all birds, and brute beasts almost, all tones and tunes of men, and speak within their throats, as if they

[1] Sanguis upupæ cum melle compositus et centaurea, &c. Albertus. [2] Lib. 1, occult. philos. Imperiti homines dæmonum et umbrarum imagines videre se putant, quum nihil sint aliud, quam simulachra animæ expertia. [3] Pythonissæ vocum varietatem in ventre et gutture fingentes, formant voces humanas à longè vel propè, prout volunt, ac si spiritus cum homine loqueretur, et sonos brutorum fingunt, &c.

spoke afar off, that they make their auditors believe they hear spirits, and are thence much astonished and affrighted with it. Besides, those artificial devices to overhear their confessions, like that whispering place of Gloucester[1] with us, or like the duke's place at Mantua in Italy, where the sound is reverberated by a concave wall; a reason of which Blancanus in his Echometria gives, and mathematically demonstrates.

So that the hearing is as frequently deluded as the sight, from the same causes almost, as he that hears bells, will make them sound what he list. "As the fool thinketh, so the bell clinketh." Theophilus in Galen thought he heard music from vapours, which made his ears sound, &c. Some are deceived by echoes, some by roaring of waters, or concaves and reverberation of air in the ground, hollow places and walls. [2]At Cadurcum in Aquitaine, words and sentences are repeated by a strange echo to the full, or whatsoever you shall play upon a musical instrument, more distinctly and louder, than they are spoken at first. Some echoes repeat a thing spoken seven times, as at Olympus, in Macedonia, as Pliny relates, *lib.* 36, *cap.* 15. Some twelve times, as at Charenton, a village near Paris, in France. At Delphos, in Greece, heretofore was a miraculous echo, and so in many other places. Cardan, *subtil. l.* 18, hath wonderful stories of such as have been deluded by these echoes. Blancanus the Jesuit, in his Echometria, hath variety of examples, and gives his reader full satisfaction of all such sounds by way of demonstration. [3]At Barrey, an isle in the Severn mouth, they seem to hear a smith's forge; so at Lipari, and those sulphureous isles, and many such like which Olaus speaks of in the continent of Scandia, and those northern countries. Cardan, *de rerum var. l.* 15, *c.* 84, mentioneth a woman, that still supposed she heard the devil call her, and speaking to her, she was a painter's wife in Milan; and

[1] Gloucester cathedral. [2] Tam clarè et articulatè audies repetitum, ut perfectior sit Echo quam ipse dixeris. [3] Blowing of bellows, and knocking of hammers, if they apply their ear to the cliff.

many such illusions and voices, which proceed most part from a corrupt imagination.

Whence it comes to pass, that they prophesy, speak several languages, talk of astronomy, and other unknown sciences to them (of which they have been ever ignorant): [1] I have in brief touched, only this I will here add, that Arculanus, *Bodin. lib.* 3, cap. 6, *dæmon.* and some others, [2] hold as a manifest token that such persons are possessed with the devil; so doth [3] Hercules de Saxoniâ, and Apponensis, and fit only to be cured by a priest. But [4] Guianerius, [5] Montaltus, Pomponatius of Padua, and Lemnius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 2, refer it wholly to the ill-disposition of the [6] humour, and that out of the authority of Aristotle, *prob.* 30, 1, because such symptoms are cured by purging; and as by the striking of a flint fire is enforced, so by the vehement motion of spirits, they do *elicere voces inauditas*, compel strange speeches to be spoken; another argument he hath from Plato's *reminiscentia*, which all out as likely as that which [7] Marsilius Ficinus speaks of his friend Pierleonus; by a divine kind of infusion he understood the secrets of nature, and tenets of Grecian and barbarian philosophers, before ever he heard of, saw, or read their works; but in this I should rather hold with Avicenna and his associates, that such symptoms proceed from evil spirits, which take all opportunities of humours decayed, or otherwise to pervert the soul of man; and besides, the humour itself is *Balneum Diaboli*, the devil's bath; and as Agrippa proves, doth entice him to seize upon them.

[1] Memb. 1, Sub. 3, of this partition, cap. 16, in 9 Rhasis. [2] Signa dæmonis nulla sunt nisi quod loquantur ea quæ ante nesciebant, ut Teutonicum aut aliud Idioma, &c. [3] Cap. 12, tract. de mel. [4] Tract. 15, c. 4. [5] Cap. 9. [6] Mira vis concitat humores, ardorque vehemens mentem exagitat, quum, &c. [7] Præfat. Iamblici mysteriis.

SECT. IV. MEMB. I.

Prognostics of Melancholy.

Prognostics, or signs of things to come, are either good or bad. If this malady be not hereditary, and taken at the beginning, there is good hope of cure, *recens curationem non habet difficilem*, saith Avicenna, *l.* 3, *Fen.* 1, *Tract.* 4, *c.* 18. That which is with laughter, of all others is most secure, gentle, and remiss, Hercules de Saxoniâ. [1] "If that evacuation of hæmorrhoids, or *varices*, which they call the water between the skin, shall happen to a melancholy man, his misery is ended," Hippocrates, *Aphor.* 6, 11. Galen, *l.* 6, *de morbis vulgar. com.* 8, confirms the same; and to this aphorism of Hippocrates, all the Arabians, new and old Latins subscribe; Montaltus, *c.* 25, Hercules de Saxoniâ, Mercurialis, Vittorius Faventinus, &c. Skenckius, *l.* 1, *observat. med. c. de Maniâ*, illustrates this aphorism, with an example of one Daniel Federer a coppersmith that was long melancholy, and in the end mad, about the 27th year of his age, these *varices* or water began to arise in his thighs, and he was freed from his madness. Marius the Roman was so cured, some say, though with great pain. Skenckius hath some other instances of women that have been helped by flowing of their months, which before were stopped. That the opening of the hæmorrhoids will do as much for men, all physicians jointly signify, so they be voluntary, some say, and not by compulsion. All melancholy are better after a quartan; [2] Jobertus saith, scarce any man hath that ague twice; but whether it free him from this malady, 'tis a question; for many physicians ascribe all long agues for especial causes, and a quartan ague amongst the rest. [3] *Rhasis, cont. lib.* 1, *tract.* 9. "When melancholy gets out at the superficies of the skin, or settles

[1] Si melancholicis hæmorrhoides supervenerint varices, vel ut quibusdam placet aqua inter cutem, solvitur malum. [2] Cap. 10, de quartana. [3] Cum sanguis exit per superficiem et residet melancholia per scabiem, morpheam nigram, vel

breaking out in scabs, leprosy, morphew, or is purged by stools, or by the urine, or that the spleen is enlarged, and those *varices* appear, the disease is dissolved." Guianerius, *cap.* 5, *tract.* 15, adds dropsy, jaundice, dysentery, leprosy, as good signs to these scabs, morphews, and breaking out, and proves it out of the 6th of Hippocrates's Aphorisms.

Evil prognostics on the other part. *Inveterata melancholia incurabilis*, if it be inveterate, it is [1] incurable, a common axiom, *aut difficulter curabilis* as they say that make the best, hardly cured. This Galen witnesseth, *l.* 3, *de loc. affect. cap.* 6, [2] "be it in whom it will, or from what cause soever, it is ever long, wayward, tedious, and hard to be cured, if once it be habituated." As Lucian said of the gout, she was [3] "the queen of diseases, and inexorable," may we say of melancholy. Yet Paracelsus will have all diseases whatsoever curable, and laughs at them which thinks otherwise, as T. Erastus, *par.* 3, objects to him; although in another place, hereditary diseases he accounts incurable, and by no art to be removed. [4] Hildesheim, *spicel.* 2, *de mel.* holds it less dangerous if only [5] "imagination be hurt, and not reason, [6] the gentlest is from blood. Worse from choler adust, but the worst of all from melancholy putrefied." [7] Bruel esteems hypochondriacal least dangerous, and the other two species (opposite to Galen) hardest to be cured. [8] The cure is hard in man, but much more difficult in women. And both men and women must take notice of that saying of Montanus, *consil.* 230, *pro Abate Italo*, [9] "This malady doth commonly accompany them to their grave; physicians may ease, and it may lie hid for a time, but they can-

expurgatur per inferiores partes, vel urinam, &c., non erit, &c., splen magnificatur et varices apparent. [1] Quia jam conversa in naturam. [2] In quocunque sit, à quacunque causa, Hypocon. præsertim, semper est longa, morosa, nec facile curari potest. [3] Regina morborum et inexorabilis. [4] Omne delirium quod oritur à paucitate cerebri incurabile. Hildesheim, spicel. 2, de mania. [5] Si sola imaginatio lædatur, et non ratio. [6] Mala à sanguine fervente, deterior à bile assata, pessima ab atra bile putrefacta. [7] Difficilior cura ejus quæ fit vitio corporis totius et cerebri. [8] Difficilis curatu in viris, multo difficilior in fœminis. [9] Ad interitum plerumque homines comitatur, licet medici levent plerumque, tamen non tollunt unquam, sed recidet acerbior quam antea minima occasione, aut errore.

not quite cure it, but it will return again more violent and sharp than at first, and that upon every small occasion or error;" as in Mercury's weather-beaten statue, that was once all over gilt, the open parts were clean, yet there was *in fimbriis aurum*, in the chinks a remnant of gold; there will be some relics of melancholy left in the purest bodies (if once tainted) not so easily to be rooted out. [1] Oftentimes it degenerates into epilepsy, apoplexy, convulsions, and blindness: by the authority of Hippocrates and Galen, [2] all aver, if once it possess the ventricles of the brain, Frambesarius, and Salust. Salvianus adds, if it get into the optic nerves, blindness. Mercurialis, *consil.* 20, had a woman to his patient, that from melancholy became epileptic and blind. [3] If it come from a cold cause, or so continue cold, or increase, epilepsy; convulsions follow, and blindness, or else in the end they are moped, sottish, and in all their actions, speeches, and gestures, ridiculous. [4] If it come from a hot cause, they are more furious, and boisterous, and in conclusion mad. *Calescentem melancholiam sæpius sequitur mania.* [5] If it heat and increase, that is the common event, [6] *per circuitus, aut semper insanit*, he is mad by fits, or altogether. For as [7] Sennertus contends out of Crato, there is *seminarius ignis* in this humour, the very seeds of fire. If it come from melancholy natural adust, and in excess, they are often demoniacal, Montanus.

[8] Seldom this malady procures death, except (which is the greatest, most grievous calamity, and the misery of all miseries,) they make away themselves, which is a frequent thing, and familiar amongst them. 'Tis [9] Hippocrates's observation, Galen's sentence: *Etsi mortem timent, tamen plerumque sibi ipsis mortem consciscunt, l.* 3, *de locis affect. cap.* 7. The doom of all physicians. 'Tis [10] Rabbi Moses's Aphorism, the prognosticon of Avicenna, Rhasis, Ætius, Gordonius, Vales-

[1] Periculum est ne degeneret in Epilepsiam, Apoplexiam, Convulsionem, Cæcitatem. [2] Montal. c. 25. Laurentius. Nic. Piso. [3] Herc. de Saxoniâ, Aristotle, Capivaccius. [4] Favent. Humor frigidus sola delirii causa, furoris vero humor calidus. [5] Heurnius calls madness sobolem melancholiæ. [6] Alexander, l. 1, c. 18. [7] Lib. 1, part. 2, c. 11. [8] Montalt. c. 15, raro mors aut nunquam, nisi sibi ipsis inferant. [9] Lib. de Insan. Fabio Calico Interprete. [10] Nonnulli violentas manus sibi inferunt

cus, Altomarus, Salust. Salvianus, Capivaccius, Mercatus, Hercules de Saxoniâ, Piso, Bruel, Fuchsius, all, &c.

> [1] "Et sæpè usque adeò mortis formidine vitæ
> Percipit infelix odium lucisque videndæ,
> Ut sibi consciscat mærenti pectore lethum."
>
> "And so far forth death's terror doth affright,
> He makes away himself, and hates the light:
> To make an end of fear and grief of heart,
> He voluntary dies to ease his smart."

In such sort doth the torture and extremity of his misery torment him, that he can take no pleasure in his life, but is in a manner enforced to offer violence unto himself, to be freed from his present insufferable pains. So some (saith [2] Fracastorius) "in fury, but most in despair, sorrow, fear, and out of the anguish and vexation of their souls, offer violence to themselves; for their life is unhappy and miserable. They can take no rest in the night, nor sleep, or if they do slumber, fearful dreams astonish them." In the daytime they are affrighted still by some terrible object, and torn in pieces with suspicion, fear, sorrow, discontents, cares, shame, anguish, &c., as so many wild horses, that they cannot be quiet an hour, a minute of time, but even against their wills they are intent, and still thinking of it, they cannot forget it, it grinds their souls day and night, they are perpetually tormented, a burden to themselves, as Job was, they can neither eat, drink, or sleep. Psal. cvii. 18. "Their soul abhorreth all meat, and they are brought to death's door, [3] being bound in misery and iron;" they [4] curse their stars with Job, [5] "and day of their birth, and wish for death;" for as Pineda and most interpreters hold, Job was even melancholy to despair, and almost [6] madness itself; they murmur many times against the world, friends, allies, all mankind, even against God himself in the bitterness of their passion, [7] *vivere nolunt, mori*

[1] Lucret. l. 3. [2] Lib. 2. de intell. sæpe mortem sibi consciscunt ob timorem et tristitiam tædio vitæ affecti ob furorem et desperationem. Est enim infera, &c. Ergo sic perpetuo afflictati vitam oderunt, se præcipitant, his malis carituri aut interficiunt se, aut tale quid committunt. [3] Psal. cvii. 10. [4] Job xxxiii. [5] Job vi. 8. [6] Vi doloris et tristitiæ ad insaniam penè redactus. [7] Seneca.

nesciunt, live they will not, die they cannot. And in the midst of these squalid, ugly, and such irksome days, they seek at last, finding no comfort, [1] no remedy in this wretched life, to be eased of all by death. *Omnia appetunt bonum*, all creatures seek the best, and for their good as they hope, *sub specie*, in show at least, *vel quia mori pulchrum putant* (saith [2] Hippocrates) *vel quia putant inde se majoribus malis liberari*, to be freed as they wish. Though many times, as Æsop's fishes, they leap from the frying-pan into the fire itself, yet they hope to be eased by his means; and therefore (saith Felix [3] Platerus) "after many tedious days at last, either by drowning, hanging, or some such fearful end," they precipitate or make away themselves; "many lamentable examples are daily seen amongst us:" *alius ante fores se laqueo suspendit* (as Seneca notes), *alius se præcipitavit à tecto, ne dominum stomachantem audiret, alius ne reduceretur à fuga ferrum redegit in viscera*, "one hangs himself before his own door,—another throws himself from the house-top, to avoid his master's anger,—a third, to escape expulsion, plunges a dagger into his heart,"—so many causes there are——*His amor exitio est, furor his*——love, grief, anger, madness, and shame, &c. 'Tis a common calamity, [4] a fatal end to this disease, they are condemned to a violent death, by a jury of physicians, furiously disposed, carried headlong by their tyrannizing wills, enforced by miseries, and there remains no more to such persons, if that heavenly Physician, by his assisting grace and mercy alone do not prevent (for no human persuasion or art can help), but to be their own butchers, and execute themselves. Socrates his *cicuta*, Lucretia's dagger, Timon's halter, are yet to be had; Cato's knife, and Nero's sword are left behind them, as so many fatal engines, bequeathed to posterity, and will be used to the world's end,

[1] In salutis suæ desperatione proponunt sibi mortis desiderium, Oct. Horat. l. 2, c. 5. [2] Lib. de insania. Sic sic juvat ire per umbras. [3] Cap. 3, de mentis alienat. mœsti degunt, dum tandem mortem quam timent, suspendio aut submersione, aut aliqua alia vi, præcipitant ut multa tristia exempla vidimus. [4] Arculanus in 9 Rhasis, c. 16, cavendum ne ex alto se præcipitent aut aliàs lædant.

by such distressed souls; so intolerable, insufferable, grievous, and violent is their pain, [1] so unspeakable and continuate. One day of grief is an hundred years, as Cardan observes; 'Tis *carnificina hominum, angor animi*, as well saith Areteus, a plague of the soul, the cramp and convulsion of the soul, an epitome of hell; and if there be a hell upon earth, it is to be found in a melancholy man's heart.

> "For that deep torture may be call'd an hell,
> When more is felt than one hath power to tell."

Yea, that which scoffing Lucian said of the gout in jest, I may truly affirm of melancholy in earnest.

> "O triste nomen! o diis odibile
> [2] Melancholia lacrymosa, Cocyti filia,
> Tu Tartari specubus opacis edita
> Erinnys, utero quam Megara suo tulit,
> Et ab uberibus aluit, cuique parvulæ
> Amarulentum in os lac Alecto dedit,
> Omnes abominabilem te dæmones
> Produxere in lucem, exitio mortalium.
> Non Jupiter ferit tale telum fulminis,
> Non ulla sic procella sævit æquoris,
> Non impetuosi tanta vis est turbinis.
> An asperos sustineo morsus Cerberi?
> Num virus Echidnæ membra mea depascitur?
> Aut tunica sanie tincta Nessi sanguinis?
> Illacrymabile et immedicabile malum hoc."

> "O sad and odious name! a name so fell,
> Is this of melancholy, brat of hell,
> There born in hellish darkness doth it dwell.
> The Furies brought it up, Megara's teat,
> Alecto gave it bitter milk to eat.
> And all conspired a bane to mortal men,
> To bring this devil out of that black den.
> *Et paulo post* Jupiter's thunderbolt, not storm at sea,
> Nor whirlwind doth our hearts so much dismay.
> What? am I bit by that fierce Cerberus?
> Or stung by [3] serpent so pestiferous?

[1] Omnium opinionibus incogitabile malum. Lucian. Mortesque mille, mille dum vivit neces gerit, peritque. Heinsius Austriaco. [2] Regina morborum cui famulantur omnes et obediunt. Cardan. [3] Eheu quis intus Scorpio, &c. Seneca, Act. 4, Herc. O Et.

Or put on shirt that's dipt in Nessus's blood?
My pain's past cure; physic can do no good."

No torture of body like unto it, *Siculi non invenere tyranni majus tormentum*, no strappadoes, hot irons, Phalaris's bulls,

[1] "Nec ira deûm tantum, nec tela, nec hostis,
Quantum sola noces animis illapsa."

"Jove's wrath, nor devils can
Do so much harm to th' soul of man."

All fears, griefs, suspicions, discontents, imbonities, insuavities are swallowed up, and drowned in this Euripus, this Irish sea, this ocean of misery, as so many small brooks; 'tis *coagulum omnium ærumnarum;* which [2] Ammianus applied to his distressed Palladius. I say of our melancholy man, he is the cream of human adversity, the [3] quintessence, and upshot; all other diseases whatsoever, are but flea-bitings to melancholy in extent; 'Tis the pith of them all, [4] *Hospitium est calamitatis; quid verbis opus est?*

"Quamcunque malam rem quæris, illic reperies:"

"What need more words? 'tis calamities inn,
Where seek for any mischief, 'tis within;"

and a melancholy man is that true Prometheus, which is bound to Caucasus; the true Titius, whose bowels are still by a vulture devoured (as poets feign) for so doth [5] Lilius Geraldus interpret it, of anxieties, and those griping cares, and so ought it to be understood. In all other maladies, we seek for help, if a leg or an arm ache, through any distemperature or wound, or that we have an ordinary disease, above all things whatsoever, we desire help and health, a present recovery, if by any means possible it may be procured; we will freely part with all our other fortunes, substance, endure any misery, drink bitter potions, swallow those distasteful pills, suffer our joints to be seared, to be cut off, anything for future health; so sweet, so dear, so precious

[1] Silius Italicus. [2] Lib. 29. [3] Hic omnis imbonitas et insuavitas consistit, ut Tertulliani verbis utar, orat. ad. martyr. [4] Plautus. [5] Vit. Herculis.

above all other things in this world is life; 'tis that we chiefly desire, long life and happy days, [1] *multos da, Jupiter, annos*, increase of years all men wish; but to a melancholy man, nothing so tedious, nothing so odious; that which they so carefully seek to preserve [2] he abhors, he alone; so intolerable are his pains; some make a question, *graviores morbi corporis an animi*, whether the diseases of the body or mind be more grievous, but there is no comparison, no doubt to be made of it, *multò enim sævior longèque est atrocior animi, quâm corporis cruciatus* (*Lem. l.* 1, *c.* 12,) the diseases of the mind are far more grievous.—*Totum hic pro vulnere corpus*, body and soul is misaffected here, but the soul especially. So Cardan testifies, *de rerum var. lib.* 8, 40. [3] Maximus Tyrius, a Platonist, and Plutarch, have made just volumes to prove it. [4] *Dies adimit ægritudinem hominibus*, in other diseases there is some hope likely, but these unhappy men are born to misery, past all hope of recovery, incurably sick, the longer they live the worse they are, and death alone must ease them.

Another doubt is made by some philosophers, whether it be lawful for a man, in such extremity of pain and grief, to make away himself; and how these men that so do are to be censured. The Platonists approve of it, that it is lawful in such cases. and upon a necessity; Plotinus, *l. de beatitud. c.* 7, and Socrates himself defends it, in Plato's Phædon, "if any man labour of an incurable disease, he may despatch himself, if it be to his good." Epicurus and his followers, the cynics and stoics in general, affirm it, Epictetus and [5] Seneca amongst the rest, *quamcunque veram esse viam ad libertatem*, any way is allowable that leads to liberty, [6] "let us give God thanks, that no man is compelled to live against his will;" [7] *quid ad hominem claustra, carcer, custodia? liberum ostium habet*, death is always ready and at

[1] Persius. [2] Quid est miserius in vita, quam velle mori? Seneca. [3] Tom. 2, Libello. an graviores passiones, &c. [4] Ter. [5] Patet exitus; si pugnare non vultis, licet fugere; quis vos tenet invitos? De provid. cap. 8. [6] Agamus Deo gratias, quod nemo invitus in vita teneri potest. [7] Epist. 26, Seneca et de sacra. 2, cap. 15, et epist. 70 et 12.

hand. *Vides illum præcipitem locum, illud flumen,* dost thou see that steep place, that river, that pit, that tree, there's liberty at hand, *effugia servitutis et doloris sunt,* as that Laconian lad cast himself headlong (*non serviam, aiebat puer*) to be freed of his misery; every pain in thy body, if these be *nimis operosi exitus,* will set thee free, *quid tua refert finem facias an accipias?* there's no necessity for a man to live in misery. *Malum est necessitati vivere; sed in necessitate vivere, necessitas nulla est. Ignavus qui sine causa moritur, et stultus qui cum dolore vivit, Idem epi.* 58. Wherefore hath our mother the earth brought out poisons, saith [1] Pliny, in so great a quantity, but that men in distress might make away themselves? which kings of old had ever in a readiness, *ad incerta fortunæ venenum sub custode promptum,* Livy writes, and executioners always at hand. Speusippes being sick was met by Diogenes, and, carried on his slaves' shoulders, he made his moan to the philosopher; but I pity thee not, quoth Diogenes, *qui cum talis vivere sustines,* thou mayest be freed when thou wilt, meaning by death. [2] Seneca therefore commends Cato, Dido, and Lucretia, for their generous courage in so doing, and others that voluntarily die, to avoid a greater mischief, to free themselves from misery, to save their honour, or vindicate their good name, as Cleopatra did, as Sophonisba, Syphax's wife did, Hannibal did, as Junius Brutus, as Vibius Virius, and those Campanian senators in Livy (*Dec.* 3, *lib.* 6,) to escape the Roman tyranny, that poisoned themselves. Themistocles drank bull's blood rather than he would fight against his country, and Demosthenes chose rather to drink poison, Publius Crassi *filius,* Censorius and Plancus, those heroical Romans to make away themselves, than to fall into their enemies' hands. How many myriads besides in all ages might I remember, *qui sibi lethum Insontes peperere manu? &c.* [3] Rhasis in the Maccabees is magnified for it, Samson's death approved. So did Saul and Jonas sin, and many worthy men and women,

[1] Lib. 2, cap. 83. Terra mater nôstri miserta. [2] Epist. 24, 71, 22. [3] Mac. 14, 42.

quorum memoria celebratur in Ecclesia, saith [1] Leminchus, for killing themselves to save their chastity and honour, when Rome was taken, as Austin instances, *l.* 1, *de Civit Dei*, *cap.* 16. Jerom vindicateth the same in *Ionam;* et Ambrose, *l.* 3, *de virginitate* commendeth Pelagia for so doing. Eusebius, *lib*, 8, *cap.* 15, admires a Roman matron for the same fact to save herself from the lust of Maxentius the Tyrant. Adelhelmus, abbot of Malmesbury, calls them *Beatas virgines quæ sic, &c.* Titus Pomponius Atticus, that wise, discreet, renowned Roman senator, Tully's dear friend, when he had been long sick, as he supposed of an incurable disease, *vitamque produceret ad augendos dolores, sine spe salutis*, was resolved voluntarily by famine to despatch himself to be rid of his pain; and when as Agrippa, and the rest of his weeping friends earnestly besought him, *osculantes obsecrarent ne id quod natura cogeret, ipse acceleraret*, not to offer violence to himself, "with a settled resolution he desired again they would approve of his good intent, and not seek to dehort him from it;" and so constantly died, *precesque eorum taciturnâ suâ obstinatione depressit.* Even so did Corellius Rufus, another grave senator, by the relation of Plinius Secundus, *epist. lib.* 1, *epist.* 12, famish himself to death; *pedibus correptus cum incredibiles cruciatus et indignissima tormenta pateretur, à cibis omnino abstinuit;* [2] neither he nor Hispilla his wife could divert him, but *destinatus mori obstinatè magis*, &c., die he would, and die he did. So did Lycurgus, Aristotle, Zeno, Chrysippus, Empedocles, with myriads, &c. In wars, for a man to run rashly upon imminent danger, and present death, is accounted valour and magnanimity, [3] to be the cause of his own, and many a thousand's ruin besides, to commit wilful murder in a manner, of himself and others, is a glorious thing, and he shall be crowned for it. The [4] Massagetæ in former times, [5] Bar-

[1] Vindicatio Apoc. lib. [2] "Finding that he would be destined to endure excruciating pain of the feet, and additional tortures, he abstained from food altogether." [3] As amongst Turks and others. [4] Bohemus, de moribus gent. [5] Ælian. lib. 4, cap. 1, omnes 70 annum egressos interficiunt.

biccians, and I know not what nations besides, did stifle their old men after seventy years, to free them from those grievances incident to that age. So did the inhabitants of the island of Choa, because their air was pure and good, and the people generally long lived, *antevertebant fatum suum, priusquam manci forent aut imbecillitas accederet, papavere vel cicutâ*, with poppy or hemlock they prevented death. Sir Thomas More in his Utopia commends voluntary death, if he be *sibi aut aliis molestus*, troublesome to himself or others ([1] "especially if to live be a torment to him), let him free himself with his own hands from this tedious life, as from a prison, or suffer himself to be freed by others." [2] And 'tis the same tenet which Laertius relates of Zeno of old, *Justè sapiens sibi mortem consciscit, si in acerbis doloribus versetur, membrorum mutilatione aut morbis ægre curandis*, and which Plato, 9, *de legibus* approves, if old age, poverty, ignominy, &c., oppress, and which Fabius expresseth in effect. (*Præfat.* 7, *Institut.*) *Nemo nisi suâ culpâ diù dolet.* It is an ordinary thing in China, (saith Mat. Riccius the Jesuit,) [3] "if they be in despair of better fortunes, or tired and tortured with misery, to bereave themselves of life, and many times, to spite their enemies the more, to hang at their door." Tacitus the historian, Plutarch the philosopher, much approve a voluntary departure, and Aust. *de civ. Dei, l.* 1, *c.* 29, defends a violent death, so that it be undertaken in a good cause, *nemo sic mortuus, qui non fuerat aliquando moriturus; quid autem interest quo mortis genere vita ista finiatur, quandò ille cui finitur, iterum mori non cogitur? &c.*,[4] no man so voluntarily dies, but *volens nolens*, he must die at last, and our life is subject to innumerable casualties, who knows when they may happen, *utrum satius est unam perpeti*

[1] Lib. 2. Præsertim quum tormentum ei vita sit, bonâ spe fretus, acerbâ vitâ velut à carcere si eximat, vel ab aliis eximi sua voluntate patiatur. [2] Nam quis amphoram exsiccans fœcem exorberet, (Seneca, epist. 58,) quis in pœnas et risum viveret? stulti est manere in vitâ cum sit miser. [3] Expedit. ad Sinas, l. 1, c. 9. Vel bonorum desperatione, vel malorum perpessione fracti et fatigati, vel manus violentas sibi inferunt vel ut inimicis suis ægre faciant, &c. [4] "No one ever died in this way, who would not have died sometime or other; but what does it signify how life itself may be ended, since he who comes to the end is not obliged to die a second time?"

moriendo, an omnes timere vivendo, [1] rather suffer one, than fear all. "Death is better than a bitter life," Ecclus. xxx. 17, [2] and a harder choice to live in fear, than, by once dying, to be freed from all. Theombrotus Ambraciotes persuaded I know not how many hundreds of his auditors, by a luculent oration he made of the miseries of this, and happiness of that other life, to precipitate themselves. And having read Plato's divine tract *de anima*, for example's sake led the way first. That neat epigram of Callimachus will tell you as much,

> "Jamque vale Soli cum diceret Ambrociotes,
> In Stygios fertur desiluisse lacus,
> Morte nihil dignum passus: sed forte Platonis
> Divini eximium de nece legit opus." [3]

[4] Calenus and his Indians hated of old to die a natural death; the Circumcellians and Donatists, loathing life, compelled others to make them away, with many such; [5] but these are false and pagan positions, profane stoical paradoxes, wicked examples, it boots not what heathen philosophers determine in this kind, they are impious, abominable, and upon a wrong ground. "No evil is to be done that good may come of it;" *reclamat Christus, reclamat Scriptura*, God, and all good men are [6] against it; He that stabs another can kill his body; but he that stabs himself, kills his own soul. [7] *Malè meretur qui dat mendico quod edat; nam et illud quod dat perit; et illi producit vitam ad miseriam:* he that gives a beggar an alms (as that comical poet saith) doth ill, because he doth but prolong his miseries. But Lactantius, *l.* 6, *c.* 7, *de vero cultu*, calls it a detestable opinion, and fully confutes it, *lib.* 3, *de*

[1] So did Anthony, Galba, Vitellius, Otho, Aristotle himself, &c. Ajax in despair; Cleopatra to save her honour. [2] Inertius deligitur diu vivere, quam in timore tot morborum semel moriendo, nullum deinceps formidare. [3] "And now when Ambrociotes was bidding farewell to the light of day, and about to cast himself into the Stygian pool, although he had not been guilty of any crime that merited death: but, perhaps, he had read that divine work of Plato upon Death." [4] Curtius, l. 16. [5] Laqueus præcisus, cont. 1, l. 5, quidam naufragio facto amissis tribus liberis, et uxore, suspendit se; præcidit illi quidam ex prætereuntibus laqueum; A liberato reus fit maleficii. Seneca. [6] See Lipsius Manuduc. ad Stoicam philosophiam, lib. 3, dissert. 22. D. Kings 14 Lect. on Jonas. D. Abbot's 6 Lect. on the same prophet. [7] Plautus.

sap. cap. 18, and S. Austin. *ep.* 52, *ad Macedonium, cap.* 61, *ad Dulcitium Tribunum:* so doth Hierom to Marcella of Blesilla's death, *Non recipio tales animas, &c.*, he calls such men *martyres stultæ Philosophiæ:* so doth Cyprian *de duplici martyrio; Si qui sic moriantur, aut infirmitas, aut ambitio, aut dementia cogit eos;* 'tis mere madness so to do, [1] *furor est ne moriare mori.* To this effect writes Arist. 3, *Ethic. Lipsius Manuduc. ad Stoicam Philosophiam lib.* 3, *dissertat.* 23, but it needs no confutation. This only let me add, that in some cases, those [2] hard censures of such as offer violence to their own persons, or in some desperate fit to others, which sometimes they do, by stabbing, slashing, &c., are to be mitigated, as in such as are mad, beside themselves for the time, or found to have been long melancholy, and that in extremity, they know not what they do, deprived of reason, judgment, all, [3] as a ship that is void of a pilot, must needs impinge upon the next rock or sands, and suffer shipwreck. [4] P. Forestus hath a story of two melancholy brethren, that made away themselves, and for so foul a fact, were accordingly censured to be infamously buried, as in such cases they use: to terrify others, as it did the Milesian virgins of old, but upon farther examination of their misery and madness, the censure was [5] revoked, and they were solemnly interred, as Saul was by David, 2 Sam. ii. 4, and Seneca well adviseth, *Irascere interfectori, sed miserere interfecti;* be justly offended with him as he was a murderer, but pity him now as a dead man. Thus of their goods and bodies we can dispose; but what shall become of their souls, God alone can tell; his mercy may come *inter pontem et fontem, inter gladium et jugulum*, betwixt the bridge and the brook, the knife and the throat. *Quod cuiquam contigit, cuivis potest:* Who

[1] Martial. [2] As to be buried out of Christian burial with a stake. Idem. Plato, 9, de legibus, vult separatim sepeliri, qui sibi ipsis mortem censciscunt, &c., lose their goods. &c. [3] Navis destituta nauclero, in terribilem aliquem scopulum impingit. [4] Observat. [5] Seneca, tract. 1, l. 8, c. 4. Lex, Homicida in se insepultus abjiciatur, contradicitur; Eo quod afferre sibi manus coactus sit assiduis malis; summam infælicitatem suam in hoc removit, quod existimabat licere misero mori.

knows how he may be tempted? It is his case, it may be thine: [1] *Quæ sua sors hodie est, cras fore vestra potest.* We ought not to be so rash and rigorous in our censures, as some are; charity will judge and hope the best; God be merciful unto us all.

[1] Buchanan. Eleg. lib.

THE

SYNOPSIS OF THE SECOND PARTITION.

Cure of melancholy is either

- *Sect.* 1. General to all, which contains
  - Unlawful means forbidden, or
    - *Mem.*
    - 1. From the devil, magicians, witches, &c., by charms, spells, incantations, images, &c.
      - *Quest.* 1. Whether they can cure this, or other such like diseases?
      - *Quest.* 2. Whether, if they can so cure, it be lawful to seek to them for help?
    - 2. Immediately from God, *a Jove principium*, by prayer, &c.
    - 3. *Quest.* 1. Whether saints and their relics can help this infirmity?
      - *Quest.* 2. Whether it be lawful in this case to sue to them for aid?
  - Lawful means, which are or
    - 4. Mediately by Nature, which concerns and works by
      - *Subsect.*
      - 1. *Physician*, in whom is required science, confidence, honesty, &c.
      - 2. *Patient*, in whom is required obedience, constancy, willingness, patience, confidence, bounty, &c., not to practise on himself.
      - 3. *Physic*, which consists of
        - Dietetical ☿
        - Pharmaceutical 8
        - Chirurgical ☐
- or Particular to the three distinct species, ♋ ♌ ♍
  - ☿ *Sect.* 2. Dietetical, which consists in reforming those six non-natural things, as in
    - Diet rectified. 1. *Memb.* or
      - Matter and quality. 1. *Subs.*
        - Such meats as are easy of digestion, well-dressed, hot, sod, &c., young, moist, of good nourishment, &c.
        - Bread of pure wheat, well-baked.
        - Water clear from the fountain.
        - Wine and drink not too strong.
        - Flesh
          - Mountain birds, partridge, pheasant, quails, &c.
          - Hen, capon, mutton, veal, kid, rabbit, &c.
        - Fish
          - That live in gravelly waters, as pike, perch, trout, sea-fish, solid, white, &c.
        - Herbs
          - Borage, bugloss, balm, succory, endive, violets, in broth, not raw, &c.
        - Fruits and roots
          - Raisins of the sun, apples corrected for wind, oranges, &c., parsnips, potatoes, &c.
      - 2. Quantity.
        - At seasonable and usual times of repast, in good order, not before the first be concocted, sparing, not overmuch of one dish.
    - 2. Rectification of retention and evacuation, as costiveness, venery, bleeding at nose, months stopped, baths, &c.
    - 3. Air. rectified, with a digression of the air.
      - Naturally in the choice and site of our country dwelling-place, to be hot and moist, light, wholesome, pleasant, &c.
      - Artificially, by often change of air, avoiding winds, fogs, tempests, opening windows, perfumes, &c.
    - 4. Exercise.
      - Of body and mind, but moderate, as hawking, hunting, riding, shooting, bowling, fishing, fowling, walking in fair fields, galleries, tennis, bar.
      - Of mind, as chess, cards, tables, &c., to see plays, masks, &c., serious studies, business, all honest recreations.
    - 5. Rectification of waking and terrible dreams, &c.
    - 6. Rectification of passions and perturbations of the mind. ♎

Memb. 6. Passions and perturbations of the mind rectified.

- From himself — *Subsect.*
  1. By using all good means of help, confessing to a friend, &c.
  2. Avoiding all occasions of his infirmity.
  3. Not giving way to passions, but resisting to his utmost.
- or
  4. By fair and foul means, counsel, comfort, good persuasion, witty devices, fictions, and, if it be possible, to satisfy his mind.
  5. Music of all sorts aptly applied.
  6. Mirth and merry company.
- from his friends. — *Sect.* 3. A consolatory digression, containing remedies to all discontents and passions of the mind.
  1. General discontents and grievances satisfied.
  2. Particular discontents, as deformity of body, sickness, baseness of birth, &c.
  3. Poverty and want, such calamities and adversities.
  4. Against servitude, loss of liberty, imprisonment, banishment, &c.
  5. Against vain fears, sorrows for death of friends, or otherwise.
  6. Against envy, livor, hatred, malice, emulation, ambition, and self-love, &c.
  7. Against repulses, abuses, injuries, contempts, disgraces, contumelies, slanders, and scoffs, &c.
  8. Against all other grievances and ordinary symptoms of this disease of melancholy.

§ *Sect.* 4. Pharmaceutics, or physic which cureth with medicines, with a digression of this kind of physic is either, *Memb.* 1. *Subs.* 1.

- General to all
- Particular to the three distinct species, ☉ ☽ ☿.
- Purging ℂ
- or
- Alterative
  - Simples altering melancholy, with a digression of exotic simples. 2. *Subs.*
    - Herbs. 3. *Subs.*
      - To the heart; borage, bugloss, scorzonera, &c.
      - To the head; balm, hops, nenuphar, &c.
      - Liver; eupatory, artemisia, &c.
      - Stomach; wormwood, centaury, pennyroyal.
      - Spleen; ceterach, ash, tamarisk.
      - To purify the blood; endive, succory, &c.
      - Against wind; origan, fennel, anise-seed, &c.
    - 4. Precious stones, as smaragdes, chelidonies, &c.
    - Minerals; as gold, &c.
  - or
  - Compounds altering melancholy, with a digression of compounds. 1. *Subs.*
    - Inwardly taken
      - Liquid
        - Fluid
          - Wines; as of hellebore, bugloss, tamarisk, &c.
          - Syrups of borage, bugloss, hops, epithyme, endive, succory, &c.
        - or
        - consisting.
          - Conserves of violets, maidenhair, borage, bugloss, roses, &c.
          - Confections; treacle, mithridate, eclegmes or linctures.
      - or
      - solid, as those aromatical confections.
        - hot
          - Diambra, dianthos.
          - Diamargaritum calidum.
          - Diamoscum dulce.
          - Electuarium de gemmis.
          - Lætificans Galeni et Rhasis.
        - or
        - cold
          - Diamargaritum frigidum.
          - Diarrhodon abbatis.
          - Diacorolli, diacodium with their tables.
        - Condites of all sorts, &c.
    - or
      - Outwardly used, as
        - Oils of camomile, violets, roses, &c.
        - Ointments, alablastritum, populeum, &c.
        - Liniments, plasters, cerates, cataplasms, frontals, fomentations, epithymes, sacks, bags, odoraments, posies, &c.

- Medicines purging melancholy, are either *Memb.* 2.
  - Simples purging melancholy.
    - 1. *Subs.* Upward, as vomits.
      - Assarabacca, laurel, white hellebore, scilla, or sea-onion, antimony, tobacco.
    - or Downward. 2. *Subs.*
      - More gentle; as senna, epithyme, polipody, myrobalanes, fumitory, &c.
      - Stronger; aloes, lapis Armenus, lapis lazuli, black hellebore.
  - or
    - Superior parts.
      - Mouth
        - Swallowed, or
          - Liquid; as potions, juleps, syrups, wine of hellebore, bugloss, &c.
          - Solid; as lapis Armenus, and lazuli, pills of Indæ, pills of fumitory, &c.
          - Electuaries, diasena, confection of hamech, hierologladium, &c.
      - or
        - Not swallowed; as gargarisms, masticatories, &c.
    - 3. *Subs.* Compounds purging melancholy.
      - or
        - Nostrils, sneezing powders, odoraments, perfumes, &c.
      - Inferior parts; as clysters strong and weak, and suppositories of Castilian soap, honey boiled, &c.

□ Chirurgical physic, which consists of *Memb.* 3.

- Phlebotomy, to all parts almost, and all the distinct species.
- With knife, horseleeches.
- Cupping-glasses.
- Cauteries, and searing with hot irons, boring.
- Dropax and sinapismus.
- Issues to several parts, and upon several occasions.

♋ *Sect.* 5. Cure of head-melancholy. *Memb.* 1.

1. *Subsect.*

Moderate diet, meat of good juice, moistening, easy of digestion.
Good air.
Sleep more than ordinary.
Excrements daily to be voided by art or nature.
Exercise of body and mind not too violent, or too remiss, passions of the mind, and perturbations to be avoided.

2. Bloodletting, if there be need, or that the blood be corrupt, in the arm, forehead, &c., or with cupping-glasses.

3. Preparatives and purgers.
- Preparatives; as syrup of borage, bugloss, epithyme, hops, with their distilled waters, &c.
- Purgers; as Montanus, and Matthiolus helleborismus, Quercetanus, syrup of hellebore, extract of hellebore, pulvis Hali, antimony prepared, *Rulandi aqua mirabilis;* which are used, if gentler medicines will not take place, with Arnoldus, *vinum buglossatum*, senna, cassia, myrobalanes, *aurum potabile*, or before Hamech, Pil. Indæ, Hiera, Pil. de lap. Armeno, lazuli.

4. Averters.
- Cardan's nettles, frictions, clysters, suppositories, sneezings, masticatories, nasals, cupping-glasses.
- To open the hæmorrhoids with horseleeches, to apply horseleeches to the forehead without scarification, to the shoulders, thighs.
- Issues, boring, cauteries, hot irons in the suture of the crown.

5. Cordials, resolvers, hinderers.
- A cup of wine or strong drink.
- Bezars stone, amber, spice.
- Conserves of borage, bugloss, roses, fumitory.
- Confection of alchermes.
- *Electuarium lætificans Galeni et Rhasis, &c.*
- *Diamargaritum frig. diaboraginatum, &c.*

6. Correctors of accidents, as
- Odoraments of roses, violets.
- Irrigations of the head, with the decoctions of nymphea, lettuce, mallows, &c.
- Epithymes, ointments, bags to the heart.
- Fomentations of oil for the belly.
- Baths of sweet water, in which were sod mallows, violets, roses, water-lilies, borage flowers, ramsheads, &c.
- To procure sleep, and are
  - Inwardly taken,
    - Simples
      - or
        - Liquid; as syrups of poppy, verbasco, violets, roses.
        - Solid; as *requies Nicholai*, *Philonium*, *Romanum*, *Laudanum Paracelsi*.
      - Compounds.
    - Poppy, nymphea, lettuce, roses, pursiane, henbane, mandrake, nightshade, opium, &c.
  - or
    - Oil of nymphea, poppy, violets, roses, mandrake, nutmegs.
    - Odoraments of vinegar, rose-water, opium.
    - Frontals of rose-cake, rose-vinegar, nutmeg.
  - Outwardly used, as
    - Ointments, alablastritum, unguentum populeum, simple, or mixed with opium.
    - Irrigations of the head, feet, sponges, music, murmur and noise of waters.
    - Frictions of the head and outward parts, sacculi of henbane, wormwood at his pillow, &c.
- Against terrible dreams; not to sup late, or eat peas, cabbage, venison, meats heavy of digestion, use balm, hart's tongue, &c.
- Against ruddiness and blushing, inward and outward remedies.

§ 2. *Memb.* Cure of melancholy over the body.
- Diet, preparatives, purges, averters, cordials, correctors, as before.
- Phlebotomy in this kind more necessary, and more frequent.
- To correct and cleanse the blood with fumitory, senna, succory, dandelion, endive, &c.

℔ Cure of hypochondriacal or windy melancholy. 3. *Mem.*
- *Subsect.* 1.
- Phlebotomy, if need require.
- Diet, preparatives, averters, cordials, purgers, as before, saving that they must not be so vehement.
- Use of pennyroyal, wormwood, centaury sod, which alone hath cured many.
- To provoke urine with anise-seed, daucus, asarum, &c., and stools, if need be, by clysters and suppositories.
- To respect the spleen, stomach, liver, hypochondries.
- To use treacle now and then in winter.
- To vomit after meals sometimes, if it be inveterate.
- 2. to expel wind.
  - Inwardly taken,
    - or
      - Simples, or Compounds, as
        - Roots,
          - Galanga, gentian, enula, angelica, calamus aromaticus, zedoary, china, condite ginger, &c.
        - Herbs,
          - Pennyroyal, rue, calamint, bay leaves, and berries, scordium, bethany, lavender, camomile, centaury, wormwood, cummin, broom, orange pills.
        - Spices,
          - Saffron, cinnamon, mace, nutmeg, pepper, musk, zedoary, with wine, &c.
        - Seeds,
          - Aniseed, fennel-seed, ammi, cary, cummin, nettle, bays, parsley, grana paradisi.
      - Dianisum, diagalanga, diaciminum, diacalaminthes, electuarium de baccis lauri, benedicta laxativa, &c., pulvis carminativus, and pulvis descrip. Antidotario Florentino, aromaticum, rosatum, Mithridate.
  - Outwardly used, as cupping-glasses to the hypochondries without scarification, oil of camomile, rue, anise-seed, their decoctions, &c.

THE SECOND PARTITION.

THE CURE OF MELANCHOLY.

THE FIRST SECTION, MEMBER, SUBSECTION.

Unlawful Cures rejected.

Inveterate Melancholy, howsoever it may seem to be a continuate, inexorable disease, hard to be cured, accompanying them to their graves, most part, as [1] Montanus observes, yet many times it may be helped, even that which is most violent, or at least, according to the same [2] author, "it may be mitigated and much eased." *Nil desperandum.* It may be hard to cure, but not impossible for him that is most grievously affected, if he be but willing to be helped.

Upon this good hope I will proceed, using the same method in the cure, which I have formerly used in the rehearsing of the causes; first general, then particular; and those according to their several species. Of these cures some be lawful, some again unlawful, which though frequent, familiar, and often used, yet justly censured, and to be controverted. As first, whether by these diabolical means, which are commonly practised by the devil and his ministers, sorcerers, witches, magicians, &c., by spells, cabalistical words, charms, characters, images, amulets, ligatures, philters, incantations, &c., this disease and the like may be cured? and if they may, whether

[1] Consil. 235. pro Abbate Italo. [2] Consil. 23, aut curabitur, aut certè minus afficietur, si volet.

it be lawful to make use of them, those magnetical cures, or for our good to seek after such means in any case? The first, whether they can do any such cures, is questioned amongst many writers, some affirming, some denying. Valesius, *cont. med. lib.* 5, *cap.* 6, Malleus Maleficor, Heurnius, *l.* 3, *pract. med. cap.* 28, Cælius, *lib.* 16, *c.* 16, Delrio, *tom.* 3, Wierus, *lib.* 2, *de præstig. dæm.*, Libanius, Lavater, *de spect. part.* 2, *cap.* 7, Holbrenner the Lutheran in Pistorium, Polydor Virg., *l.* 1, *de prodig.*, Tandlerus, Lemnius (Hippocrates and Avicenna amongst the rest), deny that spirits or devils have any power over us, and refer all with Pomponatius of Padua to natural causes and humours. Of the other opinion are Bodinus, *Dæmonomantiæ, lib.* 3, *cap.* 2, Arnoldus, Marcellus Empyricus, I. Pistorius, Paracelsus, *Apodix. Magic.*, Agrippa, *lib.* 2, *de occult. Philos. cap.* 36, 69, 71, 72, *et l.* 3, *c.* 23 *et* 10, Marcilius Ficinus, *de vit. cælit. compar. cap.* 13, 15, 18, 21, *&c.*, Galeottus, *de promiscua doct. cap.* 24, Jovianus Pontanus, *tom.* 2, *Plin. lib.* 28, *c.* 2, Strabo, *lib.* 15, Geog. Leo Suavius; Goclenius, *de ung. armar.*, Oswoldus Crollius, Ernestus Burgravius, Dr. Flud, &c. Cardan, *de subt.*, brings many proofs out of Ars Notoria, and Solomon's decayed works, old Hermes, Artefius, Costaben Luca, Picatrix, &c., that such cures may be done. They can make fire it shall not burn, fetch back thieves or stolen goods, show their absent faces in a glass, make serpents lie still, stanch blood, salve gouts, epilepsies, biting of mad dogs, toothache, melancholy, *et omnia mundi mala*, make men immortal, young again as the [1] Spanish marquess is said to have done by one of his slaves, and some which jugglers in [2] China maintain still (as Tragaltius writes) that they can do by their extraordinary skill in physic, and some of our modern chemists by their strange limbecs, by their spells, philosopher's stones and charms. [3] "Many doubt," saith Nicholas Taurellus,

[1] Vide Renatum Morey, Animad. in scholam Salernit. c. 38, si ad 40 annos possent producere vitam, cur non ad centum? si ad centum, cur non ad mille? [2] Hist. Chinensum. [3] Alii dubitant an dæmon possit morbos curare quos non fecit, alii negant, sed quotidiana experientia confirmat, magos magno multorum stupore morbos curare, singulas corporis partes citra impedimentum permeare, et modis nobis ignotis curare.

"whether the devil can cure such diseases he hath not made, and some flatly deny it, howsoever common experience confirms to our astonishment, that magicians can work such feats, and that the devil without impediment, can penetrate through all the parts of our bodies, and cure such maladies by means to us unknown." Daneus in his tract *de Sortiariis* subscribes to this of Taurellus; Erastus, *de Lamiis*, maintaineth as much, and so do most divines, out of their excellent knowledge and long experience they can commit [1] *agentes cum patientibus, colligere semina rerum, eaque materiæ applicare*, as Austin infers, *ed Civ. Dei et de Trinit., lib.* 3, *cap.* 7 *et* 8, they can work stupendous and admirable conclusions; we see the effects only, but not the causes of them. Nothing so familiar as to hear of such cures. Sorcerers are too common; cunning men, wizards, and white-witches, as they call them, in every village, which if they be sought unto, will help almost all infirmities of body and mind, *Servatores* in Latin, and they have commonly St. Catharine's wheel printed in the roof of their mouth, or in some other part about them, *resistunt incantatorum præstigiis* ([2] Boissardus writes), *morbos à sagis motos propulsant, &c.*, that to doubt of it any longer, [3] "or not to believe, were to run into that other skeptical extreme of incredulity," saith Taurellus. Leo Suavius in his comment upon Paracelsus seems to make it an art, which ought to be approved; Pistorius and others stiffly maintain the use of charms, words, characters, &c. *Ars vera est, sed pauci artifices reperiuntur;* the art is true, but there be but a few that have skill in it. Marcellus Donatus, *lib.* 2, *de hist. mir. cap.* 1, proves out of Josephus's eight books of antiquities, that [4] "Solomon so cured all the diseases of the mind by spells, charms, and drove away devils, and that Eleazar did as much before Vespasian." Langius in his *med. epist.* holds Jupiter Menecrates, that did so many stupendous cures in his

[1] Agentia cum patientibus conjugunt.
[2] Cap. 11, de Servat.
[3] Hæc alii rident, sed vereor ne dum nolumus esse credulí, vitium non effugiamus incredulitatis.
[4] Refert Solomonem mentis morbos curâsse, et dæmones abegisse ipsos carminibus, quod et coram Vespasiano fecit Eleazar.

time, to have used this art, and that he was no other than a magician. Many famous cures are daily done in this kind, the devil is an expert physician, as Godelman calls him, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 18, and God permits oftentimes these witches and magicians to produce such effects, as Lavater, *cap.* 3, *lib.* 8, *part.* 3, *cap.* 1, Polid. Virg., *lib.* 1, *de prodigiis*, Delrio and others admit. Such cures may be done, and as Paracels., *Tom.* 4, *de morb. ament.* stiffly maintains, [1] "they cannot otherwise be cured but by spells, seals, and spiritual physic." [2] Arnoldus, *lib. de sigillis*, sets down the making of them, so doth Rulandus and many others.

Hoc posito, they can effect such cures, the main question is whether it be lawful in a desperate case to crave their help, or ask a wizard's advice. 'Tis a common practice of some men to go first to a witch and then to a physician, if one cannot the other shall, *Flectere si nequeant superos Acheronta movebunt.* [3] "It matters not," saith Paracelsus, "whether it be God or the devil, angels, or unclean spirits cure him, so that he be eased." If a man fall into a ditch, as he prosecutes it, what matter is it whether a friend or an enemy help him out? and if I be troubled with such a malady, what care I whether the devil himself, or any of his ministers by God's permission, redeem me? He calls a [4] magician God's minister and his vicar, applying that of *vos estis dii* profanely to them, for which he is lashed by T. Erastus, *part.* 1, *fol.* 45. And elsewhere he encourageth his patients to have a good faith, [5] "a strong imagination, and they shall find the effects; let divines say to the contrary what they will." He proves and contends that many diseases cannot otherwise be cured. *Incantatione orti incantatione curari debent;* if they be caused by incantation, [6] they must be cured by incantation. Constantinus, *lib.* 4, approves of such remedies; Bartolus the

[1] Spirituales morbi spiritualiter curari debent. [2] Sigillum ex auro peculiari ad Melancholiam, &c. [3] Lib. 1, de occult. Philos. nihil refert an Deus an diabolus, angeli an immundi spiritus ægro opem ferant, modo morbus curetur. [4] Magus minister et Vicarius Dei. [5] Utere forti imaginatione et experieris effectum, dicant in adversum quicquid volunt Theologi. [6] Idem Plinius contendit quosdam esse morbos qui incantationibus solum curentur.

lawyer, Peter Ærodius, *rerum Judic. lib.* 3, *tit.* 7. Salicetus Godefridus, with others of that sect, allow of them; *modò sint ad sanitatem, quæ à magis fiunt, secùs non,* so they be for the parties' good, or not at all. But these men are confuted by Remigius, Bodinus, *dæm. lib.* 3, *cap.* 2, Godelmanus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 8, Wierus, Delrio, *lib.* 6, *quæst.* 2, *tom.* 3, *mag. inquis.*, Erastus *de Lamiis;* all our [1] divines, schoolmen, and such as write cases of conscience are against it, the Scripture itself absolutely forbids it as a mortal sin, Levit. cap. xviii. xix. xx., Deut. xviii. &c., Rom. viii. 19, "Evil is not to be done, that good may come of it." Much better it were for such patients that are so troubled, to endure a little misery in this life, than to hazard their souls' health forever, and as Delrio counselleth, [2] "much better die, than be so cured." Some take upon them to expel devils by natural remedies, and magical exorcisms, which they seem to approve out of the practice of the primitive church, as that above cited of Josephus, Eleazar, Iræneus, Tertullian, Austin. Eusebius makes mention of such, and magic itself hath been publicly professed in some universities, as of old in Salamanca in Spain, and Cracow in Poland; but condemned anno 1318, by the chancellor and university of [3] Paris. Our pontifical writers retain many of these adjurations and forms of exorcisms still in the church; besides those in baptism used, they exorcise meats, and such as are possessed, as they hold, in Christ's name. Read Hieron. Mengus, *cap.* 3, Pet. Tyreus, *part.* 3, *cap.* 8, what exorcisms they prescribe, besides those ordinary means of [4] "fire suffumigations, lights, cutting the air with swords," *cap.* 57, herbs, odours; of which Tostatus treats, 2 *Reg. cap.* 16, *quæst.* 43, you shall find many vain and frivolous superstitious forms of exorcisms among them, not to be tolerated, or endured.

[1] Qui talibus credunt, aut ad eorum domos euntes, aut suis domibus introducunt, aut interrogant, sciant se fidem Christianam et baptismum prævaricâsse, et Apostatas esse. Austin de superstit. observ. hoc pacto à Deo deficitur ad diabolum, P. Mart. [2] Mori præstat quam superstitiosè sanari, Disquis. mag. l. 2, c. 2, sect. 1, quæst. 1, Tom. 3. [3] P. Lumbard. [4] Suffitus, gladiorum ictus, &c.

MEMB. II.

Lawful Cures, first from God.

Being so clearly evinced, as it is, all unlawful cures are to be refused, it remains to treat of such as are to be admitted, and those are commonly such which God hath appointed, [1] by virtue of stones, herbs, plants, meats, &c., and the like, which are prepared and applied to our use, by art and industry of physicians, who are the dispensers of such treasures for our good, and to be [2] "honoured for necessities' sake," God's intermediate ministers, to whom in our infirmities we are to seek for help. Yet not so that we rely too much, or wholly upon them: *a Jove principium*, we must first begin with [3] prayer, and then use physic; not one without the other, but both together. To pray alone, and reject ordinary means, is to do like him in Æsop, that when his cart was stalled, lay flat on his back, and cried aloud, help Hercules! but that was to little purpose, except as his friend advised him, *rotis tute ipse annitaris*, he whipped his horses withal, and put his shoulder to the wheel. God works by means, as Christ cured the blind man with clay and spittle: "*Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.*" As we must pray for health of body and mind, so we must use our utmost endeavours to preserve and continue it. Some kind of devils are not cast out but by fasting and prayer, and both necessarily required, not one without the other. For all the physic we can use, art, excellent industry, is to no purpose without calling upon God, *nil juvat immensos Cratero promittere montes;* it is in vain to seek for help, run, ride, except God bless us.

> "non Siculi dapes
> [4] Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
> Non animum cytheræve cantus.

[1] The Lord hath created medicines of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them, Ecclus. xxxviii. 4. [2] My son, fail not in thy sickness, but pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole, Ecclus. xxxviii. 9. [3] Huc omne principium, huc refer exitum. Hor. 3 carm. Od. 6. [4] Music and fine fare can do no good.

[1] Non domus et fundus, non æris acervus et auri
Ægroto possunt domino deducere febres."

[2] " With house, with land, with money, and with gold,
The master's fever will not be controll'd."

We must use our prayer and physic both together; and so no doubt but our prayers will be available, and our physic take effect. 'Tis that Hezekiah practised, 2 Kings xx., Luke the Evangelist; and which we are enjoined, Coloss. iv. not the patient only, but the physician himself. Hippocrates, a heathen, required this in a good practitioner, and so did Galen, *lib. de Plat. et Hipp. dog. lib.* 9, *cap.* 15, and in that tract of his, *an mores sequantur temp. cor. ca.* 11, 'tis a rule which he doth inculcate, [3] and many others. Hyperius in his first book *de sacr. script. lect.*, speaking of that happiness and good success which all physicians desire and hope for in their cures, [4] tells them that "it is not to be expected, except with a true faith they call upon God, and teach their patients to do the like." The council of Lateran, Canon 22, decreed they should do so; the fathers of the church have still advised as much: "whatsoever thou takest in hand (saith [5] Gregory) let God be of thy counsel, consult with him; that healeth those that are broken in heart (Psal. cxlvii. 3), and bindeth up their sores." Otherwise as the prophet Jeremiah, *cap.* xlvi. 11, denounced to Egypt, In vain shalt thou use many medicines, for thou shalt have no health. It is the same counsel which [6] Comineus, that politic historiographer, gives to all Christian princes, upon occasion of that unhappy overthrow of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, by means of which he was extremely melancholy, and sick to death; insomuch that neither physic nor persuasion could do him any good, per-

[1] Hor. l. 1, ep. 2. [2] Sint Crœsi et Crassi licet, non hos Pactolus aureas undas agens eripiet unquam è miseriis. [3] Scientia de Deo debet in medico infixa esse, Mesue Arabs. Sanat omnes languores Deus For you shall pray to your Lord, that he would prosper that which is given for ease, and then use physic for the prolonging of life, Ecclus. xxxviii. 4. [4] Omnes optant quandam in medicina fælicitatem, sed hanc non est quod expectent, nisi Deum verâ fide invocent, atque ægros similiter ad ardentem vocationem excitent. [5] Lemnius è Gregor. exhor. ad vitam opt. instit. cap. 48. Quicquid meditaris aggredi aut perficere, Deum in consilium adhibeto. [6] Commentar. lib. 7, ob infelicem pugnam contristatus, in ægritudinem incidit, ita ut à medicis curari non posset.

ceiving his preposterous error belike, adviseth all great men in such cases, [1] "to pray first to God with all submission and penitency, to confess their sins, and then to use physic." The very same fault it was, which the prophet reprehends in Asa, king of Judah, that he relied more on physic than on God, and by all means would have him to amend it. And 'tis a fit caution to be observed of all other sorts of men. The prophet David was so observant of this precept, that in his greatest misery and vexation of mind, he put this rule first in practice. Psal. lxxvii. 3, "When I am in heaviness, I will think on God." Psal. lxxxvi. 4, "Comfort the soul of thy servant, for unto thee I lift up my soul;" and verse 7, "In the day of trouble will I call upon thee, for thou hearest me." Psal. liv. 1, "Save me, O God, by thy name," &c., Psal. lxxxii. Psal. xx. And 'tis the common practice of all good men, Psal. cvii. 13, "When their heart was humbled with heaviness, they cried to the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them from their distress." And they have found good success in so doing, as David confesseth, Psal. xxx. 11, "Thou hast turned my mourning into joy, thou hast loosed my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness." Therefore he adviseth all others to do the like, Psal. xxxi. 24, "All ye that trust in the Lord, be strong, and he shall establish your heart." It is reported by * Suidas, speaking of Hezekiah, that there was a great book of old, of King Solomon's writing, which contained medicines for all manner of diseases, and lay open still as they came into the temple; but Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, caused it to be taken away, because it made the people secure, to neglect their duty in calling and relying upon God, out of a confidence on those remedies. [2] Minutius, that worthy consul of Rome, in an oration he made to his soldiers, was much offended with them, and

[1] In his animi malis princeps imprimis ad Deum precetur, et peccatis veniam exoret, inde ad medicinam, &c. * Greg. Tholoss. To. 2, l. 28, c. 7, Syntax In vestibulo templi Solomonis liber remediorum cujusque morbi fuit, quem revulsit Ezechias, quod populus neglecto Deo nec invocato, sanitatem inde peteret. [2] Livius, l. 23. Strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, sæpius nos quam deorum invocantium opem.

taxed their ignorance, that in their misery called more on him than upon God. A general fault it is all over the world, and Minutius's speech concerns us all, we rely more on physic, and seek oftener to physicians, than to God himself. As much faulty are they that prescribe, as they that ask, respecting wholly their gain, and trusting more to their ordinary receipts and medicines many times, than to him that made them. I would wish all patients in this behalf, in the midst of their melancholy, to remember that of Siracides, Ecc. i. 11 and 12, "The fear of the Lord is glory and gladness, and rejoicing. The fear of the Lord maketh a merry heart, and giveth gladness, and joy, and long life;" and all such as prescribe physic, to begin *in nomine Dei*, as [1] Mesue did, to imitate Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus, that in all his consultations, still concludes with a prayer for the good success of his business; and to remember that of Creto one of their predecessors, *fuge avaritiam, et sine oratione et invocatione Dei nihil facias*, avoid covetousness, and do nothing without invocation upon God.

MEMB. III.

Whether it be lawful to seek to Saints for Aid in this Disease.

That we must pray to God, no man doubts; but whether we should pray to saints in such cases, or whether they can do us any good, it may be lawfully controverted. Whether their images, shrines, relics, consecrated things, holy water, medals, benedictions, those divine amulets, holy exorcisms, and the sign of the cross, be available in this disease? The papists, on the one side, stiffly maintain how many melancholy, mad, demoniacal persons are daily cured at St. Anthony's Church in Padua, at St. Vitus's in Germany, by our

[1] Rulandus adjungit optimam orationem ad finem Empyricorum. Mercurialis, consil. 25. ita concludit. Montanus passim, &c., et plures alii, &c.

Lady of Loretto in Italy, our Lady of Sichem in the Low Countries; [1] *Quæ et cæcis lumen, ægris salutem, mortuis vitam, claudis gressum reddit, omnes morbos corporis, animi, curat, et in ipsos dæmones imperium exercet;* she cures halt, lame, blind, all diseases of body and mind, and commands the devil himself, saith Lipsius, "twenty-five thousand in a day come thither," [2] *quis nisi numen in illum locum sic induxit;* who brought them? *in auribus, in oculis omnium gesta, nova novitia;* new news lately done, our eyes and ears are full of her cures, and who can relate them all? They have a proper saint almost for every peculiar infirmity: for poison, gouts, agues, Petronella; St. Romanus for such as are possessed; Valentine for the falling-sickness; St. Vitus for madmen, &c., and as of old [3] Pliny reckons up gods for all diseases (*Febri fanum dicatum est*), Lilius Giraldus repeats many of her ceremonies; all affections of the mind were heretofore accounted gods,[4] love, and sorrow, virtue, honour, liberty, contumely, impudency, had their temples, tempests, seasons, *Crepitus Ventris, dea Vacuna, dea Cloacina*, there was a goddess of idleness, a goddess of the draught, or jakes, *Prema, Premunda, Priapus*, bawdy gods, and gods for all [5] offices. Varro reckons up 30,000 gods; Lucian makes Podagra the gout a goddess, and assigns her priests and ministers; and melancholy comes not behind; for as Austin mentioneth, *lib.* 4, *de Civit. Dei, cap.* 9, there was of old *Angerona dea*, and she had her chapel and feasts, to whom (saith [6] Macrobius) they did offer sacrifice yearly, that she might be pacified as well as the rest. 'Tis no new thing, you see this of papists; and in my judgment, that old doting Lipsius might have fitter dedicated his [7] pen after all his labours, to this our goddess of melancholy, than to his *Virgo Halensis*, and been her chaplain, it would have become him better; but he, poor man, thought no harm in that

[1] Lipsius. [2] Cap. 26. [3] Lib. 2, cap. 7, de Deo Morbisque in genera descriptis deos reperimus. [4] Selden prolog. cap. 3, de diis Syris. Rofinus. [5] See Lilii Giraldi syntagma de diis, &c. [6] 12 Cal. Januarii ferias celebrant, ut angores et animi solicitudines propitiata depellat. [7] Hanc divæ pennam consecravi, Lipsius.

which he did, and will not be persuaded but that he doth well, he hath so many patrons, and honourable precedents in the like kind, that justify as much, as eagerly, and more than he there saith of his lady and mistress; read but superstitious Coster and Gretser's Tract *de Cruce*, *Laur.* Arcturus *Fanteus de Invoc. Sanct.*, Bellarmine, Delrio, *dis. mag. tom.* 3, *l.* 6, *quæst.* 2, *sect.* 3, Greg. Tolosanus, *tom.* 2, *lib.* 8, *cap.* 24, Syntax, Strozius Cicogna, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 9, Tyreus, Hieronymus Mengus, and you shall find infinite examples of cures done in this kind, by holy waters, relics, crosses, exorcisms, amulets, images, consecrated beads, &c. Barradius the Jesuit boldly gives it out, that Christ's countenance, and the Virgin Mary's, would cure melancholy, if one had looked steadfastly on them. P. Morales the Spaniard, in his book *de pulch. Jes. et Mar.* confirms the same out of Carthusianus, and I know not whom, that it was a common proverb in those days, for such as were troubled in mind to say, *eamus ad videndum filium Mariæ*, let us see the son of Mary, as they now do post to St. Anthony's in Padua, or to St. Hilary's at Poictiers in France. [1] In a closet of that church, there is at this day St. Hilary's bed to be seen, "to which they bring all the madmen in the country, and after some prayers and other ceremonies, they lay them down there to sleep, and so they recover." It is an ordinary thing in those parts, to send all their madmen to St. Hilary's cradle. They say the like of St. Tubery in [2] another place. Giraldus, *Cambrensis Itin. Camb. c.* 1, tells strange stories of St. Ciricius's staff, that would cure this and all other diseases. Others say as much (as [3] Hospinian observes) of the three kings of Cologne; their names written in parchment, and hung about a patient's neck, with the sign of the cross, will produce like effects. Read Lipomannus, or that golden legend of *Jacobus de Voragine*, you shall have infinite stories, or those new

[1] Jodocus Sincerus itin. Galliæ. 1617. Huc mente captos deducunt, et statis orationibus, sacrisque peractis, in illum lectum dormitum ponunt, &c. [2] In Gallia Narbonensi. [3] Lib. de orig. Festorum. Collo suspensa et pergamena inscripta, cum signo crucis, &c.

relations of our [1] Jesuits in Japan and China, of Mat. Riccius, Acosta, Loyola, Xaverius's life, &c. Jasper Belga, a Jesuit, cured a mad woman by hanging St. John's gospel about her neck, and many such. Holy water did as much in Japan, &c. Nothing so familiar in their works, as such examples.

But we on the other side, seek to God alone. We say with David, Psal. xlvi. 1, "God is our hope and strength, and help in trouble, ready to be found." For their catalogue of examples, we make no other answer, but that they are false fictions, or diabolical illusions, counterfeit miracles. We cannot deny but that it is an ordinary thing on St. Anthony's day in Padua, to bring divers madmen and demoniacal persons to be cured; yet we make a doubt whether such parties be so affected indeed, but prepared by their priests, by certain ointments, and drams, to cozen the commonalty, as [2] Hildesheim well saith; the like is commonly practised in Bohemia as Mathiolus gives us to understand in his preface to his comment upon Dioscorides. But we need not run so far for examples in this kind; we have a just volume published at home to this purpose. [3] "A declaration of egregious popish impostures, to withdraw the hearts of religious men under pretence of casting out of devils, practised by Father Edmunds, alias Weston, a Jesuit, and divers Romish priests, his wicked associates, with the several parties' names, confessions, examinations, &c. which were pretended to be possessed." But these are ordinary tricks only to get opinion and money, mere impostures. Æsculapius of old, that counterfeit god, did as many famous cures; his temple (as [4] Strabo relates) was daily full of patients, and as many several tables, inscriptions, pendants, donories, &c., to be seen in his church, as at this day our Lady of Loretto's in Italy. It was a custom long since,

[1] Em. Acosta, com. rerum in Oriente gest. à societat. Jesu, Anno, 1568. Epist. Gonsalvi. Fernandis, Anno 1560, è Japonia. [2] Spicel. de morbis dæmoniacis, sic à sacrificulis parati unguentis Magicis corpori illitis, ut stultæ plebeculæ persuadeant tales curari à Sancto Antonio. [3] Printed at London, 4to. by J. Roberts, 1605. [4] Greg. lib. 8. Cujus fanum ægrotantium multitudine refertum, undiquaque et tabellis pendentibus, in quibus sanati languores erant inscripti.

"suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris deo." [1]—*Hor. Od.* 1 *lib.* 5 *Od.*

To do the like, in former times they were seduced and deluded as they are now. 'Tis the same devil still, called heretofore Apollo, Mars, Neptune, Venus, Æsculapius, &c., as [2] Lactantius, *lib.* 2, *de orig. erroris*, *c.* 17, observes. The same Jupiter and those bad angels are now worshipped and adored by the name of St. Sebastian, Barbara, &c., Christopher and George are come in their places. Our lady succeeds Venus (as they use her in many offices), the rest are otherwise supplied, as [3] Lavater writes, and so they are deluded. [4] "And God often winks at these impostures, because they forsake his word, and betake themselves to the devil, as they do that seek after holy water, crosses," &c., Wierus, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 3. What can these men plead for themselves more than those heathen gods, the same cures done by both, the same spirit that seduceth; but read more of the pagan gods' effects in Austin, *de Civitate Dei*, *l.* 10, *cap.* 6, and of Æsculapius especially in Cicogna, *l.* 3, *cap.* 8, or put case they could help, why should we rather seek to them, than to Christ himself, since that he so kindly invites us unto him, "Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden, and I will ease you," Mat. xi., and we know that "there is one God, one Mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ" (1 Tim. ii. 5), who gave himself a ransom for all men. We know that "we have an [5] advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ" (1 John ii. 1), that "there is no other name under heaven, by which we can be saved, but by his," who is always ready to hear us, and sits at the right hand of God, and from [6] whom we can have no repulse, *solus vult*, *solus potest*, *curat universos tanquam singulos*, *et* [7] *unumquemque nostrûm ut solum*, we are all

[1] "To offer the sailor's garments to the deity of the deep." [2] Mali angeli sumpserunt olim nomen Jovis, Junonis, Apollinis, &c., quos Gentiles deos credebant, nunc S. Sebastiani, Barbaræ, &c., nomen habent. et aliorum. [3] Part. 2, cap. 9, de spect. Veneri substituunt Virginem Mariam. [4] Ad hæc ludibria Deus connivet frequenter, ubi relicto verbo Dei, ad Satanam curritur, quales hi sunt, qui aquam lustralem, crucem, &c., lubricæ fidei hominibus offerunt. [5] Charior est ipsis homo quam sibi, Paul. [6] Bernard. [7] Austin.

as one to him, he cares for us all as one, and why should we then seek to any other but to him?

MEMB. IV.

Subsect. I.—*Physician, Patient, Physic.*

Of those diverse gifts which our apostle Paul saith God hath bestowed on man, this of physic is not the least, but most necessary, and especially conducing to the good of mankind. Next therefore to God in all our extremities ("for of the most high cometh healing," Ecclus. xxxviii. 2,) we must seek to, and rely upon the Physician, [1] who is *Manus Dei*, saith Hierophilus, and to whom he hath given knowledge, that he might be glorified in his wondrous works. "With such doth he heal men, and take away their pains," Ecclus. xxxviii. 6, 7. "When thou hast need of him, let him not go from thee. The hour may come that their enterprises may have good success," ver. 13. It is not therefore to be doubted, that if we seek a physician as we ought, we may be eased of our infirmities, such a one I mean as is sufficient, and worthily so called; for there be many mountebanks, quacksalvers, empirics, in every street almost, and in every village, that take upon them this name, make this noble and profitable art to be evil spoken of and contemned, by reason of these base and illiterate artificers; but such a physician I speak of, as is approved, learned, skilful, honest, &c., of whose duty Wecker, *Antid. cap.* 2, *et Syntax. med.* Crato, Julius Alexandrinus, *medic.* Heurnius, *prax. med. lib.* 3, *cap.* 1, *&c.*, treat at large. For this particular disease, him that shall take upon him to cure it, [2] Paracelsus will have to be a magician, a chemist, a philosopher, an astrologer; Thurnesserus, Severinus the Dane, and some other of his followers, require as

[1] Ecclus. xxxviii. In the sight of great men he shall be in admiration. [2] Tom. 4, Tract. 3, de morbis amentium, horum multi non nisi à Magis curandi et Astrologis, quoniam origo ejus à cœlis petenda est.

much: "many of them cannot be cured but by magic." [1] Paracelsus is so stiff for those chemical medicines, that in his cures he will admit almost of no other physic, deriding in the mean time Hippocrates, Galen, and all their followers; but magic and all such remedies I have already censured, and shall speak of chemistry [2] elsewhere. Astrology is required by many famous physicians, by Ficinus, Crato, Fernelius; [3] doubted of, and exploded by others; I will not take upon me to decide the controversy myself, Johannes Hossurtus, Thomas Boderius, and Maginus in the preface to his mathematical physic, shall determine for me. Many physicians explode astrology in physic (saith he), there is no use of it, *unam artem ac quasi temerariam insectantur, ac gloriam sibi ab ejus imperitia aucupari;* but I will reprove physicians by physicians, that defend and profess it, Hippocrates, Galen, Avicen., &c., that count them butchers without it, *homicidas medicos Astrologiæ ignaros, &c.* Paracelsus goes farther, and will have his physician [4] predestinated to this man's cure, this malady; and time of cure, the scheme of each geniture inspected, gathering of herbs, of administering astrologically observed; in which Thurnesserus and some iatromathematical professors, are too superstitious in my judgment. [5] "Hellebore will help, but not alway, not given by every physician," &c., but these men are too peremptory and self-conceited as I think. But what do I do, interposing in that which is beyond my reach? A blind man cannot judge of colours, nor I peradventure of these things. Only thus much I would require, honesty in every physician, that he be not over-careless or covetous, harpy-like to make a prey of his patient; *Carnificis namque est* (as [6] Wecker notes) *inter ipsos cruciatus ingens precium exposcere*, as a hungry chirurgeon often produces and wiredraws his cure, so long as there is any hope of pay, "*Non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris hirudo.*" [7] Many of

[1] Lib. de Podagra. [2] Sect. 5. [3] Langius. J. Cæsar Claudinus consult. [4] Prædestinatum ad hunc curandum. [5] Helleborus curat, sed quod ab omni datus medico vanum est. [6] Antid. gen. lib. 3, cap. 2. [7] "The leech never releases the skin until he is filled with blood."

them, to get a fee, will give physic to every one that comes, when there is no cause, and they do so *irritare silentem morbum*, as [1] Heurnius complains, stir up a silent disease, as it often falleth out, which by good counsel, good advice alone, might have been happily composed, or by rectification of those six non-natural things otherwise cured. This is *Naturæ bellum inferre*, to oppugn nature, and to make a strong body weak. Arnoldus, in his 8 and 11 Aphorisms, gives cautions against, and expressly forbiddeth it. [2] "A wise physician will not give physic but upon necessity, and first try medicinal diet, before he proceed to medicinal cure." [3] In another place he laughs those men to scorn, that think *longis syrupis expuguare dæmones et animi phantasmata*, they can purge fantastical imaginations and the devil by physic. Another caution is, that they proceed upon good grounds, if so be there be need of physic, and not mistake the disease; they are often deceived by the [4] similitude of symptoms, saith Heurnius, and I could give instance in many consultations, wherein they have prescribed opposite physic. Sometimes they go too perfunctorily to work, in not prescribing a just [5] course of physic; To stir up the humour, and not to purge it, doth often more harm than good. Montanus, *consil.* 30, inveighs against such perturbations, "that purge to the halves, tire nature, and molest the body to no purpose." 'Tis a crabbed humour to purge, and as Laurentius calls this disease, the reproach of physicians; Bessardus, *flagellum medicorum*, their lash; and for that cause, more carefully to be respected. Though the patient be averse, saith Laurentius, desire help, and refuse it again, though he neglect his own health, it behooves a good physician not to leave him helpless. But most part they offend in that other extreme,

[1] Quod sæpe evenit, lib. 3, cap. 1, cum non sit necessitas. Frustra fatigant remediis ægros qui victûs ratione curari possunt. Heurnius. [2] Modestus et sapiens medicus, nunquam properabit ad pharmacum, nisi cogente necessitate. 41 Aphor. prudens et pius medicus cibis prius medicinalibus quam medicinis puris morbum expellere satagat. [3] Brev. 1, c. 18. [4] Similitudo sæpe bonis medicis imponit. [5] Qui melancholicis præbent remedia non satis valida, Longiores morbi imprimis solertiam medici postulant et fidelitatem, qui enim tumultuariò hos tractant, vires absque ullo commodo lædunt et frangunt, &c.

they prescribe too much physic, and tire out their bodies with continual potions, to no purpose. *Ætius, tetrabib.* 2, 2 *ser. cap.* 90, will have them by all means therefore [1] "to give some respite to nature," to leave off now and then; and Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus, in his consultations, found it (as he there witnesseth) often verified by experience, [2] "that after a deal of physic to no purpose, left to themselves, they have recovered." 'Tis that which Nic. Piso, Donatus Altomarus, still inculcate, *dare requiem naturæ*, to give nature rest.

Subsect. II.—*Concerning the Patient.*

When these precedent cautions are accurately kept, and that we have now got a skilful, an honest physician to our mind, if his patient will not be conformable, and content to be ruled by him, all his endeavours will come to no good end. Many things are necessarily to be observed and continued on the patient's behalf: First that he be not too niggardly miserable of his purse, or think it too much he bestows upon himself, and to save charges endanger his health. The Abderites, when they sent for [3] Hippocrates, promised him what reward he would, [4] "all the gold they had, if all the city were gold he should have it." Naaman the Syrian, when he went into Israel to Elisha to be cured of his leprosy, took with him ten talents of silver, six thousand pieces of gold, and ten change of raiments (2 Kings v. 5). Another thing is, that out of bashfulness he do not conceal his grief; if aught trouble his mind, let him freely disclose it, "*Stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat:*" by that means he procures to himself much mischief, and runs into a greater inconvenience; he must be willing to be cured, and earnestly desire it. *Pars sanitatis velle sanari fuit* (Seneca). 'Tis a part of his cure to wish his own health; and not to defer it too long.

[1] Naturæ remissionem dare oportet. [2] Plerique hoc morbo medicina nihil profecisse visi sunt, et sibi demissi invaluerunt. [3] Abderitani ep. Hippoc. [4] Quicquid auri apud nos est, libenter persolvemus, etiamsi tota urbs nostra aurum esset.

[1] "Qui blandiendo dulce nutrivit malum,
Serò recusat ferre quod subiit jugum."

"He that by cherishing a mischief doth provoke,
Too late at last refuseth to cast off his yoke."

[2] "Helleborum frustra cum jam cutis ægra tumebit,
Poscentes videas; venienti occurrite morbo."

"When the skin swells, to seek it to appease
With hellebore, is vain; meet your disease."

By this means many times, or through their ignorance in not taking notice of their grievance and danger of it, contempt, supine negligence, extenuation, wretchedness and peevishness; they undo themselves. The citizens, I know not of what city now, when rumour was brought their enemies were coming, could not abide to hear it; and when the plague begins in many places and they certainly know it, they command silence and hush it up; but after they see their foes now marching to their gates, and ready to surprise them, they begin to fortify and resist when 'tis too late; when the sickness breaks out and can be no longer concealed, then they lament their supine negligence; 'tis no otherwise with these men. And often out of prejudice, a loathing and distaste of physic, they had rather die or do worse, than take any of it. "Barbarous immanity ([3] Melancthon terms it) and folly to be deplored, so to contemn the precepts of health, good remedies, and voluntarily to pull death, and many maladies upon their own heads." Though many again are in that other extreme too profuse, suspicious, and jealous of their health, too apt to take physic on every small occasion, to aggravate every slender passion, imperfection, impediment; if their finger do but ache, run, ride, send for a physician, as many gentlewomen do, that are sick, without a cause, even when they will themselves, upon every toy or small discontent, and when he comes, they make it worse than it is, by amplifying that which is not. [4] Hier.

[1] Seneca. [2] Pers. 3 Sat. [3] De anima. Barbarâ tamen immanitate, et deplorandâ inscitiâ contemnunt præcepta sanitatis, mortem et morbos ultro accersunt. [4] Consul. 173, è Scoltzio Melanch. Ægrorum hoc fere proprium est, ut graviora dicant esse symptomata, quam revera sunt.

Cappivaccius sets it down as a common fault of all "melancholy persons to say their symptoms are greater than they are, to help themselves." And which [1] Mercurialis notes, *consil.* 53, "to be more troublesome to their physicians, than other ordinary patients, that they may have change of physic."

A third thing to be required in a patient, is confidence, to be of good cheer, and have sure hope that his physician can help him. [2] Damascen the Arabian requires likewise in the physician himself, that he be confident he can cure him, otherwise his physic will not be effectual, and promise withal that he will certainly help him, make him believe so at least. [3] Galeottus gives this reason, because the form of health is contained in the physician's mind, and as Galen holds [4] "confidence and hope to be more good than physic," he cures most in whom most are confident. Axiochus, sick almost to death, at the very sight of Socrates recovered his former health. Paracelsus assigns it for an only cause, why Hippocrates was so fortunate in his cures, not for any extraordinary skill he had; [5] but "because the common people had a most strong conceit of his worth." To this of confidence we may add perseverance, obedience, and constancy, not to change his physician, or dislike him upon every toy; for he that so doth (saith [6] Janus Damascen) "or consults with many, falls into many errors; or that useth many medicines." It was a chief caveat of [7] Seneca to his friend Lucilius, that he should not alter his physician, or prescribed physic: "Nothing hinders health more; a wound can never be cured that hath several plasters." Crato, *consil.* 186, taxeth all melancholy persons of this fault: [8] "'Tis proper to them, if things fall not out to their mind, and that they have

[1] Melancholici plerumque medicis sunt molesti, ut alia aliis adjungant. [2] Oportet infirmo imprimere salutem, utcunque promittere, etsi ipse desperet. Nullum medicamentum efficax, nisi medicus etiam fuerit fortis imaginationis. [3] De promisc. doct. cap. 15. Quoniam sanitatis formam animi medici continent. [4] Spes et confidentia plus valent quam medicina. [5] Fælicior in medicina ob fidem Ethnicorum. [6] Aphoris. 89. Æger qui plurimos consulit medicos, plerumque in errorem singulorum cadit. [7] Nihil ita sanitatem impedit, ac remediorum crebra mutatio, nec venit vulnus ad cicatricem in quo diversa medicamenta tentantur. [8] Melancholicorum propriu quum ex eorum arbitrio non fit subita mutatio in melius, alterare medicos qui quidvis, &c.

not present ease, to seek another and another;" (as they do commonly that have sore eyes) twenty, one after another, and they still promise all to cure them, try a thousand remedies; and by this means they increase their malady, make it most dangerous and difficult to be cured. "They try many (saith [1]Montanus) and profit by none;" and for this cause, *consil.* 24, he enjoins his patient before he take him in hand, [2]"perseverance and sufferance, for in such a small time no great matter can be effected, and upon that condition he will administer physic, otherwise all his endeavour and counsel would be to small purpose." And in his 31 counsel for a notable matron, he tells her, [3]"if she will be cured, she must be of a most abiding patience, faithful obedience, and singular perseverance; if she remit, or despair, she can expect or hope for no good success." *Consil.* 230, for an Italian abbot, he makes it one of the greatest reasons why this disease is so incurable, [4]"because the parties are so restless and impatient, and will therefore have him that intends to be eased, [5]to take physic, not for a month, a year, but to apply himself to their prescriptions all the days of his life." Last of all, it is required that the patient be not too bold to practise upon himself, without an approved physician's consent, or to try conclusions, if he read a receipt in a book; for so, many grossly mistake, and do themselves more harm than good. That which is conducing to one man, in one case, the same time is opposite to another. [6]An ass and a mule went laden over a brook, the one with salt, the other with wool; the mule's pack was wet by chance, the salt melted, his burden the lighter, and he thereby much eased; he told the ass, who, thinking to speed as well, wet his pack likewise at the next water, but it was much the heavier, he quite tired. So one thing may be good and bad to several parties, upon diverse

[1] Consil. 31. Dum ad varia se conferunt, nullo prosunt. [2] Imprimis hoc statuere oportet, requiri perseverantiam, et tolerantiam. Exiguo enim tempore nihil ex, &c. [3] Si curari vult, opus est pertinaci perseverantia, fideli obedientia, et patientia singulari, si tædet aut desperet, nullum habebit effectum. [4] Ægritudine amittunt patientiam, et inde morbi incurabiles. [5] Non ad mensem aut annum, sed oportet toto vitæ curriculo curationi operam dare. [6] Camerarius, emb. 55, cent. 2.

occasions. "Many things (saith [1] Penottus) are written in our books, which seem to the reader to be excellent remedies, but they that make use of them are often deceived, and take for physic poison." I remember in Valleriola's observations, a story of one John Baptist, a Neapolitan, that finding by chance a pamphlet in Italian, written in praise of hellebore, would needs adventure on himself, and took one dram for one scruple, and had not he been sent for, the poor fellow had poisoned himself. From whence he concludes out of Damascenus, 2 *et* 3 *Aphorism.* [2] "that without exquisite knowledge, to work out of books is most dangerous; how unsavoury a thing it is to believe writers, and take upon trust, as this patient perceived by his own peril." I could recite such another example of mine own knowledge, of a friend of mine, that finding a receipt in Brassivola, would needs take hellebore in substance, and try it on his own person; but had not some of his familiars come to visit him by chance, he had by his indiscretion hazarded himself; many such I have observed. These are those ordinary cautions, which I should think fit to be noted, and he that shall keep them, as [3] Montanus saith, shall surely be much eased, if not thoroughly cured.

Subsect. III.—*Concerning Physic.*

Physic itself in the last place is to be considered; "for the Lord hath created medicines of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them." Ecclus. xxxviii. 4, ver. 8, "of such doth the apothecary make a confection," &c. Of these medicines there be diverse and infinite kinds, plants, metals, animals, &c., and those of several natures, some good for one, hurtful to another; some noxious in themselves, corrected by art, very wholesome and good, simples, mixed, &c., and therefore left to be managed by discreet and skilful

[1] Præfat. de nar. med. In libellis quæ vulgo versantur apud literatos, incautiores multa legunt, à quibus decipiuntur, eximia illis, sed portentosum hauriunt venenum. [2] Operari ex libris, absque cognitione et solerti ingenio, periculosum est. Unde monemur, quam insipidum scriptis auctoribus credere, quod hic suo didicit periculo. [3] Consil. 23, hæc omnia si quo ordine decet, egerit, vel curabitur, vel certe minus afficietur.

physicians, and thence applied to man's use. To this purpose they have invented method, and several rules of art, to put these remedies in order, for their particular ends. Physic (as Hippocrates defines it) is nought else but [1] "addition and subtraction;" and as it is required in all other diseases, so in this of melancholy it ought to be most accurate, it being (as [2] Mercurialis acknowledgeth) so common an affection in these our times, and therefore fit to be understood. Several prescripts and methods I find in several men, some take upon them to cure all maladies with one medicine, severally applied, as that *Panacea Aurum potabile*, so much controverted in these days, *Herba solis, &c.* Paracelsus reduceth all diseases to four principal heads, to whom Severinus, Ravelascus, Leo Suavius, and others adhere and imitate; those are leprosy, gout, dropsy, falling-sickness. To which they reduce the rest; as to leprosy, ulcers, itches, furfurs, scabs, &c. To gout, stone, colic, toothache, headache, &c. To dropsy, agues, jaundice, cachexia, &c. To the falling-sickness, belong palsy, vertigo, cramps, convulsions, incubus, apoplexy, &c. [3] "If any of those four principal be cured (saith Ravelascus) all the inferior are cured," and the same remedies commonly serve; but this is too general, and by some contradicted; for this peculiar disease of melancholy, of which I am now to speak, I find several cures, several methods and prescripts. They that intend the practic cure of melancholy, saith Duretus in his notes to Hollerius, set down nine peculiar scopes or ends; Savanarola prescribes seven especial canons. Ælianus Montaltus, *cap.* 26, Faventinus in his empirics, Hercules de Saxoniâ, &c., have their several injunctions and rules, all tending to one end. The ordinary is threefold, which I mean to follow. Διαιτητική, *Pharmaceutica*, and *Chirurgica*, diet, or living, apothecary, chirurgery, which Wecker, Crato, Guianerius, &c., and most prescribe; of which I will insist, and speak in their order.

[1] Fuchsius, cap. 2, lib. 1. med. hæc affectio nostris frequentissima, ergo maximè pertinet ad nos hujus curationem intelligere. [2] In pract. temporibus aliquis horum morborum summus sanatur, sanantur omnes inferiores. [3] Si

SECT. II. MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—*Diet rectified in Substance.*

DIET, Διαιτητικὴ, *victus*, or living, according to [1] Fuchsius and others, comprehend those six non-natural things, which I have before specified, are especial causes, and being rectified, a sole or chief part of the cure. [2] Johannes Arculanus, *cap.* 16, *in* 9 *Rhasis*, accounts the rectifying of these six a sufficient cure. Guianerius, *tract.* 15, *cap.* 9, calls them, *propriam et primam curam*, the principal cure; so doth Montanus, Crato, Mercurialis, Altomarus, &c., first to be tried, Lemnius, *instit. cap.* 22, names them the hinges of our health, [3] no hope of recovery without them. Reinerius Solenander, in his seventh consultation for a Spanish young gentlewoman, that was so melancholy she abhorred all company, and would not sit at table with her familiar friends, prescribes this physic above the rest, [4] no good to be done without it. [5] Areteus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 7, an old physician, is of opinion, that this is enough of itself, if the party be not too far gone in sickness. [6] Crato, in a consultation of his for a noble patient, tells him plainly, that if his highness will keep but a good diet, he will warrant him his former health. [7] Montanus, *consil.* 27, for a nobleman of France, admonisheth his lordship to be most circumspect in his diet, or else all his other physic will [8] be to small purpose. The same injunction I find *verbatim* in *J. Cæsar Claudinus*, *Respon.* 34, *Scoltzii*, *consil.* 183, *Trallianus*, *cap.* 16, *lib.* 1, *Lælius à fonte Ægubinus* often brags, that he hath done more cures

[1] Instit. cap. 8, sect. 1. Victûs nomine non tam cibus et potus, sed aër, exercitatio, somnus, vigilia, et reliquæ res sex non-naturales continentur. [2] Sufficit plerumque regimen rerum sex non-naturalium. [3] Et in his potissima sanitas consistit. [4] Nihil hic agendum sine exquisita vivendi ratione, &c. [5] Si recens malum sit, ad pristinum habitum recuperandum aliâ medelâ non est opus. [6] Consil. 99, lib. 2, si celsitudo tua, rectam victûs rationem, &c. [7] Moneo, Domine, ut sis prudens ad victum, sine quo cætera remedia frustra adhibentur. [8] Omnia remedia irrita et vana sine his. Novistis me plerosque ita laborantes, victu potius quam medicamentis curâsse.

in this kind by rectification of diet, than all other physic besides. So that in a word I may say to most melancholy men, as the fox said to the weasel, that could not get out of the garner, *Macra cavum repetes, quem macra subîsti*, [1] the six non-natural things caused it, and they must cure it. Which howsoever I treat of, as proper to the meridian of melancholy, yet nevertheless, that which is here said with him in [2] Tully, though writ especially for the good of his friends at Tarentum and Sicily, yet it will generally serve [3] most other diseases, and help them likewise, if it be observed.

Of these six non-natural things, the first is diet, properly so called, which consists in meat and drink, in which we must consider substance, quantity, quality, and that opposite to the precedent. In substance, such meats are generally commended, which are [4] "moist, easy of digestion, and not apt to engender wind, not fried, nor roasted, but sod (saith Valescus, Altomarus, Piso, &c.), hot and moist, and of good nourishment;" Crato, *consil.* 21, *lib.* 2, admits roast meat, [5] if the burned and scorched *superficies*, the brown we call it, be pared off. Salvianus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 1, cries out on cold and dry meats; [6] young flesh and tender is approved, as of kid, rabbits, chickens, veal, mutton, capons, hens, partridge, pheasant, quails, and all mountain birds, which are so familiar in some parts of Africa, and in Italy, and as [7] Dublinius reports, the common food of boors and clowns in Palestine. Galen takes exception at mutton, but without question he means that rammy mutton, which is in Turkey and Asia Minor, which have those great fleshy tails, of forty-eight pounds weight, as Vertomannus witnesseth, *navig. lib.* 2, *cap.* 5. The lean of fat meat is best, and all manner of broths, and pottage, with borage, lettuce, and such wholesome herbs, are

[1] "When you are again lean, seek an exit through that hole by which lean you entered." [2] 1, de finibus Tarentinis et Siculis. [3] Modo non multum elongentur. [4] Lib. 1, de melan. cap. 7. Calidi et humidi cibi, concoctu faciles, flatûs exortes, elixi non assi, neque frixi sint. [5] Si interna tantum pulpa devoretur, non superficies torrida ab igne. [6] Bene nutrientes cibi, tenella ætas multum valet, carnes non virosæ, nec pingues. [7] Hœdoper. peregr. Hierosol.

excellent good, especially of a cock boiled; all spoon meat. Arabians commend brains, but [1] Laurentius, *c.* 8, excepts against them, and so do many others; [2] eggs are justified as a nutritive wholesome meat, butter and oil may pass, but with some limitation; so [3] Crato confines it, and "to some men sparingly at set times, or in sauce," and so sugar and honey are approved. [4] All sharp and sour sauces must be avoided, and spices, or at least seldom used; and so saffron sometimes in broth may be tolerated; but these things may be more freely used, as the temperature of the party is hot or cold, or as he shall find inconvenience by them. The thinnest, whitest, smallest wine is best, not thick, nor strong; and so of beer, the middling is fittest. Bread of good wheat, pure, well purged from the bran, is preferred; Laurentius, *cap.* 8, would have it kneaded with rain water, if it may be gotten.

Water.] Pure, thin, light water by all means use, of good smell and taste, like to the air in sight, such as is soon hot, soon cold, and which Hippocrates so much approves, if at least it may be had. Rain water is purest, so that it fall not down in great drops, and be used forthwith, for it quickly putrefies. Next to it, fountain water that riseth in the east, and runneth eastward, from a quick-running spring, from flinty, chalky, gravelly grounds; and the longer a river runneth, it is commonly the purest, though many springs do yield the best water at their fountains. The waters in hotter countries, as in Turkey, Persia, India, within the tropics, are frequently purer than ours in the north, more subtile, thin, and lighter, as our merchants observe, by four ounces in a pound, pleasanter to drink, as good as our beer, and some of them, as Choaspis in Persia, preferred by the Persian kings before wine itself.

[5] "Clitorio quicunque sitim de fonte levârit
Vina fugit gaudetque meris abstemius undis."

[1] Inimica stomacho. [2] Not fried or buttered, but potched. [3] Consil. 16. Non improbatur butyrum et oleum, si tamen plus quam par sit, non profundatur: sacchari et mellis usus, utiliter ad ciborum condimenta comprobatur. [4] Mercurialis, consil. 88, acerba omnia evitentur. [5] Ovid. Met. lib. 15. "Who-

Many rivers I deny not are muddy still, white, thick, like those in China, Nile in Egypt, Tiber at Rome, but after they be settled two or three days, defecate and clear, very commodious, useful, and good. Many make use of deep wells, as of old in the Holy Land, lakes, cisterns, when they cannot be better provided; to fetch it in carts or gondolas, as in Venice, or camels' backs, as at Cairo in Egypt, [1] Radzivilus observed 8,000 camels daily there, employed about that business; some keep it in trunks, as in the East Indies, made four square with descending steps, and 'tis not amiss; for I would not have any one so nice as that Grecian Calis, sister to Nicephorus, emperor of Constantinople, and [2] married to Dominitus Silvius, duke of Venice, that out of incredible wantonness, *communi aquâ uti nolebat*, would use no vulgar water; but she died *tantâ* (saith mine author) *fœtidissimi puris copiâ*, of so fulsome a disease, that no water could wash her clean. [3] Plato would not have a traveller lodge in a city that is not governed by laws, or hath not a quick stream running by it; *illud enim animum, hoc corrumpit valetudinem*, one corrupts the body, the other the mind. But this is more than needs, too much curiosity is nought, in time of necessity any water is allowed. Howsoever, pure water is best, and which (as Pindarus holds) is better than gold; an especial ornament it is, and "very commodious to a city (according to [4] Vegetius) when fresh springs are included within the walls," as at Corinth, in the midst of the town almost, there was *arx altissima scatens fontibus*, a goodly mount full of fresh-water springs; "if nature afford them not they must be had by art." It is a wonder to read of those [5] stupend aqueducts, and infinite cost hath been bestowed in Rome of old, Constantinople, Carthage, Alexandria, and such populous cities, to convey good and wholesome waters; read [6] *Frontinus*, *Lipsius de admir.* [7] *Plinius*, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 11, Strabo in his

ever has allayed his thirst with the water of the Clitorius, avoids wine and abstemious delights in pure water only." [1] Peregr. Hier. [2] The Dukes of Venice were then permitted to marry. [3] De Legibus. [4] Lib. 4, cap. 10. Magna urbis utilitas cum perennes fontes muris includuntur, quod si natura non præstat, effodiendi, &c. [5] Opera gigantum dicit aliquis. [6] De aquæduct. [7] Curtius

Geogr. That aqueduct of Claudius was most eminent, fetched upon arches fifteen miles, every arch 109 feet high; they had fourteen such other aqueducts, besides lakes and cisterns, 700 as I take it; [1] every house had private pipes and channels to serve them for their use. Peter Gillius, in his accurate description of Constantinople, speaks of an old cistern which he went down to see, 336 feet long, 180 feet broad, built of marble, covered over with archwork, and sustained by 336 pillars, twelve feet asunder, and in eleven rows, to contain sweet water. Infinite cost in channels and cisterns, from Nilus to Alexandria, hath been formerly bestowed, to the admiration of these times; [2] their cisterns so curiously cemented and composed, that a beholder would take them to be all of one stone; when the foundation is laid, and cistern made, their house is half built. That Segovian aqueduct in Spain, is much wondered at in these days, [3] upon three rows of pillars, one above another, conveying sweet water to every house; but each city almost is full of such aqueducts. Amongst the rest [4] he is eternally to be commended, that brought that new stream to the north side of London at his own charge; and Mr. Otho Nicholson, founder of our waterworks and elegant conduit in Oxford. So much have all times attributed to this element, to be conveniently provided of it; although Galen hath taken exceptions at such waters, which run through leaden pipes, *ob cerussam quæ in iis generatur*, for that unctuous ceruse, which causeth dysenteries and fluxes; [5] yet as Alsarius Crucius of Genna well answers, it is opposite to common experience. If that were true, most of our Italian cities, Montpelier in France, with infinite others, would find this inconvenience, but there is no such matter. For private families, in what sort they should furnish themselves, let them consult with P. Cres-

Fons à quadragesimo lapide in urbem opere arcuato perductus. Plin. 36, 15.
[1] Quæque domus Romæ fistulas habebat et canales, &c. [2] Lib. 2, ca. 20, Jod. à Meggen. cap. 15, pereg. Hier. Bellonius.
[3] Cypr. Echovius delit. Hisp. Aqua profluens inde in omnes ferè domos ducitur, in puteis quoque æstivo tempore frigidissima conservatur. [4] Sir Hugh Middleton, Baronet. [5] De quæsitis med. cent. fol. 354.

centius, *de Agric. l.* 1, *c.* 4, Pamphilius Hirelacus and the rest.

Amongst fishes, those are most allowed of, that live in gravelly or sandy waters, pikes, perch, trout, gudgeon, smelts, flounders, &c. Hippolitus Salvianus takes exception at carp; but I dare boldly say with [1] Dubravius, it is an excellent meat, if it come not from [2] muddy pools, that it retain not an unsavoury taste. Urinacius Marinus is much commended by Oribasius, Ætius, and most of our late writers.

[3] Crato, *consil.* 21, *lib.* 2, censures all manner of fruits, as subject to putrefaction, yet tolerable at some times, after meals, at second course, they keep down vapours, and have their use. Sweet fruits are best, as sweet cherries, plums, sweet apples, pearmains, and pippins, which Laurentius extols, as having a peculiar property against this disease, and Plater magnifies, *omnibus modis appropriata conveniunt*, but they must be corrected for their windiness; ripe grapes are good, and raisins of the sun, musk-melons well corrected, and sparingly used. Figs are allowed, and almonds blanched. Trallianus discommends figs, [4] Salvianus olives and capers, which [5] others especially like of, and so of pistick nuts. Montanus and Mercurialis out of Avenzoar, admit peaches, [6] pears, and apples baked after meals, only corrected with sugar and anise-seed, or fennel-seed, and so they may be profitably taken, because they strengthen the stomach, and keep down vapours. The like may be said of preserved cherries, plums, marmalade of plums, quinces, &c., but not to drink after them. [7] Pomegranates, lemons, oranges are tolerated, if they be not too sharp.

[8] Crato will admit of no herbs, but borage, bugloss, endive,

[1] De piscibus lib. habent omnes in autitiis, modò non sint è cænoso loco. [2] De pisc. c. 2, l. 7. Plurimum præstat ad utilitatem et jucunditatem. Idem Trallianus, lib. 1, c. 16, pisces petrosi, et molles carne. [3] Etsi omnes putrediui sunt obnoxii, ubi secundis mensis, incepto jam priore, devorentur, commodi succi prosunt, qui dulcedine sunt præditi. Ut dulcia cerasa, poma, &c. [4] Lib. 2, cap. 1. [5] Montanus, consil. 24. [6] Pyra quæ grato sunt sapore, cocta mala, poma tosta, et saccharo, vel anisi semine conspersa, utiliter statim à prandio vel à cœna sumi possunt, eo quod ventriculum roborent et vapores caput petentes reprimant. Mont. [7] Punica mala aurantia commode permittuntur modò non sint austera et acida. [8] Olera omnia præter boraginem, buglossum, intybum, fenicu-

fennel, anise-seed, balm; Callenius and Arnoldus tolerate lettuce, spinach, beets, &c. The same Crato will allow no roots at all to be eaten. Some approve of potatoes, parsnips, but all corrected for wind. No raw salads; but as Laurentius prescribes, in broths; and so Crato commends many of them; or to use borage, hops, balm, steeped in their ordinary drink. [1] Avenzoar magnifies the juice of a pomegranate, if it be sweet, and especially rose-water, which he would have to be used in every dish, which they put in practice in those hot countries about Damascus, where (if we may believe the relations of Vertomannus) many hogsheads of rose-water are to be sold in the market at once, it is in so great request with them.

Subsect. II.—*Diet rectified in Quantity.*

Man alone, saith [2] Cardan, eats and drinks without appetite, and useth all his pleasure without necessity, *animæ vitio*, and thence come many inconveniences unto him. For there is no meat whatsoever, though otherwise wholesome and good, but if unseasonably taken, or immoderately used, more than the stomach can well bear, it will engender crudity, and do much harm. Therefore [3] Crato adviseth his patient to eat but twice a day, and that at his set meals, by no means to eat without an appetite, or upon a full stomach, and to put seven hours' difference between dinner and supper. Which rule if we did observe in our colleges, it would be much better for our healths; but custom, that tyrant, so prevails, that, contrary to all good order and rules of physic, we scarce admit of five. If after seven hours' tarrying he shall have no stomach, let him defer his meal, or eat very little at his ordinary time of repast. This very counsel was given by Prosper Calenus to Cardinal Cæsius, labouring of this disease; and * Platerus prescribes it to a patient of his, to be

lum, anisum, melissum, vitari debent.
[1] Mercurialis, pract. Med.
[2] Lib. 2. de com. Solus homo edit bibitque, &c.
par est. et ventriculus tolerare posset, nocet, et cruditates generat, &c.
[3] Consil. 21, 18, si plus ingeratur quam
* Observat. lib. 1. Assuescat bis in die cibos sumere, certâ semper horâ.

most severely kept. Guianerius admits of three meals a day, but Montanus, *consil.* 23, *pro Abb. Italo*, ties him precisely to two. And as he must not eat overmuch, so he may not absolutely fast; for as Celsus contends, *lib.* 1, *Jacchinus*, 15, *in* 9 *Rhasis*, * repletion and inanition may both do harm in two contrary extremes. Moreover, that which he doth eat must be well † chewed, and not hastily gobbled, for that causeth crudity and wind; and by all means to eat no more than he can well digest. "Some think (saith ‡ Trincavellius, *lib.* 11, *cap.* 29, *de curand. part. hum.*) the more they eat the more they nourish themselves;" eat and live, as the proverb is, "not knowing that only repairs man which is well concocted, not that which is devoured." Melancholy men most part have good [1] appetites, but ill digestion, and for that cause they must be sure to rise with an appetite; and that which Socrates and Disarius the physicians in [2] Macrobius so much require, St. Hierom enjoins Rusticus to eat and drink no more than will [3] satisfy hunger and thirst. [4] Lessius, the Jesuit, holds twelve, thirteen, or fourteen ounces, or in our northern countries, sixteen at most, for all students, weaklings, and such as lead an idle sedentary life, of meat, bread, &c., a fit proportion for a whole day, and as much or little more of drink. Nothing pesters the body and mind sooner than to be still fed, to eat and ingurgitate beyond all measure, as many do. [5] "By overmuch eating and continual feasts they stifle nature, and choke up themselves; which, had they lived coarsely, or like galley slaves been tied to an oar, might have happily prolonged many fair years."

A great inconvenience comes by variety of dishes, which

* Ne plus ingerat cavendum quàm ventriculus ferre potest, semperque surgat à mensa non satur. † Siquidem qui semimansum velociter ingerunt cibum, ventriculo laborem inferunt, et flatus maximos promovent, Crato. ‡ Quidam maximè comedere nituntur, putantes eâ ratione se vires refecturos; ignorantes, non ea quæ ingerunt posse vires reficere, sed quæ probè concoquunt. [1] Multa appetunt, pauca digerunt. [2] Saturnal. lib. 7, cap. 4. [3] Modicus et temperatus cibus et carni et animæ utilis est. [4] Hygiasticon reg. Unciæ 14 vel 16 per diem sufficiant, computato pane, carne ovis. vel aliis obsoniis, et totidem vel paulò plures unciæ potûs. [5] Idem, reg. 27. Plures in domibus suis brevi tempore pascentes extinguuntur, qui si triremibus vincti fuissent, aut gregario pane pasti, sani et incolumes in longam æ tatem vitam prorogâssent.

causeth the precedent distemperature, [1] "than which (saith Avicenna) nothing is worse; to feed on diversity of meats, or overmuch," Sertorius-like, *in lucem cœnare*, and as commonly they do in Muscovy and Iceland, to prolong their meals all day long, or all night. Our northern countries offend especially in this, and we in this island (*ampliter viventes in prandiis et cœnis*, as [2] Polydore notes,) are most liberal feeders, but to our own hurt. [3] *Persicos odi puer apparatus;* "Excess of meat breedeth sickness, and gluttony causeth choleric diseases: by surfeiting many perish, but he that dieteth himself prolongeth his life," Ecclus. xxxvii. 29, 30. We account it a great glory for a man to have his table daily furnished with variety of meats; but hear the physician, he pulls thee by the ear as thou sittest, and telleth thee, [4] "that nothing can be more noxious to thy health than such variety and plenty." Temperance is a bridle of gold, and he that can use it aright, [5] *ego non summis viris comparo, sed simillimum Deo judico*, is liker a god than a man; for as it will transform a beast to a man again, so will it make a man a god. To preserve thine honour, health, and to avoid therefore all those inflations, torments, obstructions, crudities, and diseases that come by a full diet, the best way is to [6] feed sparingly of one or two dishes at most, to have *ventrem bene moratum*, as Seneca calls it, [7] "to choose one of many, and to feed on that alone," as Crato adviseth his patient. The same counsel [8] Prosper Calenus gives to Cardinal Cæsius, to use a moderate and simple diet; and, though his table be jovially furnished by reason of his state and guests, yet for his own part to single out some one savoury dish, and feed on it. The same is inculcated by [9] Crato, *consil.* 9, *l.* 2, to a noble personage affected with this grievance; he would have his highness to

[1] Nihil deterius quàm diversa nutrientia simul adjungere, et comedendi tempus prorogare. [2] Lib. 1, hist. [3] Hor. ad lib. 5, ode ult. [4] Ciborum varietate et copiâ in eadem mensa nihil nocentius homini ad salutem, Fr. Valeriola, observ. l. 2, cap. 6. [5] Tul. orat. pro M. Marcel. [6] Nullus cibum sumere debet, nisi stomachus sit vacuus. Gordon. lib. med. l. 1, c. 11. [7] E multis eduliis unum elige, relictisque cæteris, ex eo comede. [8] L. de atra bile. Simplex sit cibus et non varius; quod licet dignitati tuæ ob convivas difficile videatur, &c. [9] Celsitudo tua prandeat sola, absque apparatu aulico, contentus sit illustrissimus princeps duobus tantum ferculis, vinoque Rhenano solum in mensa utatur.

dine or sup alone, without all his honourable attendance and courtly company, with a private friend or so, [1] a dish or two, a cup of Rhenish wine, &c. Montanus, *consil.* 24, for a noble matron enjoins her one dish, and by no means to drink between meals. The like, *consil.* 229, or not to eat till he be an hungry, which rule Berengarius did most strictly observe, as Hilbertus, *Cenomecensis Episc.* writes in his life,

> " cui non fuit unquam
> Ante sitim potus, nec cibus ante famem,"

and which all temperate men do constantly keep. It is a frequent solemnity still used with us, when friends meet, to go to the alehouse or tavern, they are not sociable otherwise; and if they visit one another's houses, they must both eat and drink. I reprehend it not, moderately used; but to some men nothing can be more offensive; they had better, I speak it with Saint [2] Ambrose, pour so much water in their shoes.

It much avails likewise to keep good order in our diet, [3] "to eat liquid things first, broths, fish, and such meats as are sooner corrupted in the stomach; harder meats of digestion must come last." Crato would have the supper less than the dinner, which Cardan, *Contradict. lib.* 1, *Tract.* 5, *contradict.* 18, disallows, and that by the authority of Galen, 7, *art. curat. cap.* 6, and for four reasons he will have the supper biggest; I have read many treatises to this purpose, I know not how it may concern some few sick men, but for my part generally for all, I should subscribe to that custom of the Romans, to make a sparing dinner, and a liberal supper; all their preparation and invitation was still at supper, no mention of dinner. Many reasons I could give, but when all is said *pro* and *con*, [4] Cardan's rule is best, to keep that we are accustomed unto, though it be nought, and to follow our disposition and appetite in some things is not amiss; to

[1] Semper intra satietatem à mensa recedat, uno ferculo contentus. [2] Lib. de Hel. et Jejunio. Multò melius in terram vina fudisses. [3] Crato. Multum refert non ignorare qui cibi priores, &c., liquida præcedant carnium jura, pisces, fructus, &c. Cœna brevior sit prandio. [4] Tract. 6, contradict. 1, lib. 1.

eat sometimes of a dish which is hurtful, if we have an extraordinary liking to it. Alexander Severus loved hares and apples above all other meats, as [1] Lampridius relates in his life; one pope pork, another peacock, &c.; what harm came of it? I conclude our own experience is the best physician; that diet which is most propitious to one, is often pernicious to another, such is the variety of palates, humours, and temperatures, let every man observe, and be a law unto himself. Tiberius, in [2] Tacitus, did laugh at all such, that thirty years of age would ask counsel of others concerning matters of diet; I say the same.

These few rules of diet he that keeps, shall surely find great ease and speedy remedy by it. It is a wonder to relate that prodigious temperance of some hermits, anchorites, and fathers of the church; he that shall but read their lives, written by Hierom, Athanasius, &c., how abstemious heathens have been in this kind, those Curii and Fabritii, those old philosophers, as Pliny records, *lib.* 11, Xenophon, *lib.* 1, *de vit. Socrat.* emperors and kings, as Nicephorus relates, Eccles. hist. *lib.* 18, *cap.* 8, of Mauritius, Ludovicus Pius, &c., and that admirable [3] example of Ludovicus Cornarus, a patrician of Venice, cannot but admire them. This have they done voluntarily and in health; what shall these private men do that are visited with sickness, and necessarily [4] enjoined to recover, and continue their health? It is a hard thing to observe a strict diet, *et qui medicè vivit, miserè vivit,** as the saying is, *quale hoc ipsum erit vivere, his si privatus fueris?* as good be buried, as so much debarred of his appetite; *excessit medicina malum*, the physic is more troublesome than the disease, so he complained in the poet, so thou thinkest; yet he that loves himself will easily endure this little misery, to avoid a greater inconvenience; *è malis minimum*, better do this than do worse. And as

[1] Super omnia quotidianum leporem habuit, et pomis indulsit. [2] Annal. 6. Ridere solebat eos, qui post 30 ætatis annum, ad cognoscenda corpori suo noxia vel utilia, alicujus consilii indigerent. [3] A Lessio edit. 1614. [4] Egyptii olim omnes morbos curabant vomitu et jejunio. Bohemus, lib. 1, cap. 5. * "He who lives medically lives miserably."

[1] Tully holds, "better be a temperate old man than a lascivious youth." 'Tis the only sweet thing (which he adviseth) so to moderate ourselves, that we may have *senectutem in juventute, et in juventute senectutem*, be youthful in our old age, staid in our youth, discreet and temperate in both.

MEMB. II.

Retention and Evacuation rectified.

I HAVE declared in the causes what harm costiveness hath done in procuring this disease; if it be so noxious, the opposite must needs be good, or mean at least, as indeed it is, and to this cure necessarily required; *maximé conducit*, saith Montaltus, *cap.* 27, it very much avails. [2] Altomarus, *cap.* 7, "commends walking in a morning into some fair green pleasant fields, but by all means first by art or nature, he will have these ordinary excrements evacuated." Piso calls it *Beneficium Ventris*, the benefit, help or pleasure of the belly, for it doth much ease it. Laurentius, *cap.* 8, Crato, *consil.* 21, *l.* 2, prescribes it once a day at least; where nature is defective, art must supply, by those lenitive electuaries, suppositories, condite prunes, turpentine clysters, as shall be shown. Prosper Calenus, *lib. de atra bile*, commends clysters in hypochondriacal melancholy, still to be used as occasion serves; [3] Peter Cnemander, in a consultation of his *pro hypochondriaco*, will have his patient continually loose, and to that end sets down there many forms of potions and clysters. Mercurialis, *consil.* 88, if this benefit come not of its own accord, prescribes [4] clysters in the first place; so doth Montanus, *consil.* 24, *consil.* 31 *et* 229, he commends turpentine to that purpose; the same he ingeminates, *consil.*

[1] Cat. Major: Melior conditio senis viventis ex præscripto artis medicæ, quam adolescentis luxuriosi. [2] Debet per amœna exerceri, et loca viridia, excretis prius arte vel natura alvi excrementis. [3] Hildesheim, spicel. 2, de mel. Primum omnium operam dabis ut singulis diebus habeas beneficium ventris, semper cavendo ne alvus sit diutius astricta. [4] Si non sponte, clisteribus purgetur.

230, for an Italian abbot. 'Tis very good to wash his hands and face often, to shift his clothes, to have fair linen about him, to be decently and comely attired, for *sordes vitiant*, nastiness defiles and dejects any man that is so voluntarily, or compelled by want, it dulleth the spirits.

Baths are either artificial or natural, both have their special uses in this malady, and as [1] Alexander supposeth, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 16, yield as speedy a remedy as any other physic whatsoever. Ætius would have them daily used, *assidua balnea*, *Tetra.* 2, *sect.* 2, *cap.* 9. Galen cracks how many several cures he hath performed in this kind by use of baths alone, and Rufus pills, moistening them which are otherwise dry. Rhasis makes it a principal cure, *Tota cura sit in humectando*, to bathe and afterwards anoint with oil. Jason Pratensis, Laurentius, *cap.* 8, and Montanus set down their peculiar forms of artificial baths. Crato, *consil.* 17, *lib.* 2, commends mallows, camomile, violets, borage to be boiled in it, and sometimes fair water alone, and in his following counsel, *Balneum aquæ dulcis solum sæpissimè profuisse compertum habemus.* So doth Fuchsius, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 33, *Frisimelica*, 2, *consil.* 42, in Trincavellius. Some beside herbs prescribe a ram's head and other things to be boiled. [2] Fernelius, *consil.* 44, will have them used ten or twelve days together; to which he must enter fasting, and so continue in a temperate heat, and after that frictions all over the body. Lælius Æugubinus, *consil.* 142, and Christoph. Ærerus, in a consultation of his, hold once or twice a week sufficient to bathe, the [3] "water to be warm, not hot, for fear of sweating." Felix Plater, *observ. lib.* 1, for a melancholy lawyer, [4] "will have lotions of the head still joined to these baths, with a lee wherein capital herbs have been boiled." [5] Laurentius speaks of baths of milk, which I find approved by many others. And still after bath, the body to be anointed

[1] Balneorum usus dulcium, siquid aliud, ipsis opitulatur. Credo hæc dici cum aliqua jactantia, inquit Montanus, consil. 26. [2] In quibus jejunus diu sedeat eo tempore, ne sudorem excitent aut manifestum teporem, sed quadam refrigeratione humectent. [3] Aqua non sit calida, sed tepida, ne sudor sequatur. [4] Lotiones capitis ex lixivio, in quo herbas capitales coxerint. [5] Cap. 8, de mel.

with oil of bitter almonds, of violets, new or fresh butter, [1] capon's grease, especially the backbone, and then lotions of the head, embrocations, &c. These kinds of baths have been in former times much frequented, and diversely varied, and are still in general use in those eastern countries. The Romans had their public baths very sumptuous and stupend, as those of Antoninus and Diocletian. Plin. 36, saith there were an infinite number of them in Rome, and mightily frequented; some bathed seven times a day, as Commodus the emperor is reported to have done; usually twice a day, and they were after anointed with most costly ointments; rich women bathed themselves in milk, some in the milk of five hundred she-asses at once; we have many ruins of such baths found in this island, amongst those parietines and rubbish of old Roman towns. Lipsius, *de mag. Urb. Rom. l.* 3, *c.* 8, Rosinus, Scot of Antwerp, and other antiquaries, tell strange stories of their baths. Gillius, *l.* 4, *cap. ult. Topogr. Constant.* reckons up one hundred and fifty-five public [2] baths in Constantinople, of fair building; they are still [3] frequented in that city by the Turks of all sorts, men and women, and all over Greece and those hot countries; to absterge belike that fulsomeness of sweat, to which they are there subject. [4] Busbequius, in his epistles, is very copious in describing the manner of them, how their women go covered, a maid following with a box of ointment to rub them. The richer sort have private baths in their houses; the poorer go to the common, and are generally so curious in this behalf, that they will not eat nor drink until they have bathed, before and after meals some, [5] "and will not make water (but they will wash their hands) or go to stool." Leo Afer, *l.* 3, makes mention of one hundred several baths at Fez in Africa, most sumptuous, and such as have great revenues belonging to them. Buxtorf. *cap.* 14, *Synagog. Jud.* speaks of many

[1] Aut axungia pulli, Piso. Nympheæ. [2] Thermæ [3] Sandes, lib. 1, saith, that women go twice a week to the baths at least. [4] Epist. 3. [5] Nec alvum excernunt, quin aquam secum portent quâ partes obscænas lavent. Busbequius, ep. 3, Leg. Turciæ.

ceremonies amongst the Jews in this kind; they are very superstitious in their baths, especially women.

Natural baths are praised by some, discommended by others; but it is in a diverse respect. [1] Marcus, *de Oddis in Hip. affect.* consulted about baths, condemns them for the heat of the liver, because they dry too fast; and yet by and by, [2] in another counsel for the same disease, he approves them because they cleanse by reason of the sulphur, and would have their water to be drunk. Areteus, *c.* 7, commends alum baths above the rest; and [3] Mercurialis, *consil.* 88, those of Lucca in that hypochondriacal passion. "He would have his patient tarry there fifteen days together, and drink the water of them, and to be bucketed, or have the water poured on his head." John Baptista, *Sylvaticus cont.* 64, commends all the baths in Italy, and drinking of their water, whether they be iron, alum, sulphur; so doth [4] Hercules de Saxoniâ. But in that they cause sweat and dry so much, he confines himself to hypochondriacal melancholy alone, excepting that of the head and the other. Trincavellius, *consil.* 14, *lib.* 1, prefers those [5] Porrectan baths before the rest, because of the mixture of brass, iron, alum, and, *consil.* 35, *l.* 3, for a melancholy lawyer, and, *consil.* 36, in that hypochondriacal passion, the [6] baths of Aquaria, and, 36 *consil.* the drinking of them. Frisimelica, consulted amongst the rest in Trincavellius, *consil.* 42, *lib.* 2, prefers the waters of [7] Apona before all artificial baths whatsoever in this disease, and would have one nine years affected with hypochondriacal passions fly to them as to a [8] holy anchor. Of the same mind is Trincavellius himself there, and yet both put a hot liver in the same party for a cause, and send him to the waters of St. Helen, which are much hotter. Montanus,

[1] Hildesheim, spicel. 2, de mel. Hypocon. si non adesset jecoris caliditas, Thermas laudarem, et si non nimia humoris exsiccatio esset metuenda. [2] Fol. 141. [3] Thermas Lucenses adeat, ibique aquas ejus per 15 dies potet, et calidarum aquarum stillicidiis tum caput tum ventriculum de more subjiciat. [4] In panth. [5] Aquæ Porrectanæ. [6] Aquæ Aquariæ. [7] Ad aquas Aponenses velut ad sacram anchoram confugiat. [8] Joh. Baubinus, li. 3, c. 14, hist. admir. Fontis Bollensis in ducat. Wittemberg laudat aquas Bollenses ad melancholicos morbos, mœrorem, fascinationem, allaque animi pathemata.

consil. 230, magnifies the [1] Chalderinian baths, and, *consil.* 237 *et* 239, he exhorteth to the same, but with this caution, [2] "that the liver be outwardly anointed with some coolers that it be not overheated." But these baths must be warily frequented by melancholy persons, or if used, to such as are very cold of themselves, for as Gabelius concludes of all Dutch baths, and especially of those of Baden, "they are good for all cold diseases, [3] nought for choleric, hot and dry, and all infirmities proceeding of choler, inflammations of the spleen and liver." Our English baths, as they are hot, must needs incur the same censure; but D. Turner of old, and D. Jones have written at large of them. Of cold baths I find little or no mention in any physician, some speak against them; [4] Cardan alone out of Agathinus "commends bathing in fresh rivers and cold waters, and adviseth all such as mean to live long to use it, for it agrees with all ages and complexions, and is most profitable for hot temperatures." As for sweating, urine, bloodletting by hæmrods, or otherwise, I shall elsewhere more opportunely speak of them.

Immoderate Venus in excess, as it is a cause, or in defect; so moderately used to some parties an only help, a present remedy. Peter Forestus calls it *aptissimum remedium*, a most apposite remedy, [5] "remitting anger, and reason, that was otherwise bound." Avicenna, *Fen.* 3, 20, Oribasius, *med. collect. lib.* 6, *cap.* 37, contend out of Rufus and others, [6] "that many madmen, melancholy, and labouring of the falling-sickness, have been cured by this alone." Montaltus, *cap.* 27, *de melan.* will have it drive away sorrow, and all illusions of the brain, to purge the heart and brain from ill smokes and vapours that offend them; [7] "and if it be omitted," as Valescus supposeth, "it makes the mind sad, the body dull and heavy." Many other inconveniences are reckoned up by

[1] Balnea Chalderina. [2] Hepar externe ungatur ne calefiat. [3] Nocent calidis et siccis, cholericis, et omnibus morbis ex cholera, hepatis, splenisque affectionibus. [4] Lib. de aqua. Qui breve hoc vitæ curriculum cupiunt sani transigere, frigidis aquis sæpe lavare debent, nulli ætati cum sit incongrua, calidis imprimis utilis. [5] Solvit Venus rationis vim impeditam, ingentes iras remittit, &c. [6] Multi comitiales, melancholici, insani, hujus usu solo sanati. [7] Si omittatur coitus, contristat, et plurimum gravat corpus et animum.

Mercatus, and by Rodericus à Castro, in their tracts *de melancholiâ virginum et monialium; ob seminis retentionem sæviunt sæpè moniales et virgines*, but as Platerus adds, *si nubant, sanantur*, they rave single, and pine away, much discontent, but marriage mends all. Marcellus Donatus, *lib.* 2, *med. hist. cap.* 1, tells a story to confirm this out of Alexander Benedictus, of a maid that was mad, *ob menses inhibitos, cum in officinam meritoriam incidisset, à quindecim viris eâdem nocte compressa, mensium largo profluvio, quod pluribus annis ante constiterat, non sine magno pudore mane menti restituta discessit.* But this must be warily understood, for as Arnoldus objects, *lib.* 1, *breviar.* 18 *cap. Quid coitus ad melancholicum succum?* What affinity have these two? [1] "except it be manifest that superabundance of seed, or fulness of blood be a cause, or that love, or an extraordinary desire of Venus, have gone before," or that as Lod. Mercatus excepts, they be very flatuous, and have been otherwise accustomed unto it. Montaltus, *cap.* 27, will not allow of moderate Venus to such as have the gout, palsy, epilepsy, melancholy, except they be very lusty, and full of blood. [2] Lodovicus Antonius, *lib. med. miscel.* in his chapter of Venus, forbids it utterly to all wrestlers, ditchers, labouring men, &c. [3] Ficinus and [4] Marsilius Cognatus put Venus one of the five mortal enemies of a student: "it consumes the spirits, and weakeneth the brain." Halyabbas the Arabian, 5 *Theor. cap.* 36, and Jason Pratensis make it the fountain of most diseases, [5] "but most pernicious to them who are cold and dry;" a melancholy man must not meddle with it, but in some cases. Plutarch in his book *de san. tuend.* accounts of it as one of the three principal signs and preservers of health, temperance in this kind: [6] "to rise with an appetite, to be ready to work, and abstain from venery," *tria saluberrima*, are three most healthful

[1] Nisi certo constet nimum semen aut sanguinem causam esse, aut amor præcesserit, aut, &c. [2] Athletis, Arthriticis, podagricis nocet, nec opportuna prodest, nisi fortibus et qui multo sanguine abundant. Idem Scaliger, exerc. 269. Turcis ideo luctatoribus prohibitum. [3] De sanit. tuend. lib. 1. [4] Lib. 1, ca. 7, exhaurit enim spiritus animumque debilitat. [5] Frigidis et siccis corporibus inimicissima. [6] Vesci intra satietatem, impigrum esse ad laborem, vitale semen conservare.

things. We see their opposites how pernicious they are to mankind, as to all other creatures they bring death, and many feral diseases: *Immodicis brevis est ætas et rara senectus.* Aristotle gives instance in sparrows, which are *parùm vivaces ob salacitatem,* [1] short-lived because of their salacity, which is very frequent, as Scoppius in Priapiis will better inform you. The extremes being both bad, [2] the medium is to be kept, which cannot easily be determined. Some are better able to sustain, such as are hot and moist, phlegmatic, as Hippocrates insinuateth, some strong and lusty, well fed like [3] Hercules, [4] Proculus the emperor, lusty Laurence, [5] *prostibulum fœminæ Messalina* the empress, that by philters, and such kind of lascivious meats, use all means to [6] enable themselves; and brag of it in the end, *confodi multas enim, occidi vero paucas per ventrem vidisti,* as that Spanish [7] Celestina merrily said; others impotent, of a cold and dry constitution, cannot sustain those gymnics without great hurt done to their own bodies, of which number (though they be very prone to it) are melancholy men for the most part.

MEMB. III.

Air rectified. With a Digression of the Air.

As a long-winged hawk, when he is first whistled off the fist, mounts aloft, and for his pleasure fetcheth many a circuit in the air, still soaring higher and higher till he be come to his full pitch, and in the end, when the game is sprung, comes down amain, and stoops upon a sudden; so will I, having now come at last into these ample fields of air, wherein

[1] Nequitia est quæ te non sinit esse senem. [2] Vide Montanum, Pet. Godefridum, Amorum, lib. 2, cap. 6, curiosum de his, nam et numerum definitè Talimudistis, unicuique sciatis assignari suum tempus, &c. [3] Thespiadas genuit. [4] Vide Lampridium, vit. ejus, 4. [5] Et lassata viris, &c. [6] Vid. Mizald. cent. 8, 11, Lemnium, lib. 2, cap. 16, Catullum ad Ipsiphilam, &c., Ovid. Eleg. lib. 3 et 6, &c., quot itinera una nocte confecissent, tot coronas ludicro deo puta Priphallo, Marsiæ, Hermæ, Priapo donarent, Cingemus tibi mentulam coronis, &c. [7] Pernoboscodid. Gasp. Barthii.

I may freely expatiate and exercise myself for my recreation, awhile rove, wander round about the world, mount aloft to those ethereal orbs and celestial spheres, and so descend to my former elements again. In which progress I will first see whether that relation of the friar of [1] Oxford be true, concerning those northern parts under the Pole (if I meet *obitèr* with the wandering Jew, Elias Artifex, or Lucian's *Icaromenippus*, they shall be my guides) whether there be such 4 Euripes, and a great rock of loadstones, which may cause the needle in the compass still to bend that way, and what should be the true cause of the variation of the compass, [2] is it a magnetical rock, or the pole-star, as Cardan will; or some other star in the bear, as Marsilius Ficinus; or a magnetical meridian, as Maurolicus; *Vel situs in venâ terræ*, as Agricola; or the nearness of the next continent, as Cabeus will; or some other cause, as Scaliger, Cortesius, Conimbricenses, Peregrinus contend; why at the Azores it looks directly north, otherwise not? In the Mediterranean or Levant (as some observe) it varies 7 grad. by and by 12, and then 22. In the Baltic Seas, near Rasceburg in Finland, the needle runs round, if any ships come that way, though [3] Martin Ridley write otherwise, that the needle near the Pole will hardly be forced from his direction. 'Tis fit to be inquired whether certain rules may be made of it, as 11 *grad. Lond. variat. alibi* 36, &c., and that which is more prodigious, the variation varies in the same place, now taken accurately, 'tis so much after a few years quite altered from that it was; till we have better intelligence, let our Dr. Gilbert, and Nicholas [4] Cabeus the Jesuit, that have both written great volumes of this subject, satisfy these inquisitors. Whether the sea be open and navigable by the Pole arctic, and which is the likeliest way, that of Bartison the Hollander, under the Pole itself, which for some reasons I hold best; or by Fretum

[1] Nich. de Lynna, cited by Mercator in his map. [2] Mons Sloto. Some call it the highest hill in the world, next Teneriffe in the Canaries. Lat. 81. [3] Cap. 26, in his Treatise of Magnetic Bodies. [4] Lege, lib. 1, cap. 23 et 24, de magnetica philosophia, et lib. 3, cap. 4.

Davis, or Nova Zembla. Whether [1] Hudson's discovery be true of a new found ocean, any likelihood of Button's Bay in fifty degrees, Hubberd's Hope in sixty, that of *ut ultra*, near Sir Thomas Roe's welcome in Northwest Fox, being that the sea ebbs and flows constantly there fifteen foot in twelve hours, as our [2] new cards inform us that California is not a cape, but an island, and the west winds make the neap tides equal to the spring, or that there be any probability to pass by the straits of Anian to China, by the promontory of Tabin. If there be, I shall soon perceive whether [3] Marcus Polus the Venetian's narration be true or false, of that great city of Quinsay and Cambalu; whether there be any such places, or that as [4] Matth. Riccius the Jesuit hath written, China and Cataia be all one, the great Cham of Tartary, and the king of China be the same; Xuntain and Quinsay, and the city of Cambalu be that new Peking, or such a wall 400 leagues long to part China from Tartary; whether [5] Presbyter John be in Asia or Africa; M. Polus Venetus puts him in Asia, [6] the most received opinion is, that he is emperor of the Abyssines, which of old was Ethiopia, now Nubia, under the equator in Africa. Whether [7] Guinea be an island or part of the continent, or that hungry [8] Spaniard's discovery of *Terra Australis Incognita*, or *Magellanica*, be as true as that of *Mercurius Britannius*, or his of *Utopia*, or his of *Lucinia*. And yet in likelihood it may be so, for without all question it being extended from the tropic of Capricorn to the circle Antarctic, and lying as it doth in the temperate zone, cannot choose but yield in time some flourishing kingdoms to succeeding ages, as America did unto the Spaniards. Shouten and Le Meir have done well in the discovery of the Straits of Magellan, in finding a more convenient passage to *Mare pacificum;* methinks some of our modern argonauts should prosecute the rest. As I go by Madagascar, I would see

[1] 1612. [2] M. Brigs his map, and Northwest Fox. [3] Lib. 2, ca. 64, de nob. civitat. Quinsay, et cap. 10, de Cambalu. [4] Lib. 4, exped. ad Sinas, ca. 3, et lib. 5, c. 18. [5] M. Polus in Asia Presb. Joh. meminit, lib. 2, cap. 30. [6] Alluaresius et alii. [7] Lat. 10, Gr. Aust. [8] Ferdinando de Quir. Anno 1612.

that great bird [1] ruck, that can carry a man and horse or an elephant, with that Arabian phœnix described by [2] Adricomius; see the pelicans of Egypt, those Scythian gryphes in Asia; and afterwards in Africa examine the fountains of Nilus, whether Herodotus, [3] Seneca, Plin. *lib.* 5, *cap.* 9, Strabo, *lib.* 5, give a true cause of his annual flowing, [4] Pagaphetta discourse rightly of it, or of Niger and Senegal; examine Cardan, [5] Scaliger's reasons, and the rest. Is it from those Etesian winds, or melting of snow in the mountains under the equator (for Jordan yearly overflows when the snow melts in Mount Libanus), or from those great dropping perpetual showers which are so frequent to the inhabitants within the tropics, when the sun is vertical, and cause such vast inundations in Senegal, Maragnan, Oronoco and the rest of those great rivers in Zona Torrida, which have all commonly the same passions at set times; and by good husbandry and policy hereafter no doubt may come to be as populous, as well tilled, as fruitful, as Egypt itself or Cauchinthina? I would observe all those motions of the sea, and from what cause they proceed, from the moon (as the vulgar hold) or earth's motion, which Galileus, in the fourth dialogue of his system of the world, so eagerly proves, and firmly demonstrates; or winds, as [6] some will. Why in that quiet ocean of Zur, *in mari pacifico*, it is scarce perceived, in our British seas most violent, in the Mediterranean and Red Sea so vehement, irregular, and diverse? Why the current in that Atlantic Ocean should still be in some places from, in some again towards the north, and why they come sooner than go? and so from Moabar to Madagascar in that Indian Ocean, the merchants come in three weeks, as [7] Scaliger discusseth, they return scarce in three months, with the same or like winds; the continual current is from east to west. Whether Mount

[1] Alarum pennæ continent in longitudine 12 passus, elephantem in sublime tollere potest. Polus, l. 3, c. 40. [2] Lib. 2, Descript. terræ sanctæ. [3] Natur. quæst. lib. 4, cap. 2. [4] Lib. de reg. Congo. [5] Exercit. 47. [6] See M. Carpenter's Geography, lib. 2, cap. 6, et Bern. Telesius, lib. de mari. [7] Exercit. 52. de maris motu causæ investigandæ: prima reciprocationis, secunda varietatis, tertia celeritatis, quarta cessationis, quinta privationis, sexta contrarietatis. Patricius saith 52 miles in height.

Athos, Pelion, Olympus, Ossa, Caucasus, Atlas, be so high as Pliny, Solinus, Mela relate, above clouds, meteors, *ubi nec auræ nec venti spirant* (insomuch that they that ascend die suddenly very often, the air is so subtile), 1250 paces high, according to that measure of Dicearchus, or seventy-eight miles perpendicularly high, as Jacobus Mazonius, *sec.* 3 *et* 4, expounding that place of Aristotle about Caucasus; and as [1] Blancanus the Jesuit contends out of Clavius and Nonius demonstrations *de Crepusculis;* or rather thirty-two stadiums, as the most received opinion is; or four miles, which the height of no mountain doth perpendicularly exceed, and is equal to the greatest depths of the sea, which is, as Scaliger holds, 1580 paces, Exerc. 38, others 100 paces. I would see those inner parts of America, whether there be any such great city of Manoa, or Eldorado, in that golden empire, where the highways are as much beaten (one reports) as between Madrid and Valladolid in Spain; or any such Amazons as he relates, or gigantic Patagones in Chica; with that miraculous mountain [2] Ybouyapab in the Northern Brazil, *cujus jugum sternitur in amœnissimam planitiem, &c.*, or that of Pariacacca so high elevated in Peru. [3] The pike of Teneriffe how high it is? seventy miles, or fifty as Patricius holds, or nine as Snellius demonstrates in his Eratosthenes; see that strange [4] Cirknickzerksey lake in Carniola, whose waters gush so fast out of the ground, that they will overtake a swift horseman, and by and by with as incredible celerity are supped up; which Lazius and Wernerus make an argument of the Argonauts sailing under ground. And that vast den or hold called [5] Esmellen in Muscovia, *quæ visitur horrendo hiatu, &c.*, which if anything casually fall in, makes such a roaring noise, that no thunder, or ordnance, or warlike engine can make the like; such another is Gilber's Cave in Lapland, with many the like. I would examine the Caspian

[1] Lib. de explicatione locorum Mathem. Aristot. [2] Laet. lib. 17, cap. 18, descript. occid. Ind. [3] Luge alii vocant. [4] Geor. Wernerus. Aquæ tanta celeritate erumpunt et absorbentur, ut expedito equiti aditum intercludant. [5] Boissardus de Magis, cap. de Pilapiis.

Sea, and see where and how it exonerates itself, after it hath taken in Volga, Jaxares, Oxus, and those great rivers; at the mouth of Oby, or where? What vent the Mexican lake hath, the Titicacan in Peru, or that circular pool in the vale of Terapeia, of which Acosta, *l.* 3, *c.* 16, hot in a cold country, the spring of which boils up in the middle twenty foot square, and hath no vent but exhalation; and that of *Mare mortuum* in Palestine, of Thrasymene, at Peruzium in Italy; the Mediterranean itself. For from the ocean, at the Straits of Gibraltar, there is a perpetual current into the Levant, and so likewise by the Thracian Bosphorus out of the Euxine or Black Sea, besides all those great rivers of Nile, Po, Rhone, &c., how is this water consumed, by the sun or otherwise? I would find out with Trajan the fountains of Danube, of Ganges, Oxus, see those Egyptian pyramids, Trajan's bridge, *Grotto de Sybilla*, Lucullus's fish-ponds, the temple of Nidrose, &c. And, if I could, observe what becomes of swallows, storks, cranes, cuckoos, nightingales, redstarts, and many other kind of singing birds, waterfowls, hawks, &c., some of them are only seen in summer, some in winter; some are observed in the [1] snow, and at no other times, each having their seasons. In winter not a bird is in Muscovy to be found, but at the spring in an instant the woods and hedges are full of them, saith [2] Herberstein; how comes it to pass? Do they sleep in winter, like Gesner's Alpine mice; or do they lie hid (as [3] Olaus affirms) "in the bottom of lakes and rivers, *spiritum continentes?* often so found by fishermen in Poland and Scandia, two together, mouth to mouth, wing to wing; and when the spring comes they revive again, or if they be brought into a stove, or to the fireside." Or do they follow the sun, as Peter Martyr, *legat. Babylonica*, *l.* 2, manifestly convicts, out of his own knowledge; for when he was ambassador in Egypt, he saw

[1] In campis Lovicen. solum visuntur in nive, et ubinam vere, æstate, autumno se occultant. Hermes, Polit. l. 1, Jul. Bellius. [2] Statim ineunte vere sylvæ strepunt eorum cantilenis. Muscovit. comment. [3] Immergunt se fluminibus, lacubusque per hyemem totam, &c.

swallows, Spanish kites, [1]and many such other European birds, in December and January very familiarly flying, and in great abundance, about Alexandria, *ubi floridæ tunc arbores ac viridaria.* Or lie they hid in caves, rocks, and hollow trees, as most think, in deep tin-mines or sea-cliffs, as [2] Mr. Carew gives out? I conclude of them all, for my part, as [3] Munster doth of cranes and storks; whence they come, whither they go, *incompertum adhuc*, as yet we know not. We see them here, some in summer, some in winter; "their coming and going is sure in the night; in the plains of Asia (saith he) the storks meet on such a set day, he that comes last is torn in pieces, and so they get them gone." Many strange places, Isthmi, Euripi, Chersonesi, creeks, havens, promontories, straits, lakes, baths, rocks, mountains, places, and fields, where cities have been ruined or swallowed, battles fought, creatures, sea-monsters, remora, &c., minerals, vegetals, Zoöphytes were fit to be considered in such an expedition, and amongst the rest that of [4] Herberstein his Tartar lamb, [5] Hector Boethius's goose-bearing tree in the orchards, to which Cardan, *lib.* 7, *cap.* 36, *de rerum varietat.* subscribes; [6] Vertomannus's wonderful palm, that [7] fly in Hispaniola, that shines like a torch in the night, that one may well see to write; those spherical stones in Cuba which nature hath so made, and those like birds, beasts, fishes, crowns, swords, saws, pots, &c., usually found in the metal mines in Saxony about Mansfield, and in Poland near Nokow and Pallukie, as [8] Munster and others relate. Many rare creatures and novelties each part of the world affords; amongst the rest, I would know for a certain whether there be any such men, as

[1] Cæterasque volucres Pontum hyeme adveniente è nostris regionibus Europeis transvolantes. [2] Survey of Cornwall. [3] Porro ciconiæ quonam è loco veniant, quò se conferant, incompertum adhuc, agmen venientium, descendentium, ut gruum venisse cernimus, nocturnis opinor temporibus. In patentibus Asiæ campis certo die congregant se, eam quæ novissimè advenit lacerant, inde avolant. Cosmog. l. 4, c. 126. [4] Comment. Muscov. [5] Hist. Scot. l. 1. [6] Vertomannus, l. 5, c. 16, mentioneth a tree that bears fruits to eat, wood to burn, bark to make ropes, wine and water to drink, oil and sugar, and leaves as tiles to cover houses, flowers for clothes, &c. [7] Animal infectum Cusino, ut quis legere vel scribere possit sine alterius ope luminis. [8] Cosmog. lib. 1, cap. 435, et lib. 3, cap. 1, habent ollas à natura formatas è terra extractas, similes illis à figulis factis, coronas, pisces, aves, et omnes animantium species.

Leo Suavius, in his comment on Paracelsus *de sanit. tuend.* and [1] Gaguinus records in his description of Muscovy, "that in Lucomoria, a province in Russia, lie fast asleep as dead all winter, from the 27th of November, like frogs and swallows, benumbed with cold, but about the 24th of April in the spring they revive again, and go about their business." I would examine that demonstration of Alexander Piccolomineus, whether the earth's superficies be bigger than the sea's; or that of Archimedes be true, the superficies of all water is even? Search the depth, and see that variety of sea-monsters and fishes, mermaids, sea-men, horses, &c., which it affords. Or whether that be true which Jordanus Brunus scoffs at, that if God did not detain it, the sea would overflow the earth by reason of his higher site, and which Josephus Blancanus the Jesuit, in his interpretation on those mathematical places of Aristotle, foolishly fears, and in a just tract proves by many circumstances, that in time the sea will waste away the land, and all the globe of the earth shall be covered with waters; *risum teneatis, amici?* what the sea takes away in one place it adds in another. Methinks he might rather suspect the sea should in time be filled by land, trees grow up, carcasses, &c., that all-devouring fire, *omnia devorans et consumens*, will sooner cover and dry up the vast ocean with sand and ashes. I would examine the true seat of that terrestrial [2] paradise, and where Ophir was whence Solomon did fetch his gold; from Peruana, which some suppose, or that Aurea Chersonesus, as Dominicus Niger, Arias Montanus, Goropius, and others will. I would censure all Pliny's, Solinus's, Strabo's, Sir John Mandeville's, Olaus Magnus's, Marcus Polus's lies, correct those errors in navigation, reform cosmographical charts, and rectify longitudes, if it were possible; not by the compass, as some dream, with Mark Ridley in his treatise of magnetical bodies, *cap.* 43, for as Cabeus, *magnet. philos. lib.* 3, *cap.* 4, fully resolves, there is

[1] Ut solent hirundines et ranæ præ frigoris magnitudine mori, et postea redeunte vere 24. Aprilis reviviscere.

[2] Vid. Pererium in Gen. Cor. à Lapide, et alios.

no hope thence, yet I would observe some better means to find them out.

I would have a convenient place to go down with Orpheus, Ulysses, Hercules, [1] Lucian's Menippus, at St. Patrick's purgatory, at Trophonius's den, Hecla in Iceland, Ætna in Sicily, to descend and see what is done in the bowels of the earth; do stones and metals grow there still? how come fir-trees to be [2] digged out from tops of hills, as in our mosses, and marshes all over Europe? How come they to dig up fish bones, shells, beams, iron-works, many fathoms under ground, and anchors in mountains far remote from all seas? [3] Anno 1460 at Berne in Switzerland 50 fathom deep, a ship was digged out of a mountain, where they got metal ore, in which were 48 carcasses of men, with other merchandise. That such things are ordinarily found in tops of hills, Aristotle insinuates in his meteors, [4] Pomponius Mela in his first book, *c. de Numidia*, and familiarly in the Alps, saith [5] Blancanus the Jesuit, the like is to be seen; came this from earthquakes, or from Noah's flood, as Christians suppose, or is there a vicissitude of sea and land, as Anaximenes held of old, the mountains of Thessaly would become seas, and seas again mountains? The whole world belike should be new moulded, when it seemed good to those all-commanding powers, and turned inside out, as we do haycocks in harvest, top to bottom, or bottom to top; or as we turn apples to the fire, move the world upon his centre; that which is under the poles now, should be translated to the equinoctial, and that which is under the torrid zone to the circle arctic and antarctic another while, and so be reciprocally warmed by the sun; or if the worlds be infinite, and every fixed star a sun, with his compassing planets (as Brunus and Campanella conclude) cast three or four worlds into one; or else of one world make three or four new, as it shall seem to them best. To proceed,

[1] In Necyomantia, Tom. 2. [2] Fracastorius, lib. de simp. Georgius Merula, lib. de mem. Julius Billius, &c. [3] Simlerus, Ortelius, Brachiis centum sub terra reperta est, in qua quadraginta octo cadavera inerant, anchoræ, &c. [4] Pisces et conchæ in montibus reperiuntur. [5] Lib. de locis Mathemat. Aristot.

if the earth be 21,500 miles in [1] compass, its diameter is 7000 from us to our antipodes, and what shall be comprehended in all that space? What is the centre of the earth? is it pure element only, as Aristotle decrees, inhabited (as [2] Paracelsus thinks) with creatures, whose chaos is the earth; or with fairies, as the woods and waters (according to him) are with nymphs, or as the air, with spirits? Dionisiodorus, a mathematician in [3] Pliny, that sent a letter *ad superos* after he was dead, from the centre of the earth to signify what distance the same centre was from the *superficies* of the same, viz: 42,000 stadiums, might have done well to have satisfied all these doubts. Or is it the place of hell, as Virgil in his Æneides, Plato, Lucian, Dante, and others poetically describe it, and as many of our divines think? In good earnest, Anthony Rusca, one of the society of that Ambrosian College, in Milan, in his great volume *de Inferno, lib.* 1, *cap.* 47, is stiff in this tenet, 'tis a corporeal fire tow, *cap.* 5, *l.* 2, as he there disputes. "Whatsoever philosophers write (saith [4] Surius), there be certain mouths of hell, and places appointed for the punishment of men's souls, as at Hecla in Iceland, where the ghosts of dead men are familiarly seen, and sometimes talk with the living; God would have such visible places, that mortal men might be certainly informed that there be such punishments after death, and learn hence to fear God." Kranzius, *Dan. hist. lib.* 2, *cap.* 24, subscribes to this opinion of Surius, so doth Colerus, *cap.* 12, *lib. de immortal. animæ*, (out of the authority belike of St. Gregory, Durand, and the rest of the schoolmen, who derive as much from Ætna in Sicily, Lipari, Hiera, and those sulphureous vulcanian islands,) making Terra del Fuego, and those frequent volcanoes in America, of which Acosta, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 24, that fearful Mount Hecklebirg in Nor-

[1] Or plain, as Patricius holds, which Austin, Lactantius, and some others, held of old as round as a trencher. [2] Li. de Zilphia et Pigmeis, they penetrate the earth as we do the air. [3] Lib. 2, c. 112. [4] Commentar. ad annum 1537. Quicquid dicunt Philosophi, quædam sunt Tartari ostia, et loca puniendis animis destinata, ut Hecla mons, &c., ubi mortuorum spiritus visuntur, &c., voluit Deus extare talia loca, ut discant mortales.

way, an especial argument to prove it, [1] "where lamentable screeches and howlings are continually heard, which strike a terror to the auditors; fiery chariots are commonly seen to bring in the souls of men in the likeness of crows, and devils ordinarily go in and out." Such another proof is that place near the Pyramids in Egypt, by Cairo, as well to confirm this as the resurrection, mentioned by [2] Kornmannus, *mirac. mort. lib.* 1, *cap.* 38, Camerarius, *oper. suc. cap.* 37, Bredenbachius, *pereg. ter. sanct.* and some others, "where once a year dead bodies arise about March, and walk, after awhile hide themselves again; thousands of people come yearly to see them." But these and such like testimonies others reject, as fables, illusions of spirits, and they will have no such local known place, more than Styx or Phlegethon, Pluto's court, or that poetical *Infernus*, where Homer's soul was seen hanging on a tree, &c., to which they ferried over in Charon's boat, or went down at Hermione in Greece, *compendiaria ad inferos via*, which is the shortest cut, *quia nullum à mortuis naulum eo loci exposcunt* (saith [3] Gerbelius), and besides there were no fees to be paid. Well then, is it hell, or purgatory, as Bellarmine; or *Limbus patrum*, as Gallucius will, and as Rusca will, (for they have made maps of it,) [4] or Ignatius parlour? Virgil, sometime bishop of Saltburg (as Aventinus, *Anno* 745, relates,) by Bonifacius bishop of Mentz was therefore called in question, because he held antipodes (which they made a doubt whether Christ died for), and so by that means took away the seat of hell, or so contracted it, that it could bear no proportion to heaven, and contradicted that opinion of Austin, Basil, Lactantius, that held the earth round as a trencher (whom Acosta and common experience more largely confute), but not as a ball; and Jerusalem where Christ died the middle of it; or Delos, as the fabulous Greeks feigned; because when Jupiter let two eagles loose, to fly from the

[1] Ubi miserabiles ejulantium voces audiuntur, qui auditoribus horrorem incutiunt haud vulgarem, &c. [2] Ex sepulchris apparent mense Martio, et rursus sub terram se abscondunt, &c. [3] Descript. Græc. lib. 6, de Pelop. [4] Conclave Ignatii.

world's ends east and west, they met at Delos. But that scruple of Bonifacius is now quite taken away by our latter divines; Franciscus Ribera, in cap. 14, *Apocalyps.* will have hell a material and local fire in the centre of the earth, 200 Italian miles in diameter, as he defines it out of those words, *Exivit sanguis de terrâ——per stadia mille sexcenta, &c.* But Lessius, *lib.* 13, *de moribus divinis, cap.* 24, will have this local hell far less, one Dutch mile in diameter, all filled with fire and brimstone; because, as he there demonstrates, that space, cubically multiplied, will make a sphere able to hold eight hundred thousand millions of damned bodies (allowing each body six foot square) which will abundantly suffice; *Cum certum sit, inquit, factâ subductione, non futuros centies mille milliones damnandorum.* But if it be no material fire, (as Sco-Thomas, Bonaventure, Soncinas, Voscius, and others argue,) it may be there or elsewhere, as Keckerman disputes, *System. Theol.* for sure somewhere it is, *certum est alicubi, etsi definitus circulus non assignetur.* I will end the controversy in [1] Austin's words, "Better doubt of things concealed, than to contend about uncertainties, where Abraham's bosom is, and hell fire:" [2] *Vix à mansuetis, à contentiosis nunquam invenitur;* scarce the meek, the contentious shall never find. If it be solid earth, 'tis the fountain of metals, waters, which by his innate temper turns air into water, which springs up in several chinks, to moisten the earth's *superficies*, and that in a tenfold proportion, (as Aristotle holds,) or else these fountains come directly from the sea, by [3] secret passages, and so made fresh again, by running through the bowels of the earth; and are either thick, thin, hot, cold, as the matter or minerals are by which they pass; or as Peter Martyr, *Ocean. Decad. lib.* 9, and some others hold, from [4] abundance of rain that falls, or from that ambient heat and cold, which alters that inward heat, and so *per consequens* the generation of waters.

[1] Melius dubitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis, ubi flamma inferni, &c.
[2] See Dr. Raynolds prælect. 55. in Apoc.
[3] As they come from the sea, so they return to the sea again by secret passages, as in all likelihood the Caspian Sea vents itself into the Euxine or ocean.
[4] Seneca, quæst. lib. cap. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, de causis aquarum perpetuis.

Or else it may be full of wind, or a sulphureous innate fire, as our meteorologists inform us, which sometimes breaking out, causeth those horrible earthquakes, which are so frequent in these days in Japan, China, and oftentimes swallow up whole cities. Let Lucian's Menippus consult with or ask of Tiresias, if you will not believe philosophers, he shall clear all your doubts when he makes a second voyage.

In the mean time let us consider of that which is *sub dio*, and find out a true cause, if it be possible, of such accidents, meteors, alterations, as happen above ground. Whence proceed that variety of manners, and a distinct character (as it were) to several nations? Some are wise, subtle, witty; others dull, sad, and heavy; some big, some little, as Tully de Fato, Plato in Timæo, Vegetius and Bodine prove at large, *method. cap.* 5, some soft, and some hardy, barbarous, civil, black, dun, white, is it from the air, from the soil, influence of stars, or some other secret cause? Why doth Africa breed so many venomous beasts, Ireland none? Athens owls, Crete none? [1] Why hath Daulis and Thebes no swallows (so Pausanias informeth us) as well as the rest of Greece, [2] Ithaca no hares, Pontus asses, Scythia swine? whence comes this variety of complexions, colours, plants, birds, beasts, [3] metals, peculiar almost to every place? Why so many thousand strange birds and beasts proper to America alone, as Acosta demands, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 36, were they created in the six days, or ever in Noah's ark? if there, why are they not dispersed and found in other countries? It is a thing (saith he) hath long held me in suspense; no Greek, Latin, Hebrew ever heard of them before, and yet as differing from our European animals, as an egg and a chestnut; and which is more, kine, horses, sheep, &c., till the Spaniards brought them, were never heard of in those parts? How comes it to pass, that in the same site, in one latitude, to such as are *Periœci*, there should be such difference of soil, com-

[1] In iis nec pullos hirundines excludunt, neque, &c. [2] Th. Ravennas, lib. de vit. hom. prærog. ca. ult. [3] At Quito in Peru. Plus auri quam terræ foditur in aurifodinis.

plexion, colour, metal, air, &c. The Spaniards are white, and so are Italians, when as the inhabitants about [1] *Caput bonæ spei* are blackamoors, and yet both alike distant from the equator; nay, they that dwell in the same parallel line with these negroes, as about the Straits of Magellan, are white coloured, and yet some in Presbyter John's country in Æthiopia are dun; they in Zeilan and Malabar parallel with them again black; Manamotapa in Africa, and St. Thomas Isle are extreme hot, both under the line, coal black their inhabitants, whereas in Peru they are quite opposite in colour, very temperate, or rather cold, and yet both alike elevated. Moscow in 53 degrees of latitude extreme cold, as those northern countries usually are, having one perpetual hard frost all winter long; and in 52 deg. lat. sometimes hard frost and snow all summer, as Button's Bay, &c., or by fits; and yet [2] England near the same latitude, and Ireland very moist, warm, and more temperate in winter than Spain, Italy, or France. Is it the sea that causeth this difference, and the air that comes from it? Why then is [3] Ister so cold near the Euxine, Pontus, Bithynia, and all Thrace? *frigidas regiones* Maginus calls them, and yet their latitude is but 42, which should be hot; [4] Quevira, or Nova Albion in America, bordering on the sea, was so cold in July, that our [5] Englishmen could hardly endure it. At Noremberga in 45 lat. all the sea is frozen ice, and yet in a more southern latitude than ours. New England, and the island of Cambrial Colchos, which that noble gentleman, Mr. Vaughan, or Orpheus, junior, describes in his Golden Fleece, is in the same latitude with Little Britain in France, and yet their winter begins not till January, their spring till May; which search he accounts

[1] Ad Caput bonæ spei incolæ sunt nigerrimi: Si sol causa, cur non Hispani et Itali æque nigri, in eadem latitudine, æque distantes ab Æquatore, illi ad Austrum, hi ad Boream? qui sub Presbytero Johan. habitant subfusci sunt, in Zeilan et Malabar nigri, æque distantes ab Æquatore, eodemque cœli parallelo: sed hoc magis mirari quis possit, in tota America nusquam nigros inveniri, præter paucos in loco Quareno illis dicto: quæ hujus coloris causa efficiens, cœlive an terræ qualitas, an soli proprietas, aut ipsorum hominum innata ratio, aut omnia? Ortelius in Africa Theat. [2] Regio quocunque anni tempore temperatissima. Ortel. Multas Galliæ et Italiæ regiones, molli tepore, et benigna quadam temperie prorsus antecellit, Jovi. [3] Lat. 45. Danubii. [4] Quevira, lat. 40. [5] In Sir Fra. Drake's voyage.

worthy of an astrologer; is this from the easterly winds, or melting of ice and snow dissolved within the circle arctic; or that the air being thick, is longer before it be warm by the sunbeams, and once heated like an oven will keep itself from cold? Our climes breed lice, [1] Hungary and Ireland *malè audiunt* in this kind; come to the Azores, by a secret virtue of that air they are instantly consumed, and all our European vermin almost, saith Ortelius. Egypt is watered with Nilus not far from the sea, and yet there it seldom or never rains; Rhodes, an island of the same nature, yields not a cloud, and yet our islands ever dropping and inclining to rain. The Atlantic Ocean is still subject to storms, but in Del Zur, or *Mari Pacifico*, seldom or never any. Is it from tropic stars, *apertio portarum*, in the dodecatemories or constellations, the moon's mansions, such aspects of plants, such winds, or dissolving air, or thick air, which causeth this and the like differences of heat and cold? Bodine relates of a Portugal ambassador, that coming from [2] Lisbon to [3] Dantzic in Spruce, found greater heat there than at any time at home. Don Garcia de Sylva, legate to Philip III., king of Spain, residing at Ispahan in Persia, 1619, in his letter to the Marquess of Bedmar, makes mention of greater cold in Ispahan, whose latitude is 31 gr. than ever he felt in Spain, or any part of Europe. The torrid zone was by our predecessors held to be uninhabitable, but by our modern travellers found to be most temperate, bedewed with frequent rains, and moistening showers, the breeze, and cooling blasts in some parts, as [4] Acosta describes, most pleasant and fertile. Arica in Chili is by report one of the sweetest places that ever the sun shined on, *Olympus terræ*, a heaven on earth; how incomparably do some extol Mexico in Nova Hispania, Peru, Brazil, &c., in some again hard, dry, sandy, barren, a very desert, and still in the same latitude. Many times we find great diversity of air in the same [5] country, by reason of the

[1] Lansius, orat. contra Hungaros. [2] Lisbon, lat. 38. [3] Dantzic, lat. 54. [4] De nat. novi orbis, lib. 1, cap. 9. Suavissimus omnium locus, &c. [5] The

site to seas, hills or dales, want of water, nature of soil, and the like; as in Spain, Arragon is *aspera et sicca*, harsh and evil inhabited; Estremadura is dry, sandy, barren most part, extreme hot by reason of his plains; Andalusia another Paradise; Valencia a most pleasant air, and continually green; so is it about [1] Granada, on the one side fertile plains, on the other, continual snow to be seen all summer long on the hill-tops. That their houses in the Alps are three quarters of the year covered with snow, who knows not? That Teneriffe is so cold at the top, extreme hot at the bottom; Mons Atlas in Africa, Libanus in Palestine, with many such, *tantos inter ardores fidos nivibus*, [2] Tacitus calls them, and Radzivilus, *epist.* 2, *fol.* 27, yields it to be far hotter there than in any part of Italy; 'tis true; but they are highly elevated, near the middle region, and therefore cold, *ob paucam solarium radiorum refractionem*, as Serrarius answers, *com. in* 3 *cap. Josua quæst.* 5, *Abulensis*, *quæst.* 37. In the heat of summer, in the king's palace in Escurial, the air is most temperate, by reason of a cold blast which comes from the snowy mountains of Sierra de Cadarama hard by, when as in Toledo it is very hot; so in all other countries. The causes of these alterations are commonly by reason of their nearness (I say) to the middle region; but this diversity of air, in places equally situated, elevated and distant from the pole, can hardly be satisfied with that diversity of plants, birds, beasts, which is so familiar with us; with Indians, everywhere, the sun is equally distant, the same vertical stars, the same irradiations of planets, aspects like, the same nearness of seas, the same superficies, the same soil, or not much different. Under the equator itself, amongst the Sierras, Andes, Lanos, as Herrera, Laet, and [3] Acosta contend, there is *tam mirabilis et inopinata varietas*, such variety of weather, *ut meritò exerceat ingenia*, that no philosophy can yet find out the true cause of it. When I consider how temperate it is in one place, saith

same variety of weather Lod. Guicciardine observes betwixt Liege and Ajax not far distant, descript. Belg. [1] Magin. Quadus. [2] Hist. lib. 5. [3] Lib. 11, cap. 7.

[1] Acosta, within the tropic of Capricorn, as about La Plata, and yet hard by at Potosi, in that same altitude, mountainous alike, extreme cold; extreme hot in Brazil, &c. *Hîc ego*, saith Acosta, *philosophiam Aristotelis meteorologicam vehementèr irrisi, cùm, &c.*, when the sun comes nearest to them, they have great tempests, storms, thunder and lightning, great store of rain, snow, and the foulest weather; when the sun is vertical, their rivers overflow, the morning fair and hot, noonday cold and moist; all which is opposite to us. How comes it to pass? Scaliger, *poetices, l.* 3, *c.* 16, discourseth thus of this subject. How comes, or wherefore is this *temeraria siderum dispositio*, this rash placing of stars, or as Epicurus will, *fortuita*, or accidental? Why are some big, some little, why are they so confusedly, unequally situated in the heavens, and set so much out of order? In all other things nature is equal, proportionable, and constant; there be *justæ dimensiones, et prudens partium dispositio*, as in the fabric of man, his eyes, ears, nose, face, members are correspondent, *cur non idem cœlo opere omnium pulcherrimo?* Why are the heavens so irregular, *neque paribus molibus, neque paribus intervallis*, whence is this difference? *Diversos* (he concludes) *efficere locorum Genios*, to make diversity of countries, soils, manners, customs, characters, and constitutions among us, *ut quantum vicinia ad charitatem addat, sidera distrahant ad perniciem*, and so by this means *fluvio vel monte distincti sunt dissimiles*, the same places almost shall be distinguished in manners. But this reason is weak and most insufficient. The fixed stars are removed since Ptolemy's time 26 gr. from the first of Aries, and if the earth be immovable, as their site varies, so should countries vary, and diverse alterations would follow. But this we perceive not; as in Tully's time with us in Britain, *cœlum visu fœdum, et in quo facilè generantur nubes, &c.*, 'tis so still. Wherefore Bodine, *Theat. nat. lib.* 2, and some others, will have all these

[1] Lib. 2, cap. 9. Cur. Potosi et Plata, urbes in tam tenui intervallo, utraque montosa, &c.

alterations and effects immediately to proceed from those genii, spirits, angels, which rule and domineer in several places; they cause storms, thunder, lightning, earthquakes, ruins, tempests, great winds, floods, &c., the philosophers of Conimbra, will refer this diversity to the influence of that empyrean heaven; for some say the eccentricity of the sun is come nearer to the earth than in Ptolemy's time, the virtue therefore of all the vegetals is decayed, [1] men grow less, &c. There are that observe new motions of the heavens, new stars, *palantia sidera*, comets, clouds, call them what you will, like those Medicean, Burbonian, Austrian planets, lately detected, which do not decay, but come and go, rise higher and lower, hide and show themselves amongst the fixed stars, amongst the planets, above and beneath the moon, at set times, now nearer, now farther off, together, asunder; as he that plays upon a sackbut by pulling it up and down alters his tones and tunes, do they their stations and places, though to us undiscerned; and from those motions proceed (as they conceive) divers alterations. Clavius conjectures otherwise, but they be but conjectures. About Damascus in Cœli-Syria, is a [2] Paradise, by reason of the plenty of waters, *in promptu causa est*, and the deserts of Arabia barren, because of rocks, rolling seas of sands, and dry mountains *quod inaquosa* (saith Adricomius) *montes habens asperos, saxosos, præcipites, horroris et mortis speciem præ se ferentes*, "uninhabitable therefore of men, birds, beasts, void of all green trees, plants, and fruits, a vast, rocky, horrid wilderness, which by no art can be manured, 'tis evident." Bohemia is cold, for that it lies all along to the north. But why should it be so hot in Egypt, or there never rain? Why should those [3] etesian and northeastern winds blow continually and constantly so long together, in some places, at set times, one way still, in the dog-days only; here perpetual drought, there dropping showers; here foggy mists, there a pleasant air;

[1] Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos. [2] Nav. l. 1, c. 5. [3] Strabo.

here [1] terrible thunder and lightning at such set seasons, here frozen seas all the year, there open in the same latitude, to the rest no such thing, nay quite opposite is to be found? Sometimes (as in [2] Peru) on the one side of the mountains it is hot, on the other cold, here snow, there wind, with infinite such. Fromundus in his Meteors will excuse or solve all this by the sun's motion, but when there is such diversity to such as *Periœci*, or very near site, how can that position hold?

Who can give a reason of this diversity of meteors, that it should rain [3] stones, frogs, mice, &c., rats, which they call *Lemmer* in Norway, and are manifestly observed (as [4] Munster writes) by the inhabitants, to descend and fall with some feculent showers, and like so many locusts, consume all that is green. Leo Afer speaks as much of locusts, about Fez in Barbary there be infinite swarms in their fields upon a sudden; so at Arles in France, 1553, the like happened by the same mischief, all their grass and fruits were devoured, *magna incolarum admiratione et consternatione* (as Valleriola, *obser. med. lib.* 1, *obser.* 1, relates,) *cœlum subitò obumbrabant, &c.*, he concludes, [5] it could not be from natural causes, they cannot imagine whence they come, but from heaven. Are these and such creatures, corn, wood, stones, worms, wool, blood, &c., lifted up into the middle region by the sunbeams, as [6] Baracellus the physician disputes, and thence let fall with showers, or there engendered? [7] Cornelius Gemma is of that opinion, they are there conceived by celestial influences; others suppose they are immediately from God, or prodigies raised by art and illusions of spirits, which are princes of the air; to whom Bodin, *lib.* 2, *Theat. Nat.* subscribes. In fine, of meteors in general, Aristotle's reasons are exploded by Bernardinus Telesius, by Paracelsus his principles confuted, and other causes assigned, sal, sulphur,

[1] As under the equator in many parts, showers here at such a time, winds at such a time, the Brise they call it. [2] Ferd. Cortesius, lib. Novus orbis inscript. [3] Lapidatum est. Livie. [4] Cosmog. lib. 4, cap. 22. Hæ tempestatibus decidunt è nubibus fæculentis, depascunturque more locustorum omnia virentia. [5] Hort. Genial. An à terra sursum rapiuntur à solo iterumque cum pluviis præcipitantur? &c. [6] Tam ominosus proventus in naturales causas referri vix potest. [7] Cosmog. c. 6.

mercury, in which his disciples are so expert, that they can alter elements, and separate at their pleasure, make perpetual motions, not as Cardan, Tasneir, Peregrinus, by some magnetical virtue, but by mixture of elements; imitate thunder, like Salmoneus, snow, hail, the sea's ebbing and flowing, give life to creatures (as they say) without generation, and what not? P. Nonius Saluciensis and Kepler take upon them to demonstrate that no meteors, clouds, fogs, [1] vapours, arise higher than fifty or eighty miles, and all the rest to be purer air or element of fire; which [2] Cardan, [3] Tycho, and [4] John Pena manifestly confute by refractions and many other arguments, there is no such element of fire at all. If, as Tycho proves, the moon be distant from us fifty and sixty semidiameters of the earth; and as Peter Nonius will have it, the air be so angust, what proportion is there betwixt the other three elements and it? To what use serves it? Is it full of spirits which inhabit it, as the Paracelsians and Platonists hold, the higher the more noble, [5] full of birds, or a mere *vacuum* to no purpose? It is much controverted between Tycho Brahe and Christopher Rotman, the landgrave of Hesse's mathematician, in their astronomical epistles, whether it be the same *Diaphanum*, clearness, matter of air and heavens, or two distinct essences? Christopher Rotman, John Pena, Jordanus Brunus, with many other late mathematicians, contend it is the same and one matter throughout, saving that the higher still the purer it is, and more subtile; as they find by experience in the top of some hills in [6] America; if a man ascend, he faints instantly for want of thicker air to refrigerate the heart. Acosta, *l.* 3, *c.* 9, calls this mountain Periacacca in Peru; it makes men cast and vomit, he saith, that climb it, as some other of those Andes do in the deserts of Chili for five hundred miles together, and for extremity of cold to lose their fingers and toes.

[1] Cardan saith vapours rise 288 miles from the earth, Eratosthenes 48 miles. [2] De subtil. l. 2. [3] In Progymnas. [4] Præfat. ad Euclid. Catop. [5] Manucodiatæ, birds that live continually in the air, and are never seen on ground but dead: See Ulysses Alderovand. Ornithol. Scal. exerc. cap. 229. [6] Laet. descript. Amer.

Tycho will have two distinct matters of heaven and air; but to say truth, with some small qualification, they have one and the selfsame opinion about the essence and matter of heavens; that it is not hard and impenetrable, as Peripatetics hold, transparent, of a *quinta essentia*, [1] "but that it is penetrable and soft as the air itself is, and that the planets move in it, as birds in the air, fishes in the sea." This they prove by motion of comets, and otherwise (though Claremontius in his Antitycho stiffly opposes), which are not generated, as Aristotle teacheth, in the aerial region, of a hot and dry exhalation, and so consumed; but as Anaxagoras and Democritus held of old, of a celestial matter; and as [2] Tycho, [3] Elisæus Rœslin, Thaddeus Haggesius, Pena, Rotman, Fracastorius, demonstrate by their progress, parallaxes, refractions, motions of the planets, which interfere and cut one another's orbs, now higher, and then lower, as ♂ amongst the rest, which sometimes, as [4] Kepler confirms by his own, and Tycho's accurate observations, comes nearer the earth than the ☉, and is again eftsoons aloft in Jupiter's orb; and [5] other sufficient reasons, far above the moon; exploding in the mean time that element of fire, those fictitious first watery movers, those heavens I mean above the firmament, which Delrio, Lodovicus Imola, Patricius, and many of the fathers affirm; those monstrous orbs of eccentrics, and *Eccentre Epicycles deserentes.* Which howsoever Ptolemy, Alhasen, Vitellio, Purbachius, Maginus, Clavius, and many of their associates, stiffly maintain to be real orbs, eccentric, concentric, circles æquant, &c., are absurd and ridiculous. For who is so mad to think that there should be so many circles, like subordinate wheels in a clock, all impenetrable and hard, as they feign, add and subtract at their pleasure. [6] Maginus makes eleven heavens, subdivided into their orbs

[1] Epist. lib. 1, p. 83. Ex quibus constat nec diversa aëris et ætheris diaphana esse, nec refractiones aliunde quàm à crasso aëre causari—Non dura aut impervia, sed liquida, subtilis, motuique Planetarum facilè cedens. [2] In Progymn. lib. 2, exempl. quinque. [3] In Theoria nova Met. cœlestium 1578. [4] Epit. Astron. lib. 4. [5] Multa sanè hinc consequuntur absurda, et si nihil aliud, tot Cometæ in æthere animadversi, qui nullius orbis ductum comitantur, id ipsum sufficienter refellunt. Tycho, astr. epist. page 107. [6] In Theoricis

and circles, and all too little to serve those particular appearances; Fracastorius, seventy-two homocentrics; Tycho Brahe, Nicholas Ramerus, Helisæus Rœslin, have peculiar hypotheses of their own inventions; and they be but inventions, as most of them acknowledge, as we admit of equators, tropics, colures, circles arctic and antarctic, for doctrine's sake (though Ramus thinks them all unnecessary), they will have them supposed only for method and order. Tycho hath feigned I know not how many subdivisions of epicycles in epicycles, &c., to calculate and express the moon's motion; but when all is done, as a supposition, and no otherwise; not (as he holds) hard, impenetrable, subtile, transparent, &c., or making music, as Pythagoras maintained of old, and Robert Constantine of late, but still, quiet, liquid, open, &c.

If the heavens then be penetrable, as these men deliver, and no lets, it were not amiss in this aerial progress to make wings and fly up, which that Turk in Busbequius made his fellow-citizens in Constantinople believe he would perform; and some newfangled wits, methinks, should some time or other find out; or if that may not be, yet with a Galileo's glass, or Icaromenippus's wings in Lucian, command the spheres and heavens, and see what is done amongst them. Whether there be generation and corruption, as some think, by reason of ethereal comets, that in Cassiopeia, 1572, that in Cygno, 1600, that in Sagittarius, 1604, and many like, which by no means Jul. Cæsar la Galla, that Italian philosopher, in his physical disputation with Galileus, *de phænomenis in orbe lunæ, cap.* 9, will admit; or that they were created *ab initio*, and show themselves at set times; and as [1] Helisæus Rœslin contends, have poles, axletrees, circles of their own, and regular motions. For, *non pereunt, sed minuuntur et disparent*, [2] Blancanus holds they come and go by fits, casting their tails still from the sun; some of them, as a burning-glass projects the sunbeams from it; though not

planetarum, three above the firmament, which all wise men reject. [1] Theor. nova cœlest. Meteor. [2] Lib. de fabricâ mundi.

always neither; for sometimes a comet casts his tail from Venus, as Tycho observes. And as [1] Helisæus Rœslin of some others, from the moon, with little stars about them *ad stuporem astronomorum; cum multis aliis in cœlo miraculis*, all which argue with those Medicean, Austrian, and Burbonian stars, that the heaven of the planets is indistinct, pure, and open, in which the planets move *certis legibus ac metis.* Examine likewise, *An cœlum sit coloratum?* Whether the stars be of that bigness, distance, as astronomers relate, so many in [2] number, 1026, or 1725, as J. Bayerus; or as some Rabbins, 29,000 myriads; or as Galileo discovers by his glasses, infinite, and that *via lactea*, a confused light of small stars, like so many nails in a door; or all in a row, like those 12,000 isles of the Maldives in the Indian Ocean? Whether the least visible star in the eighth sphere be eighteen times bigger than the earth; and as Tycho calculates, 14,000 semidiameters distant from it? Whether they be thicker parts of the orbs, as Aristotle delivers; or so many habitable worlds, as Democritus? Whether they have light of their own, or from the sun, or give light round, as Patritius discourseth? *An æquè distent à centro mundi?* Whether light be of their essence; and that light be a substance or an accident? Whether they be hot by themselves, or by accident cause heat? Whether there be such a precession of the equinoxes as Copernicus holds, or that the eighth sphere move? *An benè philosophentur*, R. Bacon and J. Dee, *Aphorism. de multiplicatione specierum?* Whether there be any such images ascending with each degree of the zodiac in the east, as Aliacensis feigns? *An aqua super cœlum?* as Patritius and the schoolmen will, a crystalline [3] watery heaven, which is [4] certainly to be understood of that in the middle region? for otherwise if at Noah's flood the water came from thence, it must be above a hundred years falling down to us, as [5] some calculate. Besides, *An terra sit ani-*

[1] Lib de Cometis. [2] An sit crux et nubecula in cœlis ad Polum Antarcticum, quod ex Corsalio refert Patritius. [3] Gilbertus Origanus. [4] See this discussed in Sir Walter Raleigh's history, in Zanch. ad Casman. [5] Vid. Fromun-

mata? which some so confidently believe, with Orpheus, Hermes, Averroes, from which all other souls of men, beasts, devils, plants, fishes, &c., are derived, and into which again, after some revolutions, as Plato in his Timæus, Plotinus in his Enneades more largely discuss, they return (see Chalcidius and Bennius, Plato's commentators,) as all philosophical matter, *in materiam primam.* Keplerus, Patritius, and some other Neoterics, have in part revived this opinion. And that every star in heaven hath a soul, angel or intelligence to animate or move it, &c. Or to omit all smaller controversies, as matters of less moment, and examine that main paradox, of the earth's motion, now so much in question: Aristarchus Samius, Pythagoras maintained it of old, Democritus and many of their scholars, Didacus Astunica, Anthony Fascarinus, a Carmelite, and some other commentators, will have Job to insinuate as much, *cap.* 9, *ver.* 4. *Qui commovet terram de loco suo*, &c., and that this one place of Scripture makes more for the earth's motion than all the other prove against it; whom Pineda confutes, most contradict. Howsoever, it is revived since by Copernicus, not as a truth, but a supposition, as he himself confesseth in the preface to Pope Nicholas, but now maintained in good earnest by [1] Calcagninus, Telesius, Kepler, Rotman, Gilbert. Digges, Galileo, Campanella, and especially by [2] Lansbergius, *naturæ*, *rationi*, *et veritati consentaneum*, by Origanus, and some [3] others of his followers. For if the earth be the centre of the world, stand still, and the heavens move, as the most received [4] opinion is, which they call *inordinatam cœli dispositionem*, though stiffly maintained by Tycho, Ptolemeus, and their adherents, *quis ille furor?* &c., what fury is that, saith [5] Dr. Gilbert, *satis animosè*, as Cabeus notes, that shall drive the heavens about with such incomprehensible celerity in twenty-four hours, when as every point of the firmament, and

dum, de Meteoris, lib. 5, artic. 5, et Lansbergium. [1] Peculiari libello. [2] Comment. in motum terræ, Middlebergi, 1630, 4. [3] Peculiari libello. [4] See Mr. Carpenter's Geogr. cap. 4, lib. 1, Campanella et Origanus, præf. Ephemer. where Scripture places are answered. [5] De Magnete.

in the equator, must needs move (so [1] Clavius calculates) 176, 660 in one 246th part of an hour; and an arrow out of a bow must go seven times about the earth whilst a man can say an Ave Maria, if it keep the same space, or compass the earth 1884 times in an hour, which is *supra humanam cogitationem*, beyond human conceit: *ocyor et jaculo, et ventos æquante sagitta.* A man could not ride so much ground, going forty miles a day, in 2904 years, as the firmament goes in twenty-three hours; or so much in 2.03 years, as the firmament in one minute: *quod incredibile videtur:* and the [2] polestar, which to our thinking, scarce moveth out of its place, goeth a bigger circuit than the sun, whose diameter is much larger than the diameter of the heaven of the sun, and 20,000 semidiameters of the earth from us, with the rest of the fixed stars, as Tycho proves. To avoid therefore these impossibilities, they ascribe a triple motion to the earth, the sun immovable in the centre of the whole world, the earth centre of the moon, alone, above ♀ and ☿ beneath ♄, ♃, ♂, (or as [3] Origanus and others will, one single motion to the earth, still placed in the centre of the world, which is more probable,) a single motion to the firmament, which moves in thirty or twenty-six thousand years; and so the planets, Saturn in thirty years absolves his sole and proper motion, Jupiter in twelve, Mars in three, &c., and so solve all appearances better than any way whatsoever; calculate all motions, be they in *longum* or *latum*, direct, stationary, retrograde, ascent or descent, without epicycles, intricate eccentrics, &c., *rectius commodiusque per unicum motum terræ*, saith Lansbergius, much more certain than by those Alphonsine, or any such tables, which are grounded from those other suppositions. And 'tis true they say, according to optic principles, the visible appearances of the planets do so indeed answer to their magnitudes and orbs, and come nearest to mathematical observations and precedent calculations, there is no repugnancy to physical

[1] Comment. in 2 cap. sphær. Jo. de Sacr. Bosc. [2] Dist. 3, gr. 1, à Polo. [3] Præf. Ephem.

axioms, because no penetration of orbs; but then between the sphere of Saturn and the firmament, there is such an incredible and vast [1] space or distance (7,000,000 semidiameters of the earth, as Tycho calculates,) void of stars; and besides, they do so enhance the bigness of the stars, enlarge their circuit, to solve those ordinary objections or parallaxes and retrogradations of the fixed stars, that alteration of the poles, elevation in several places or latitude of cities here on earth (for, say they, if a man's eye were in the firmament, he should not at all discern that great annual motion of the earth, but it would still appear *punctum indivisibile* and seem to be fixed in one place, of the same bigness,) that it is quite opposite to reason, to natural philosophy, and all out as absurd as disproportional (so some will) as prodigious, as that of the sun's swift motion of heavens. But *hoc posito*, to grant this their tenet of the earth's motion; if the earth move, it is a planet, and shines to them in the moon, and to the other planetary inhabitants, as the moon and they do to us upon the earth; but shine she doth, as Galileo, [2] Kepler, and others prove, and then *per consequens*, the rest of the planets are inhabited, as well as the moon, which he grants in his dissertation with Galileo's *Nuncius Sidereus* [3] "that there be Jovial and Saturn inhabitants," &c., and those several planets have their several moons about them, as the earth hath hers, as Galileo hath already evinced by his glasses; [4] four about Jupiter, two about Saturn (though Sitius the Florentine, Fortunius Licetus, and Jul. Cæsar la Galla cavil at it) yet Kepler, the emperor's mathematician, confirms out of his experience that he saw as much

[1] Which may be full of planets, perhaps, to us unseen, as those about Jupiter, &c. [2] Luna circumterrestris Planeta quum sit, consentaneum est esse in Luna viventes creaturas, et singulis Planetarum globis sui serviunt circulatores, ex qua consideratione, de eorum incolis summa probabilitate concludimus, quod et Tychoni Braheo, è sola consideratione vastitatis eorum visum fuit. Kepl. dissert cum nun. sid. f. 29. [3] Temperare non possum quin ex inventis tuis hoc moneam, veri non absimile, non tam in Luna, sed etiam in Jove, et reliquis Planetis incolas esse. Kepl. fo. 26. Si non sint accolæ in Jovis globo, qui notent admirandam hanc varietatem oculis, cui bono quatuor illi Planetæ Jovem circumcursitant? [4] Some of those above Jupiter I have seen myself by the help of a glass eight feet long.

by the same help, and more about Mars, Venus, and the rest they hope to find out, peradventure even amongst the fixed stars, which Brunus and Brutius have already averred. Then (I say) the earth and they be planets alike, inhabited alike, moved about the sun, the common centre of the world alike, and it may be those two green children which [1] Nubrigensis speaks of in his time, that fell from heaven, came from thence; and that famous stone that fell from heaven in Aristotle's time, olymp. 84, *anno tertio, ad Capuæ Fluenta*, recorded by Laertius and others, or Ancile or buckler in Numa's time, recorded by Festus. We may likewise insert with Campanella and Brunus, that which Pythagoras, Aristarchus, Samius, Heraclitus, Epicurus, Melissus, Democritus, Leucippus maintained in their ages, there be [2] infinite worlds, and infinite earths or systems, *in infinito æthere*, which [3] Eusebius collects out of their tenets, because infinite stars and planets like unto this of ours, which some stick not still to maintain and publicly defend, *sperabundus expecto innumerabilium mundorum in æternitate per ambulationem, &c.* (*Nic. Hill. Londinensis philos. Epicur.*) For if the firmament be of such an incomparable bigness, as these Copernical giants will have it, *infinitum, aut infinito proximum*, so vast and full of innumerable stars, as being infinite in extent, one above another, some higher, some lower, some nearer, some farther off, and so far asunder, and those so huge and great, insomuch that if the whole sphere of Saturn, and all that is included in it, *totum aggregatum* (as Fromundus of Louvain in his tract *de immobilitate terræ* argues) *evehatur inter stellas, videri à nobis non poterat, tam immanis est distantia inter tellurem et fixas, sed instar puncti, &c.* If our world be small in respect, why may we not suppose a plurality of worlds, those infinite stars visible in the firmament, to be so many suns, with particular fixed centres; to have likewise their subordinate planets, as the sun hath his dancing still

[1] Rerum Angl. l. 1, c. 27, de viridibus pueris. Brunus, terræ huic nostræ similes. [2] Infiniti alii mundi, vel ut [3] Libro Cont. philos. cap. 29.

round him? which Cardinal Cusanus, Walkarinus, Brunus, and some others have held, and some still maintain, *Animæ Aristotelismo innutritæ, et minutis speculationibus assuetæ, secus forsan, &c.* Though they seem close to us, they are infinitely distant, and so *per consequens*, they are infinite habitable worlds; what hinders? Why should not an infinite cause (as God is) produce infinite effects? as Nic. Hill. *Democrit. philos.* disputes; Kepler (I confess) will by no means admit of Brunus's infinite worlds, or that the fixed stars should be so many suns, with their compassing planets, yet the said [1] Kepler between jest and earnest in his perspectives, lunar geography, [2] *et somnio suo, dissertat. cum nunc. sider.* seems in part to agree with this, and partly to contradict; for the planets, he yields them to be inhabited, he doubts of the stars; and so doth Tycho in his astronomical epistles, out of a consideration of their vastity and greatness, break out into some such like speeches, that he will never believe those great and huge bodies were made to no other use than this that we perceive, to illuminate the earth, a point insensible in respect of the whole. But who shall dwell in these vast bodies, earths, worlds, [3] "if they be inhabited? rational creatures?" as Kepler demands, "or have they souls to be saved? or do they inhabit a better part of the world than we do? Are we or they lords of the world? And how are all things made for man?" *Difficile est nodum hunc expedire, eò quod nondum omnia quæ huc pertinent explorata habemus:* 'tis hard to determine: this only he proves, that we are *præcipuo mundi sinu*, in the best place, best world, nearest the heart of the sun. [4] Thomas Campanella, a Calabrian monk, in his second book *de sensu rerum, cap.* 4, subscribes to this of Kepler; that they are inhabited he certainly supposeth, but with what kind of creatures he cannot

[1] Kepler, fol. 2, dissert. Quid impedit quin credamus ex his initiis, plures alios mundos detegendos, vel (ut Democrito placuit) infinitos? [2] Lege Somnium Keplerî, edit. 1635. [3] Quid igitur inquies, si sint in cœlo plures globi, similes nostræ telluris, an cum illis certabimus, quis meliorem mundi plagam teneat? Si nobiliores illorum globi, nos non sumus creaturarum rationalium nobilissimi: quomodo igitur omnia propter hominem? quomodo nos domini operum Dei? Kepler. fol. 29. [4] Frankfort, quarto, 1620, ibid. 4o. 1622.

say, he labours to prove it by all means; and that there are infinite worlds, having made an apology for Galileo, and dedicates this tenet of his to Cardinal Cajetanus. Others freely speak, mutter, and would persuade the world (as [1] Marinus Marcenus complains) that our modern divines are too severe and rigid against mathematicians; ignorant and peevish, in not admitting their true demonstrations and certain observations, that they tyrannize over art, science, and all philosophy, in suppressing their labours (saith Pomponatius), forbidding them to write, to speak a truth, all to maintain their superstition, and for their profit's sake. As for those places of Scripture which oppugn it, they will have spoken *ad captum vulgi*, and if rightly understood, and favourably interpreted, not at all against it; and as Otho Casman, *Astrol. cap.* 1, *part.* 1, notes, many great divines, besides Porphyrius, Proclus, Simplicius, and those heathen philosophers, *doctrinâ et ætate venerandi, Mosis Gen sin mundanam popularis nescio cujus ruditatis, quæ longè absit à verâ Philosophorum eruditione, insimulant;* for Moses makes mention but of two planets, ☉ and ☾, no four elements, &c. Read more on him, in [2] Grossius and Junius. But to proceed, these and such like insolent and bold attempts, prodigious paradoxes, inferences must needs follow, if it once be granted, which Rotman, Kepler, Gilbert, Digges, Origanus, Galileo, and others, maintain of the earth's motion, that 'tis a planet, and shines as the moon doth, which contains in it [3] "both land and sea as the moon doth;" for so they find by their glasses that *Maculæ in facie Lunæ*, "the brighter parts are earth, the dusky sea," which Thales, Plutarch, and Pythagoras formerly taught; and manifestly discern hills and dales, and such like concavities, if we may subscribe to, and believe Galileo's observations. But to avoid these paradoxes of the earth's motion (which the Church of Rome hath lately [4] con-

[1] Præfat. in Comment. in Genesin. Modo suadent Theologos, summa ignoratione versari, veras scientias admittere nolle, et tyrannidem exercere, ut eos falsis dogmatibus, superstitionibus, et religione Catholica detineant. [2] Theat. Biblico. [3] His argumentis plane satisfecisti, do maculas in Luna esse maria, do lucidas partes esse terram. Kepler. fol. 16. [4] Anno 1616.

demned as heretical, as appears by Blancanus and Fromundus's writings,) our later mathematicians have rolled all the stones that may be stirred; and, to solve all appearances and objections, have invented new hypotheses, and fabricated new systems of the world, out of their own Dædalian heads. Fracastorius will have the earth stand still, as before; and to avoid that supposition of eccentrics and epicycles, he hath coined seventy-two homocentrics, to solve all appearances. Nicholas Ramerus will have the earth the centre of the world, but movable, and the eighth sphere immovable, the five other planets to move about the sun, the sun and moon about the earth. Of which orbs Tycho Brahe puts the earth the centre immovable, the stars immovable, the rest with Ramerus, the planets without orbs to wander in the air, keep time and distance, true motion, according to that virtue which God hath given them. [1] Helisæus Rœslin censureth both, with Copernicus (whose hypothesis *de terræ motu* Philippus Lansbergius hath lately vindicated, and demonstrated with solid arguments in a just volume, Jansonius Cæsius [2] hath illustrated in a sphere). The said Johannes Lansbergius, 1633, hath since defended his assertion against all the cavils and calumnies of Fromundus his Anti-Aristarchus, Baptista Morinus, and Petrus Bartholinus; Fromundus, 1634, hath written against him again, J. Rosseus of Aberdeen, &c., (sound drums and trumpets,) whilst Rœslin (I say) censures all, and Ptolemeus himself as insufficient: one offends against natural philosophy, another against optic principles, a third against mathematical, as not answering to astronomical observations; one puts a great space between Saturn's orb and the eighth sphere, another too narrow. In his own hypothesis he makes the earth as before the universal centre, the sun to the five upper planets; to the eighth sphere he ascribes diurnal motion, eccentrics, and epicycles to the seven planets, which hath been formerly exploded; and so, *Dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt*, [3] as a tinker stops one hole

[1] In Hypothes. de mundo. Edit. 1597. [2] Lugduni, 1633. [3] "Whilst these

and makes two, he corrects them, and doth worse himself; reforms some, and mars all. In the mean time, the world is tossed in a blanket amongst them, they hoist the earth up and down like a ball, make it stand and go at their pleasures; one saith the sun stands, another he moves; a third comes in, taking them all at rebound, and lest there should any paradox be wanting, he * finds certain spots and clouds in the sun, by the help of glasses, which multiply (saith Keplerus) a thing seen a thousand times bigger *in plano*, and makes it come thirty-two times nearer to the eye of the beholder; but see the demonstration of this glass in [1] Tarde, by means of which, the sun must turn round upon his own centre, or they about the sun. Fabricius puts only three, and those in the sun; Apelles fifteen, and those without the sun, floating like the Cyanean Isles in the Euxine sea. [2] Tarde, the Frenchman, hath observed thirty-three, and those neither spots nor clouds, as Galileo, *Epist. ad Velserum*, supposeth, but planets concentric with the sun, and not far from him with regular motions. [3] Christopher Shemer, a German Suisser Jesuit, *Ursicâ Rosâ*, divides them *in maculas et faculas*, and will have them to be fixed *in Solis superficie;* and to absolve their periodical and regular motion in twenty-seven or twenty-eight days, holding withal the rotation of the sun upon his centre; and all are so confident, that they have made schemes and tables of their motions. The [4] Hollander, in his *dissertatiunculâ cum Apelle*, censures all; and thus they disagree amongst themselves, old and new, irreconcilable in their opinions; thus Aristarchus, thus Hipparchus, thus Ptolemeus, thus Albateginus, thus Alfraganus, thus Tycho, thus Ramerus, thus Rœslinus, thus Fracastorius, thus Copernicus and his adherents, thus Clavius and Maginus, &c., with their followers, vary and determine of these celestial orbs and bodies; and so whilst these men contend about the sun and

blockheads avoid one fault, they fall into its opposite." * Jo. Fabricius de maculis in sole. Witeb. 1611. [1] In Burboniis siderибus. [2] Lib. de Burboniis sid. Stellæ sunt erraticæ, quæ propriis orbibus feruntur, non longè a Sole dissitis, sed juxta Solem. [3] Braccini fol. 1630, lib. 4, cap. 52, 55, 59, &c. [4] Lugdun. Bat. An. 1612.

moon, like the philosophers in Lucian, it is to be feared, the sun and moon will hide themselves, and be as much offended as [1] she was with those, and send another messenger to Jupiter, by some newfangled Icaromenippus, to make an end of all those curious controversies, and scatter them abroad.

But why should the sun and moon be angry, or take exceptions at mathematicians and philosophers? when as the like measure is offered unto God himself by a company of theologasters: they are not contented to see the sun and moon, measure their site and biggest distance in a glass, calculate their motions, or visit the moon in a poetical fiction, or a dream, as he saith, [2] *Audax facinus et memorabile nunc incipiam, neque hoc sæculo usurpatum prius, quid in Lunæ regno hâc nocte gestum sit exponam, et quo nemo unquam nisi somniando pervenit,* [3] but he and Menippus; or as [4] Peter Cuneus, *Bonâ fide agam, nihil eorum quæ scripturus sum, verum esse scitote, &c., quæ nec facta, nec futura sunt, dicam,* [5] *stili tantum et ingenii causa,* not in jest, but in good earnest these gigantical Cyclops will transcend spheres, heaven, stars, into that empyrean heaven; soar higher yet, and see what God himself doth. The Jewish Talmudists take upon them to determine how God spends his whole time, sometimes playing with Leviathan, sometimes overseeing the world, &c., like Lucian's Jupiter, that spent much of the year in painting butterflies' wings, and seeing who offered sacrifice; telling the hours when it should rain, how much snow should fall in such a place, which way the wind should stand in Greece, which way in Africa. In the Turks' Alcoran, Mahomet is taken up to heaven, upon a Pegasus sent on purpose for him, as he lay in bed with his wife, and after some conference with God is set on ground again. The pagans paint him and mangle him after a thousand fashions; our heretics, schismatics, and

[1] Ne se subducant, et relicta statione decessum parent, ut curiositatis finem faciant. [2] Hercules tuam fidem Satyra Menip. edit. 1608. [3] "I shall now enter upon a bold and memorable exploit; one never before attempted in this age. I shall explain this night's transactions in the kingdom of the moon, a place where no one has yet arrived, save in his dreams." [4] Sardi venales Satyr. Menip. An. 1612. [5] Puteani Comus sic incipit, or as Lipsius Satyre in a dream.

some schoolmen, come not far behind: some paint him in the habit of an old man, and make maps of heaven, number the angels, tell their several [1] names, offices; some deny God and his providence, some take his office out of his hand, will [2] bind and loose in heaven, release, pardon, forgive, and be quartermaster with him; some call his Godhead in question, his power, and attributes, his mercy, justice, providence; they will know with [3] Cecilius, why good and bad are punished together, war, fires, plagues, infest all alike, why wicked men flourish, good are poor, in prison, sick, and ill at ease. Why doth he suffer so much mischief and evil to be done, if he be [4] able to help? why doth he not assist good, or resist bad, reform our wills, if he be not the author of sin, and let such enormities be committed, unworthy of his knowledge, wisdom, government, mercy, and providence, why lets he all things be done by fortune and chance? Others as prodigiously inquire after his omnipotency, *an possit plures similes creare deos? an ex scarabæo deum? &c., et quo demum ruetis sacrificuli?* Some, by visions and revelations, take upon them to be familiar with God, and to be of privy council with him; they will tell how many, and who shall be saved, when the world shall come to an end, what year, what month, and whatsoever else God hath reserved unto himself, and to his angels. Some again, curious fantastics, will know more than this, and inquire with [5] Epicurus, what God did before the world was made? was he idle? Where did he bide? What did he make the world of? why did he then make it, and not before? If he made it new, or to have an end, how is he unchangeable, infinite, &c. Some will dispute, cavil, and object, as Julian did of old, whom Cyril confutes, as Simon Magus is feigned to do, in that [6] dialogue betwixt him and Peter; and

[1] Tritemius, l. de 7, secundis. [2] They have fetched Trajanus's soul out of hell, and canonize for saints whom they list. [3] In Minutius, sine delectu tempestates tangunt loca sacra et profana, bonorum et malorum fata juxta, nullo ordine res fiunt, soluta legibus fortuna dominatur. [4] Vel malus vel impotens, qui peccatum permittit, &c., unde hæc superstitio? [5] Quid fecit Deus ante mundum creatum? ubi vixit otiosus à suo subjecto, &c. [6] Lib. 3, recog. Pet. cap. 3. Peter answers by the simile of an egg-shell, which is cunningly made, yet of necessity to be broken; so is the world, &c., that the excellent state of heaven might be made manifest.

Ammonius the philosopher, in that dialogical disputation with Zacharias the Christian. If God be infinitely and only good, why should he alter or destroy the world? if he confound that which is good, how shall himself continue good? If he pull it down because evil, how shall he be free from the evil that made it evil? &c., with many such absurd and brain-sick questions, intricacies, froth of human wit, and excrements of curiosity, &c., which, as our Saviour told his inquisitive disciples, are not fit for them to know. But hoo! I am now gone quite out of sight, I am almost giddy with roving about; I could have ranged farther yet; but I am an infant, and not [1] able to dive into these profundities, or sound these depths; not able to understand, much less to discuss. I leave the contemplation of these things to stronger wits, that have better ability, and happier leisure to wade into such philosophical mysteries; for put case I were as able as willing, yet what can one man do? I will conclude with [2] Scaliger, *Nequaquam nos homines sumus, sed partes hominis, ex omnibus aliquid fieri potest, idque non magnum; ex singulis ferè nihil.* Besides (as Nazianzen hath it), *Deus latere nos multa voluit;* and with Seneca, *cap.* 35, *de Cometis, Quid miramur tam rara mundi spectacula non teneri certis legibus, nondum intelligi? multæ sunt gentes quæ tantum de facie sciunt cœlum, veniet tempus fortasse, quo ista quæ nunc latent in lucem dies extrahat et longioris ævi diligentia, una ætas non sufficit, posteri, &c.*, when God sees his time, he will reveal these mysteries to mortal men, and show that to some few at last, which he hath concealed so long. For I am of [3] his mind, that Columbus did not find out America by chance, but God directed him at that time to discover it; it was contingent to him, but necessary to God; he reveals and conceals to whom and when he will. And which [4] one said of history, and records of former times, "God in his providence, to check our presumptuous inquisition, wraps up all things in uncertainty,

[1] Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus. [2] Exercit. 184. [3] Laet. descript. occid. Indiæ. [4] Daniel, principio historiæ.

bars us from long antiquity, and bounds our search within the compass of some few ages;" many good things are lost, which our predecessors made use of, as Pancirola will better inform you; many new things are daily invented, to the public good; so kingdoms, men and knowledge ebb and flow, are hid and revealed, and when you have all done, as the Preacher concluded, *Nihil est sub sole novum* (nothing new under the sun). But my melancholy spaniel's quest, my game is sprung, and I must suddenly come down and follow.

Jason Pratensis, in his book *de morbis capitis*, and chapter of melancholy, hath these words out of Galen, [1] "Let them come to me to know what meat and drink they shall use, and besides that, I will teach them what temper of ambient air they shall make choice of, what wind, what countries they shall choose, and what avoid." Out of which lines of his, thus much we may gather, that to this cure of melancholy, amongst other things, the rectification of air is necessarily required. This is performed, either in reforming natural or artificial air. Natural is that which is in our election to choose or avoid; and 'tis either general, to countries, provinces; particular, to cities, towns, villages, or private houses. What harm those extremities of heat or cold do in this malady, I have formerly shown; the medium must needs be good, where the air is temperate, serene, quiet, free from bogs, fens, mists, all manner of putrefaction, contagious and filthy noisome smells. The [2] Egyptians by all geographers are commended to be *hilares*, a conceited and merry nation; which I can ascribe to no other cause than the serenity of their air. They that live in the Orcades are registered by [3] Hector Boethius and [4] Cardan, to be of fair complexion, long-lived, most healthful, free from all manner of infirmities of body and mind, by reason of a sharp purifying air, which comes from the sea. The Bœotians in Greece were dull and

[1] Veniant ad me audituri quo esculento, quo item poculento uti debeant, et præter alimentum ipsum potumque, ventos ipsos docebo, item aëris ambientis temperiem, insuper regiones quas eligere, quas vitare ex usu sit. [2] Leo Afer, Maginus, &c. [3] Lib. 1, Scot. Hist. [4] Lib. 1, de rer. var.

heavy, *crassi Bœoti*, by reason of a foggy air in which they lived, [1] *Bœotum in crasso jurares aëre natum*, Attica most acute, pleasant, and refined. The clime changes not so much customs, manners, wits (as Aristotle, *Polit. lib.* 6, *cap.* 4, Vegetius, Plato, Bodine, *method. hist. cap.* 5, hath proved at large,) as constitutions of their bodies, and temperature itself. In all particular provinces we see it confirmed by experience, as the air is, so are the inhabitants, dull, heavy, witty, subtle, neat, cleanly, clownish, sick, and sound. In [2] Perigord in France the air is subtile, healthful, seldom any plague or contagious disease, but hilly and barren; the men sound, nimble, and lusty; but in some parts of Guienne, full of moors and marshes, the people dull, heavy, and subject to many infirmities. Who sees not a great difference between Surrey, Sussex, and Romney Marsh, the wolds in Lincolnshire and the fens. He therefore that loves his health, if his ability will give him leave, must often shift places, and make choice of such as are wholesome, pleasant, and convenient; there is nothing better than change of air in this malady, and generally for health to wander up and down, as those [3] *Tartari Zamolhenses*, that live in hordes, and take opportunity of times, places, seasons. The kings of Persia had their summer and winter houses; in winter at Sardis, in summer at Susa; now at Persepolis, then at Pasargada. Cyrus lived seven cold months at Babylon, three at Susa, two at Ecbatana, saith [4] Xenophon, and had by that means a perpetual spring. The great Turk sojourns sometimes at Constantinople, sometimes at Adrianople, &c. The kings of Spain have their Escurial in heat of summer, [5] Madrid for a wholesome seat, Valladolid a pleasant site, &c., variety of *secessus* as all princes and great men have, and their several progresses to this purpose. Lucullus the Roman had his house at Rome, at Baiæ, &c. [6] When Cn. Pompeius, Marcus Cicero

[1] Horat. de Tartaris. [2] Maginus. [3] Haitonus [4] Cyropæd. li. 8, perpetuum inde ver. [5] The air so clear, it never breeds the plague. [6] Leander Albertus in Campania, è Plutarcho vitâ Luculli. Cùm Cn. Pompeius, Marcus Cicero, multique nobiles viri L. Lucullum æstivo tempore convenissent, Pom-

(saith Plutarch) and many noble men in the summer came to see him, at supper Pompeius jested with him, that it was an elegant and pleasant village, full of windows, galleries, and all offices fit for a summer house; but in his judgment very unfit for winter; Lucullus made answer that the lord of the house had wit like a crane, that changeth her country with the season; he had other houses furnished and built for that purpose, all out as commodious as this. So Tully had his Tusculan, Plinius his Lauretan village, and every gentleman of any fashion in our times hath the like. The [1] Bishop of Exeter had fourteen several houses all furnished, in times past. In Italy, though they bide in cities in winter, which is more gentleman-like, all the summer they come abroad to their country-houses, to recreate themselves. Our gentry in England live most part in the country (except it be some few castles) building still in bottoms (saith [2] Jovius) or near woods, *corona arborum virentium;* you shall know a village by a tuft of trees at or about it, to avoid those strong winds wherewith the island is infested, and cold winter blasts. Some discommend moated houses, as unwholesome; so Camden saith of [3] Ew-elme, that it was therefore unfrequented, *ob stagni vicini halitus*, and all such places as be near lakes or rivers. But I am of opinion that these inconveniences will be mitigated, or easily corrected by good fires, as [4] one reports of Venice, that *graveolentia* and fog of the moors is sufficiently qualified by those innumerable smokes. Nay more, [5] Thomas Philol. Ravennas, a great physician, contends that the Venetians are generally longer-lived than any city in Europe, and live many of them 120 years. But it is not water simply that so much offends, as the slime and noisome smells that accompany such overflowed places, which is but at some few seasons after a flood, and is sufficiently recompensed with sweet smells and aspects in summer, *Ver*

peius inter cœnam dum familiariter jocatus est, eam villam imprimis sibi sumptuosam, et elegantem videri, fenestris, porticibus, &c. [1] Godwin, vita Jo. Voysye al. Harman. [2] Descript. Brit. [3] In Oxfordshire. [4] Leander Albertus. [5] Cap. 21, de vit. hom. prorog.

pinget vario gemmantia prata colore, and many other commodities of pleasure and profit; or else may be corrected by the site, if it be somewhat remote from the water, as Lindley, [1] *Orton super montem*, [2] Drayton, or a little more elevated, though nearer, as [3] Caucut, [4] Amington, [5] Polesworth, [6] Weddington (to insist in such places best to me known, upon the river of Anker, in Warwickshire, [7] Swarston, and [8] Drakesly upon Trent). Or howsoever they be unseasonable in winter, or at some times, they have their good use in summer. If so be that their means be so slender as they may not admit of any such variety, but must determine once for all, and make one house serve each season, I know no men that have given better rules in this behalf than our husbandry writers. [9] Cato and Columella prescribe a good house to stand by a navigable river, good highways, near some city, and in a good soil, but that is more for commodity than health.

The best soil commonly yields the worst air, a dry sandy plat is fittest to build upon, and such as is rather hilly than plain, full of downs, a Cotswold country, as being most commodious for hawking, hunting, wood, waters, and all manner of pleasures. Perigord in France is barren, yet by reason of the excellency of the air, and such pleasures that it affords, much inhabited by the nobility; as Nuremberg in Germany, Toledo in Spain. Our countryman Tusser will tell us so much, that the fieldone is for profit, the woodland for pleasure and health; the one commonly a deep clay, therefore noisome in winter, and subject to bad highways; the other a dry sand. Provision may be had elsewhere, and our towns are generally bigger in the woodland than the fieldone, more frequent and populous, and gentlemen more delight to dwell in such places. Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire (where I was once a grammar scholar), may be a sufficient witness, which stands, as Camden notes, *loco ingrato et sterili*, but in an excellent air,

[1] The possession of Robert Bradshaw, Esq. [2] Of George Purefey, Esq. [3] The possession of William Purefey, Esq. [4] The seat of Sir John Reppington, Kt. [5] Sir Henry Goodieres, lately deceased. [6] The dwelling-house of Hum. Adderley, Esq. [7] Sir John Harpar's, lately deceased. [8] Sir George Greselies, Kt. [9] Lib. 1, cap. 2.

and full of all manner of pleasures. [1] Wadley in Berkshire is situate in a vale, though not so fertile a soil as some vales afford, yet a most commodious sight, wholesome, in a delicious air, a rich and pleasant seat. So Segrave in Leicestershire (which town [2] I am now bound to remember) is situated in a champaign, at the edge of the wolds, and more barren than the villages about it, yet no place likely yields a better air. And he that built that fair house, [3] Wollerton in Nottinghamshire, is much to be commended (though the tract be sandy and barren about it) for making choice of such a place. Constantine, *lib.* 2, *cap. de Agricult.* praiseth mountains, hilly, steep places, above the rest by the seaside, and such as look toward the [4] north upon some great river, as [5] Farmack in Derbyshire, on the Trent, environed with hills, open only to the north, like Mount Edgecombe in Cornwall, which [6] Mr. Carew so much admires for an excellent seat; such is the general site of Bohemia; *serenat Boreas*, the north wind clarifies, [7] "but near lakes or marshes, in holes, obscure places, or to the south and west, he utterly disproves," those winds are unwholesome, putrefying, and make men subject to diseases. The best building for health, according to him, is in [8] "high places, and in an excellent prospect," like that of Cuddeston in Oxfordshire (which place I must *honoris ergô* mention) is lately and fairly [9] built in a good air, good prospect, good soil, both for profit and pleasure, not so easily to be matched. P. Crescentius, in his *lib.* 1, *de Agric. cap.* 5, is very copious in this subject, how a house should be wholesomely sited, in a good coast, good air, wind, &c., Varro, *de re rust. lib.* 1, *cap.* 12, [10] forbids lakes and rivers, marshy and

[1] The seat of G. Purefey, Esq. [2] For I am now incumbent of that rectory, presented thereto by my right honourable patron the Lord Berkley. [3] Sir Francis Willoughby. [4] Montani et maritimi salubriores, acclives, et ad Boream vergentes. [5] The dwelling of Sir To. Burdet, Knight, Baronet. [6] In his Survey of Cornwall, book 2. [7] Propè paludes, stagna, et loca concava, vel ad Austrum, vel ad Occidentem inclinatæ, domus sunt morbosæ. [8] Oportet igitur ad sanitatem domus in altioribus ædificare, et ad speculationem. [9] By John Bancroft, Dr. of Divinity, my quondam tutor in Christ Church, Oxon., now the Right Reverend Lord Bishop Oxon., who built this house for himself and his successors. [10] Hyeme erit vehementer frigida, et æstate non salubris: paludes enim faciunt crassum aërem, et difficiles morbos.

manured grounds, they cause a bad air, gross diseases, hard to be cured; [1] "if it be so that he cannot help it, better (as he adviseth) sell thy house and land than lose thine health." He that respects not this in choosing of his seat, or building his house, is *mente captus*, mad, [2] Cato saith, "and his dwelling next to hell itself," according to Columella; he commends, in conclusion, the middle of a hill, upon a descent. Baptista Porta, *Villæ*, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 22, censures Varro, Cato, Columella, and those ancient rustics, approving many things, disallowing some, and will by all means have the front of a house stand to the south, which how it may be good in Italy and hotter climes, I know not, in our northern countries I am sure it is best; Stephanus, a Frenchman, *prædio rustic. lib.* 1, *cap.* 4, subscribes to this, approving especially the descent of a hill south or southeast, with trees to the north, so that it be well watered; a condition in all sites which must not be omitted, as Herberstein inculcates, *lib.* 1. Julius Cæsar Claudinus, a physician, *consult.* 24, for a nobleman in Poland, melancholy given, adviseth him to dwell in a house inclining to the [3] east, and [4] by all means to provide the air be clear and sweet; which Montanus, *consil.* 229, counselleth the Earl of Monfort, his patient, to inhabit a pleasant house, and in a good air. If it be so the natural site may not be altered of our city, town, village, yet by artificial means it may be helped. In hot countries, therefore, they make the streets of their cities very narrow, all over Spain, Africa, Italy, Greece, and many cities of France, in Languedoc especially, and Provence, those southern parts; Montpelier, the habitation and university of physicians, is so built, with high houses, narrow streets, to divert the sun's scalding rays, which Tacitus commends, *lib.* 15, *Annal.* as most agreeing to their health, [5] "because the height of buildings, and narrowness of streets, keep away the sunbeams." Some cities use galleries, or arched cloisters towards the street, as

[1] Vendas quot assibus possis, et si nequeas, relinquas. [2] Lib. 1, cap. 2, in Orco habita. [3] Aurora musis amica, Vitruv. [4] Ædes Orientem spectantes vir nobilissimus inhabitet, et curet ut sit aër clarus, lucidus, odoriferus. Eligat habitationem optimo aëre jucundam. [5] Quoniam angustiæ itinerum et altitudo tectorum, non perinde Solis calorem admittit.

Damascus, Bologna, Padua, Berne in Switzerland, Westchester with us, as well to avoid tempests, as the sun's scorching heat. They build on high hills, in hot countries, for more air; or to the seaside, as Baiæ, Naples, &c. In our northern coasts we are opposite, we commend straight, broad, open, fair streets, as most befitting and agreeing to our clime. We build in bottoms for warmth; and that site of Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, in the Ægean sea, which Vitruvius so much discommends, magnificently built with fair houses, *sed imprudentèr positam*, unadvisedly sited, because it lay along to the south, and when the south wind blew, the people were all sick, would make an excellent site in our northern climes.

Of that artificial site of houses I have sufficiently discoursed; if the plan of the dwelling may not be altered, yet there is much in choice of such a chamber or room, in opportune opening and shutting of windows, excluding foreign air and winds, and walking abroad at convenient times. [1] Crato, a German, commends east and south site (disallowing cold air and northern winds in this case, rainy weather and misty days), free from putrefaction, fens, bogs, and muckhills. If the air be such, open no windows, come not abroad. Montanus will have his patient not to [2]stir at all, if the wind be big or tempestuous, as most part in March it is with us; or in cloudy, lowering, dark days, as in November, which we commonly call the black month; or stormy, let the wind stand how it will, *consil.* 27 and 30, he must not [3] "open a casement in bad weather," or in a boisterous season, *consil.* 299, he especially forbids us to open windows to a south wind. The best sites for chamber windows, in my judgment, are north, east, south, and which is the worst, west. Levinus Lemnius, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 3, *de occult. nat. mir.*, attributes so much to air, and rectifying of wind and windows, that he holds it alone sufficient to make a man sick or well; to alter body and mind. [4] "A clear air cheers up the spirits, exhilarates the

[1] Consil. 21, li. 2. Frigidus aër, nubilosus, densus, vitandus, æquè ac venti septentrionales, &c. [2] Consil. 24. [3] Fenestram non aperiat. [4] Discutit

mind; a thick, black, misty, tempestuous, contracts, overthrows." Great heed is therefore to be taken at what times we walk, how we place our windows, lights, and houses, how we let in or exclude this ambient air. The Egyptians, to avoid immoderate heat, make their windows on the top of the house like chimneys, with two tunnels to draw a thorough air. In Spain they commonly make great opposite windows without glass, still shutting those which are next to the sun; so likewise in Turkey and Italy (Venice excepted, which brags of her stately glazed palaces), they use paper windows to like purpose; and lie, *sub dio*, in the top of their flat-roofed houses, so sleeping under the canopy of heaven. In some parts of [1]Italy they have windmills, to draw a cooling air out of hollow caves, and disperse the same through all the chambers of their palaces, to refresh them; as at Costoza, the house of Cæsareo Trento, a gentleman of Vicenza, and elsewhere. Many excellent means are invented to correct nature by art. If none of these courses help, the best way is to make artificial air, which howsoever is profitable and good, still to be made hot and moist, and to be seasoned with sweet perfumes, [2]pleasant and lightsome as it may be; to have roses, violets, and sweet-smelling flowers ever in their windows, posies in their hand. Laurentius commends water-lilies, a vessel of warm water to evaporate in the room, which will make a more delightful perfume, if there be added orange-flowers, pills of citrons, rosemary, cloves, bays, rose-water, rose-vinegar, benzoin, labdanum, styrax, and such like gums, which make a pleasant and acceptable perfume. [3]Bessardus Bisantinus prefers the smoke of juniper to melancholy persons, which is in great request with us at Oxford, to sweeten our chambers. [4]Guianerius prescribes the air to be

Sol horrorem crassi spiritûs, mentem exhilarat, non enim tam corpora, quam et animi mutationem inde subeunt, pro cœli et ventorum ratione, et sani aliter affecti cœlo nubilo, aliter sereno. De naturâ ventorum, see Pliny, lib. 2, cap. 26. 27, 28. Strabo, li. 7, &c. [1] Fines Morison, part. 1, c. 4. [2] Altomarus, car. 7. Bruel. Aër sit lucidus, benè olens, humidus. Montaltus idem ca. 26. Olfactus rerum suavium. Laurentius, c. 8. [3] Ant. Philos. cap. de melanch. [4] Tract. 15, c. 9, ex redolentibus herbis et foliis vitis viniferæ, salicis, &c.

moistened with water, and sweet herbs boiled in it, vine, and sallow leaves, &c., [1] to besprinkle the ground and posts with rose-water, rose-vinegar, which Avicenna much approves. Of colours it is good to behold green, red, yellow, and white, and by all means to have light enough, with windows in the day, wax candles in the night, neat chambers, good fires in winter, merry companions; for though melancholy persons love to be dark and alone, yet darkness is a great increaser of the humour.

Although our ordinary air be good by nature or art, yet it is not amiss, as I have said, still to alter it; no better physic for a melancholy man than change of air, and variety of places, to travel abroad and see fashions. [2] Leo Afer speaks of many of his countrymen so cured, without all other physic; amongst the negroes, "there is such an excellent air, that if any of them be sick elsewhere, and brought thither, he is instantly recovered, of which he was often an eyewitness." [3] Lipsius, Zuinger, and some others, add as much of ordinary travel. No man, saith Lipsius, in an epistle to Phil. Lanoius, a noble friend of his, now ready to make a voyage, [4] "can be such a stock or stone, whom that pleasant speculation of countries, cities, towns, rivers, will not affect." [5] Seneca the philosopher was infinitely taken with the sight of Scipio Africanus's house, near Linternum, to view those old buildings, cisterns, baths, tombs, &c. And how was [6] Tully pleased with the sight of Athens, to behold those ancient and fair buildings, with a remembrance of their worthy inhabitants. Paulus Æmilius, that renowned Roman captain, after he had conquered Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, and now made an end of his tedious wars, though he had been long absent from Rome, and much there desired, about the beginning of autumn (as [7] Livy describes it) made a pleasant

[1] Pavimentum aceto et aqua rosacea irrorare, Laurent. c. 8. [2] Lib. 1, cap. de morb. Afrorum in Nigritarum regione tanta aëris temperies, ut siquis alibi morbosus eò advehatur, optimæ statim sanitati restituatur, quod multis accidisse ipse meis oculis vidi. [3] Lib. de peregrinat. [4] Epist. 2, cen. 1. Nec quisquam tam lapis aut frutex, quem non titillat amœna illa, variaque spectatio locorum, urbium, gentium, &c. [5] Epist. 86. [6] Lib. 2, de legibus. [7] Lib. 45.

peregrination all over Greece, accompanied with his son Scipio, and Atheneus the brother of King Eumenes, leaving the charge of his army with Sulpicius Gallus. By Thessaly he went to Delphos, thence to Megaris, Aulis, Athens, Argos, Lacedæmon, Megalopolis, &c. He took great content, exceeding delight in that his voyage, as who doth not that shall attempt the like, though his travel be *ad jactationem magis quam ad usum reipub.* (as [1]one well observes) to crack, gaze, see fine sights and fashions, spend time, rather than for his own or public good? (as it is to many gallants that travel out their best days, together with their means, manners, honesty, religion,) yet it availeth howsoever. For peregination charms our senses with such unspeakable and sweet variety, [2]that some count him unhappy that never travelled, and pity his case, that from his cradle to his old age beholds the same still; still, still the same, the same. Insomuch that [3]Rhasis, *cont. lib.* 1, *Tract.* 2, doth not only commend, but enjoin travel, and such variety of objects to a melancholy man, "and to lie in diverse inns, to be drawn into several companies;" Montaltus, *cap.* 36, and many neoterics are of the same mind; Celsus adviseth him therefore that will continue his health, to have *varium vitæ genus*, diversity of callings, occupations, to be busied about, [4]"sometimes to live in the city, sometimes in the country; now to study or work, to be intent, then again to hawk or hunt, swim, run, ride, or exercise himself." A good prospect alone will ease melancholy, as Comesius contends, *lib.* 2, *c.* 7, *de Sale.* The citizens of [5]Barcino, saith he, otherwise penned in, melancholy, and stirring little abroad, are much delighted with that pleasant prospect their city hath into the sea, which like that of old Athens besides Ægina Salamina, and many pleasant islands, had all the variety of delicious objects; so are those Neapolitans and inhabitants of Genoa, to see the ships, boats, and passengers

[1] Keckerman, præfat. polit. [2] Fines Morison, c. 3, part. 1. [3] Mutatio de loco in locum, itinera, et voiagia longa et indeterminata, et hospitare in diversis diversoriis. [4] Modò ruri esse, modò in urbe, sæpius in agro venari, &c. [5] In Catalonia in Spain.

go by, out of their windows, their whole cities being situated on the side of a hill, like Pera by Constantinople, so that each house almost hath a free prospect to the sea, as some part of London to the Thames; or to have a free prospect all over the city at once, as at Granada in Spain, and Fez in Africa, the river running betwixt two declining hills, the steepness causeth each house almost as well to oversee, as to be overseen of the rest. Every country is full of such [1] delightsome prospects, as well within land, as by sea, as Hermon and [2] Rama in Palestina, Colalto in Italy, the top of Tagetus, or Acrocorinthus, that old decayed castle in Corinth, from which Peloponnesus, Greece, the Ionian and Ægean seas were *semel et simul* at one view to be taken. In Egypt the square top of the great pyramid, three hundred yards in height, and so the sultan's palace in Grand Cairo, the country being plain, hath a marvellous fair prospect as well over Nilus, as that great city, five Italian miles long, and two broad, by the river side; from Mount Sion in Jerusalem, the Holy Land is of all sides to be seen; such high places are infinite; with us those of the best note are Glastonbury tower, Box Hill in Surrey, Bever Castle, Rodway Grange, [3] Walsby in Lincolnshire, where I lately received a real kindness, by the munificence of the right honourable my noble lady and patroness, the Lady Frances, countess dowager of Exeter; and two amongst the rest, which I may not omit for vicinity's sake, Oldbury in the confines of Warwickshire, where I have often looked about me with great delight, at the foot of which hill, [4] I was born; and Hanbury in Staffordshire, contiguous to which is Falde, a pleasant village, and an ancient patrimony belonging to our family, now in the possession of mine elder brother, William Burton, Esquire. [5] Barclay the Scot commends that of Greenwich tower for one of the best prospects in Europe, to see London on the one side, the Thames, ships, and pleas-

[1] Laudaturque domus longos quæ prospicit agros. [2] Many towns there are of that name, saith Adricomius, all high-sited. [3] Lately resigned for some special reasons. [4] At Lindley in Leicestershire, the possession and dwelling-place of Ralph Burton, Esquire, my late deceased father. [5] In Icon animorum.

ant meadows on the other. There be those that say as much and more of St. Mark's steeple in Venice. Yet these are at too great a distance; some are especially affected with such objects as be near, to see passengers go by in some great roadway, or boats in a river, *in subjectum forum despicere*, to oversee a fair, a market-place, or out of a pleasant window into some thoroughfare street, to behold a continual concourse, a promiscuous rout, coming and going, or a multitude of spectators at a theatre, a mask, or some such like show. But I rove; the sum is this, that variety of actions, objects, air, places, are excellent good in this infirmity, and all others, good for man, good for beast. [1] Constantine the emperor, *lib.* 18, *cap.* 13, *ex Leontio*, "holds it an only cure for rotten sheep, and any manner of sick cattle." Lælius à fonte Æugubinus, that great doctor, at the latter end of many of his consultations, (as commonly he doth set down what success his physic had,) in melancholy most especially approves of this above all other remedies whatsoever, as appears *consult.* 69, *consult.* 229, &c. [2] "Many other things helped, but change of air was that which wrought the cure, and did most good."

MEMB. IV.

Exercise rectified of Body and Mind.

To that great inconvenience, which comes on the one side by immoderate and unseasonable exercise, too much solitariness and idleness on the other, must be opposed as an antidote, a moderate and seasonable use of it, and that both of body and mind, as a most material circumstance, much conducing to this cure, and to the general preservation of our health. The heavens themselves run continually round, the sun riseth and sets, the moon increaseth and decreaseth, stars

[1] Ægrotantes oves in alium locum transportandæ sunt, ut alium aërem et aquam participantes, coalescant et corroborentur. [2] Alia utilia, sed ex mutatione aëris potissimum curatus.

and planets keep their constant motions, the air is still tossed by the winds, the waters ebb and flow to their conservation no doubt, to teach us that we should ever be in action. For which cause Hierom prescribes Rusticus the monk, that he be always occupied about some business or other, [1] "that the devil do not find him idle." [2] Seneca would have a man do something, though it be to no purpose. [3] Xenophon wisheth one rather to play at tables, dice, or make a jester of himself (though he might be far better employed), than do nothing. The [4] Egyptians of old, and many flourishing commonwealths since, have enjoined labour and exercise to all sorts of men, to be of some vocation and calling, and to give an account of their time, to prevent those grievous mischiefs that come by idleness; "for as fodder, whip, and burden belong to the ass, so meat, correction, and work unto the servant," Ecclus. xxxiii. 23. The Turks enjoin all men whatsoever, of what degree, to be of some trade or other, the Grand Seignior himself is not excused. [5] "In our memory (saith Sabellicus), Mahomet the Turk, he that conquered Greece, at that very time when he heard ambassadors of other princes, did either carve or cut wooden spoons, or frame something upon a table." [6] This present sultan makes notches for bows. The Jews are most severe in this examination of time. All well-governed places, towns, families, and every discreet person will be a law unto himself. But amongst us the badge of gentry is idleness; to be of no calling, not to labour, for that's derogatory to their birth, to be a mere spectator, a drone, *fruges consumere natus*, to have no necessary employment to busy himself about in church and commonwealth (some few governors exempted), "but to rise to eat," &c., to spend his days in hawking, hunting, &c., and such like disports and recreations ([7] which our casuists tax), are the sole exercise almost,

[1] Ne te dæmon otiosum inveniat. [2] Præstat aliud agere quam nihil. [3] Lib. 3, de dictis Socratis. Qui tesseris et risui excitando vacant, aliquid faciunt, etsi liceret his melìora agere. [4] Amasis compelled every man once a year to tell how he lived. [5] Nostrâ memoriâ Mahometes Othomannus qui Græciæ imperium subvertit, cum oratorum postulata audiret externarum gentium, cochlearia lignea assiduè cælabat, aut aliquid in tabula affingebat. [6] Sands, fol. 37, of his voyage to Jerusalem. [7] Perkins, Cases of Conscience, l. 3, c. 4, q. 3.

and ordinary actions of our nobility, and in which they are too immoderate. And thence it comes to pass, that in city and country so many grievances of body and mind, and this feral disease of melancholy so frequently rageth, and now domineers almost all over Europe amongst our great ones. They know not how to spend their time (disports excepted, which are all their business), what to do, or otherwise how to bestow themselves; like our modern Frenchmen, that had rather lose a pound of blood in a single combat, than a drop of sweat in any honest labour. Every man almost hath something or other to employ himself about, some vocation, some trade, but they do all by ministers and servants, *ad otia duntaxat se natos existimant, imò ad sui ipsius plerumque et aliorum perniciem*, [1] as one freely taxeth such kind of men, they are all for pastimes, 'tis all their study, all their invention tends to this alone, to drive away time, as if they were born some of them to no other ends. Therefore to correct and avoid these errors and inconveniences, our divines, physicians, and politicians so much labour, and so seriously exhort; and for this disease in particular, [2] "there can be no better cure than continual business," as Rhasis holds, "to have some employment or other, which may set their mind awork, and distract their cogitations." Riches may not easily be had without labour and industry, nor learning without study, neither can our health be preserved without bodily exercise. If it be of the body, Guianerius allows that exercise which is gentle, [3] "and still after those ordinary frications" which must be used every morning. Montaltus, *cap.* 26, and Jason Pratensis use almost the same words, highly commending exercise if it be moderate; "a wonderful help so used," Crato calls it, "and a great means to preserve our health, as adding strength to the whole body, increasing natural heat,

[1] Luscinius Grunnio. "They seem to think they were born to idleness,—nay more, for the destruction of themselves and others." [2] Non est cura melior quam injungere iis necessaria, et opportuna; operum administratio illis magnum sanitatis incrementum, et quæ preleant animos eorum, et incutiant iis diversas cogitationes. Cont. 1, tract. 9. [3] Ante exercitium, leves toto corpore fricationes conveniunt. Ad hunc morbum exercitationes, quum rectè et suo tempore fiunt, mirificè conducunt, et sanitatem tuentur, &c.

by means of which the nutriment is well concocted in the stomach, liver, and veins, few or no crudities left, is happily distributed over all the body." Besides, it expels excrements by sweat and other insensible vapours; insomuch, that [1] Galen prefers exercise before all physic, rectification of diet, or any regimen in what kind soever; 'tis nature's physician. [2] Fulgentius, out of Gordonius, *de conserv. vit. hom. lib.* 1, *cap.* 7, terms exercise, "a spur of a dull, sleepy nature, the comforter of the members, cure of infirmity, death of diseases, destruction of all mischiefs and vices." The fittest time for exercise is a little before dinner, a little before supper, [3] or at any time when the body is empty. Montanus, *consil.* 31, prescribes it every morning to his patient, and that, as [4] Calenus adds, "after he hath done his ordinary needs, rubbed his body, washed his hands and face, combed his head, and gargarized." What kind of exercise he should use, Galen tells us, *lib.* 2 *et* 3, *de sanit. tuend.* and in what measure, [5] "till the body be ready to sweat," and roused up; *ad ruborem*, some say, *non ad sudorem*, lest it should dry the body too much; others enjoin those wholesome businesses, as to dig so long in his garden, to hold the plough, and the like. Some prescribe frequent and violent labour and exercises, as sawing every day so long together (*epid.* 6, Hippocrates confounds them), but that is in some cases, to some peculiar men; [6] the most forbid, and by no means will have it go farther than a beginning sweat, as being [7] perilous if it exceed.

Of these labours, exercises, and recreations, which are likewise included, some properly belong to the body, some to the mind, some more easy, some hard, some with delight, some without, some within doors, some natural, some are artificial. Amongst bodily exercises, Galen commends *ludum*

[1] Lib. 1, de sanitat. tuend. [2] Exercitium naturæ dormientis stimulatio, membrorum solatium, morborum medela, fuga vitiorum, medicina languorum, destructio omnium malorum, Crato. [3] Alimentis in ventriculo probè concoctis. [4] Jejuno ventre, vesica, et alvo ab excrementis purgato, fricatis membris, lotis manibus et oculis, &c., lib. de atra bile. [5] Quousque corpus universum intumescat, et floridum appareat, sudoreque, &c. [6] Omnino sudorem vitent, cap. 7, lib. 1, Valescus de Tar. [7] Exercitium si excedat, valde periculosum. Salust. Salvianus, de remed. lib. 2, cap. 1.

parvæ pilæ, to play at ball, be it with the hand or racket, in tennis-courts or otherwise, it exerciseth each part of the body, and doth much good, so that they sweat not too much. It was in great request of old amongst the Grecks, Romans, Barbarians, mentioned by Homer, Herodotus, and Plinius. Some write, that Aganella, a fair maid of Corcyra, was the inventor of it, for she presented the first ball that ever was made to Nausica, the daughter of King Alcinous, and taught her how to use it.

The ordinary sports which are used abroad are hawking, hunting, *hilares venandi labores*, [1] one calls them, because they recreate body and mind, [2] another, the [3] "best exercise that is, by which alone many have been [4] freed from all feral diseases." Hegesippus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 37, relates of Herod, that he was eased of a grievous melancholy by that means. Plato, 7 *de leg.* highly magnifies it, dividing it into three parts, "by land, water, air." Xenophon, in *Cyropæd.* graces it with a great name, *Deorum munus*, the gift of the gods, a princely sport, which they have ever used, saith Langius, *epist.* 59, *lib.* 2, as well for health as pleasure, and do at this day, it being the sole almost and ordinary sport of our noblemen in Europe, and elsewhere all over the world. Bohemus, *de mor. gent. lib.* 3, *cap.* 12, styles it therefore, *studium nobilium, communiter venantur, quòd sibi solis licere contendunt*, 'tis all their study, their exercise, ordinary business, all their talk; and indeed some dote too much after it, they can do nothing else, discourse of nought else. Paulus Jovius, *descr. Brit.* doth in some sort tax our [5] "English nobility for it, for living in the country so much, and too frequent use of it, as if they had no other means but hawking and hunting to approve themselves gentlemen with."

Hawking comes near to hunting, the one in the air, as the

[1] Camden in Staffordshire. [2] Fridevallius, lib. 1, cap. 2, optima omnium exercitationum multi ab hac solummodo morbis liberati. [3] Josephus Quercetanus, dialect. polit. sect. 2, cap. 11. Inter omnia exercitia præstantiæ laudem meretur. [4] Chyron in monte Pelio, præceptor heroum eos à morbis animi venationibus et puris cibis tuebatur. M. Tyrius. [5] Nobilitas omnis fere urbes fastidit, castellis, et liberiore cœlo gaudet, generisque dignitatem una maximè venatione, et falconum aucupiis tuetur.

other on the earth, a sport as much affected as the other, by some preferred. [1]It was never heard of amongst the Romans, invented some twelve hundred years since, and first mentioned by Firmicus, *lib.* 5, *cap.* 8. The Greek emperors began it, and now nothing so frequent; he is nobody that in the season hath not a hawk on his fist. A great art, and many [2] books written of it. It is a wonder to hear [3] what is related of the Turks' officers in this behalf, how many thousand men are employed about it, how many hawks of all sorts, how much revenues consumed on that only disport, how much time is spent at Adrianople alone every year to that purpose. The [4] Persian kings hawk after butterflies with sparrows made to that use, and stares; lesser hawks for lesser games they have, and bigger for the rest, that they may produce their sport to all seasons. The Muscovian emperors reclaim eaglets to fly at hinds, foxes, &c., and such a one was sent for a present to [5] Queen Elizabeth; some reclaim ravens, castrels, pies, &c., and man them for their pleasures

Fowling is more troublesome, but all out as delightsome to some sorts of men, be it with guns, lime, nets, glades, gins, strings, baits, pitfalls, pipes, calls, stalking-horses, setting-dogs, decoy-ducks, &c., or otherwise. Some much delight to take larks with day-nets, small birds with chaff-nets, plovers, partridge, herons, snipe, &c. Henry the Third, King of Castile (as Mariana the Jesuit reports of him, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 7,) was much affected [6] "with catching of quails," and many gentlemen take a singular pleasure at morning and evening to go abroad with their quail-pipes, and will take any pains to satisfy their delight in that kind. The [7] Italians have gardens fitted to such use, with nets, bushes, glades, sparing no cost or industry, and are very much affected with the sport. Tycho Brahe, that great astronomer, in the chorography of his Isle of Huena, and Castle of Uraniburge, puts down his nets,

[1] Jos. Scaliger. commen. in Cir. in fol. 344. Salmuth. 23, de Nov. repert. com. in Pancir. [2] Demetrius Constantinop. de re accipitraria, liber a P. Gillir latinè redditus. Ælius. epist. Aquilæ Symachi et Theodotionis ad Ptolomeum, &c. [3] Lonicerus, Geffreus, Jovius. [4] S. Antony Sherlie's relations. [5] Hacluit. [6] Coturnicum aucupio. [7] Fines Morison, part. 3, c. 8.

and manner of catching small birds, as an ornament and a recreation, wherein he himself was sometimes employed.

Fishing is a kind of hunting by water, be it with nets, weels, baits, angling, or otherwise, and yields all out as much pleasure to some men as dogs or hawks. [1] "When they draw their fish upon the bank," saith Nic. Henselius Silesiographiæ, *cap.* 3, speaking of that extraordinary delight his countrymen took in fishing, and in making of pools. James Dubravius, that Moravian, in his book *de pisc.* telleth, how travelling by the highway side in Silesia, he found a nobleman, [2] "booted up to the groins," wading himself, pulling the nets, and labouring as much as any fisherman of them all; and when some belike objected to him the baseness of his office, he excused himself, [3] "that if other men might hunt hares, why should not he hunt carps?" Many gentlemen in like sort with us will wade up to the armholes upon such occasions, and voluntarily undertake that to satisfy their pleasure, which a poor man for a good stipend would scarce be hired to undergo. Plutarch, in his book *de soler. animal.* speaks against all fishing, [4] "as a filthy, base, illiberal employment having neither wit nor perspicacity in it, nor worth the labour." But he that shall consider the variety of baits for all seasons, and pretty devices which our anglers have invented, peculiar lines, false flies, several sleights, &c., will say, that it deserves like commendation, requires as much study and perspicacity as the rest, and is to be preferred before many of them. Because hawking and hunting are very laborious, much riding, and many dangers accompany them; but this is still and quiet; and if so be the angler catch no fish, yet he hath a wholesome walk to the brook side, pleasant shade by the sweet silver streams; he hath good air, and sweet smells of fine fresh meadow flowers, he hears the melodious

[1] Non majorem voluptatem animo capiunt, quàm qui feras insectantur. aut missis canibus, comprehendunt, quum retia trahentes, squamosas pecudes in ripas adducunt. [2] More piscatorum cruribus ocreatus. [3] Si principibus venatio leporis non sit inhonesta, nescio quomodo piscatio cyprinorum videri debeat pudenda. [4] Omnino turpis piscatio, nullo studio digna, illiberalis credita est, quod nullum habet ingenium, nullam perspicaciam.

harmony of birds, he sees the swans, herons, ducks, water-horns, coots, &c., and many other fowl, with their brood, which he thinketh better than the noise of hounds, or blast of horns, and all the sport that they can make.

Many other sports and recreations there be, much in use, as wringing, bowling, shooting, which Ascham commends in a just volume, and hath in former times been enjoined by statute as a defensive exercise, and an [1] honour to our land, as well may witness our victories in France. Keelpins, tronks, quoits, pitching bars, hurling, wrestling, leaping, running, fencing, mustring, swimming, wasters, foils, football, balloon, quintain, &c., and many such, which are the common recreations of the countryfolks. Riding of great horses, running at rings, tilts and tournaments, horseraces, wild-goose chases, which are the disports of greater men, and good in themselves, though many gentlemen by that means gallop quite out of their fortunes.

But the most pleasant of all outward pastimes is that of [2] Areteus, *deambulatio per amæna loca*, to make a petty progress, a merry journey now and then with some good companions, to visit friends, see cities, castles, towns,

> [3] "Visere sæpè amnes nitidos, per amænaque Tempe,
> Et placidas summis sectari in montibus auras."
>
> "To see the pleasant fields, the crystal fountains,
> And take the gentle air amongst the mountains."

[4] To walk amongst orchards, gardens, bowers, mounts, and arbours, artificial wildernesses, green thickets, arches, groves, lawns, rivulets, fountains, and such like pleasant places, like that Antiochian Daphne, brooks, pools, fish-ponds, between wood and water, in a fair meadow, by a river side, [5] *ubi variæ avium cantationes, florum colores, pratorum frutices*, &c., to disport in some pleasant plain, park, run up a steep hill sometimes, or sit in a shady seat, must needs be a delectable recreation. *Hortus principis et domus ad delectationem facta, cum*

[1] Præcipua hinc Anglis gloria, crebræ victoriæ partæ. Jovius. [2] Cap. 7. [3] Fracastorius. [4] Ambulationes subdiales, quas hortenses auræ ministrant, sub fornice viridi, pampinis virentibus concameratæ. [5] Theophylact.

sylvâ, monte et piscinâ, vulgò la montagna; the prince's garden at Ferrara [1] Schottus highly magnifies, with the groves, mountains, ponds, for a delectable prospect, he was much affected with it; a Persian paradise, or pleasant park, could not be more delectable in his sight. St. Bernard, in the description of his monastery, is almost ravished with the pleasures of it. "A sick [2] man (saith he) sits upon a green bank, and when the dog-star parcheth the plains, and dries up rivers, he lies in a shady bower," *Fronde sub arborea fervent ia temperat astra*, "and feeds his eyes with variety of objects, herbs, trees, to comfort his misery, he receives many delightsome smells, and fills his ears with that sweet and various harmony of birds; good God (saith he), what a company of pleasures hast thou made for man!" He that should be admitted on a sudden to the sight of such a palace as that of Escurial in Spain, or to that which the Moors built at Granada, Fontainebleau in France, the Turk's gardens in his seraglio, wherein all manner of birds and beasts are kept for pleasure; wolves, bears, lynxes, tigers, lions, elephants, &c., or upon the banks of that Thracian Bosphorus; the pope's Belvedere in Rome, [3] as pleasing as those *horti pensiles* in Babylon, or that Indian king's delightsome garden in [4] Ælian; or [5] those famous gardens of the Lord Cantelow in France, could not choose, though he were never so ill paid, but be much recreated for the time; or many of our noblemen's gardens at home. To take a boat in a pleasant evening, and with music [6] to row upon the waters, which Plutarch so much applauds, Elian admires, upon the river Pineus; in those Thessalian fields, beset with green bays, where birds so sweetly sing that passengers, enchanted as it were with their

[1] Itinerat. Ital. [2] Sedet ægrotus cespite viridi, et cum inclementia Caniculares terras excoquit, et siccat flumina, ipse securus sedet sub arborea fronde, et ad doloris sui solatium, naribus suis gramineas redolet species, pascit oculos herbarum amæna viriditas, aures suavi modulamine demulcet pictarum concentus avium, &c. Deus bone, quanta pauperibus procuras solatia! [3] Diod. Siculus, lib 2. [4] Lib. 13, de animal. cap 13. [5] Pet. Gillius. Paul. Hentzeus, Itinerar. Italiæ, 1617. Iod. Sincerus, Itinerar. Galliæ, 1617. Simp. lib. 1, quest. 4. [6] Jucundissima deambulatio juxta mare, et navigatio prope terram. In utraque fluminis ripa.

heavenly music, *omnium laborum et curarum obliviscantur*, forget forthwith all labours, care, and grief; or in a gondola through the Grand Canal in Venice, to see those goodly palaces, must needs refresh and give content to a melancholy dull spirit. Or to see the inner rooms of a fair-built and sumptuous edifice, as that of the Persian kings, so much renowned by Diodorus and Curtius, in which all was almost beaten gold, [1] chairs, stools, thrones, tabernacles, and pillars of gold, plane trees, and vines of gold, grapes of precious stones, all the other ornaments of pure gold,

> [2] "Fulget gemma floris, et jaspide fulva supellex,
> Strata micant Tyrio"

With sweet odours and perfumes, generous wines, opiparous fare, &c., besides the gallantest young men, the fairest [3] virgins, *puellæ scitulæ ministrantes*, the rarest beauties the world could afford, and those set out with costly and curious attires, *ad stuporem usque spectantium*, with exquisite music, as in [4] Trimaltion's house, in every chamber sweet voices ever sounding day and night, *incomparabilis luxus*, all delights and pleasures in each kind which to please the senses could possibly be devised or had, *convivæ coronati, delitiis ebrii, &c.* Telemachus, in Homer, is brought in as one ravished almost at the sight of that magnificent palace, and rich furniture of Menelaus, when he beheld

> [5] "Æris fulgorem et resonantia tecta corusco
> Auro atque electro nitido, sectoque elephanto,
> Argentoque simul. Talis Jovis ardua sedes,
> Aulaque cœlicolûm stellans splendescit Olympo."

> "Such glittering of gold and brightest brass to shine,
> Clear amber, silver pure, and ivory so fine:
> Jupiter's lofty palace, where the gods do dwell,
> Was even such a one, and did it not excel."

[1] Aurei panes, aurea obsonia, vis Margaritarum aceto subacta, &c. [2] Lucan. "The furniture glitters with brilliant gems, with yellow jasper, and the couches dazzle with their purple dye." [3] 300 pellices, pocillatores et pincernæ innumeri, pueri loti purpura induti, &c., ex omnium pulchritudine delecti. [4] Ubi omnia cantu strepunt. [5] Odyss. δ.

It will *laxare animos*, refresh the soul of man to see fair-built cities, streets, theatres, temples, obelisks, &c. The temple of Jerusalem was so fairly built of white marble, with so many pyramids covered with gold; *tectumque templi fulvo coruscans auro, nimio suo fulgore obcæcabat oculos itinerantium*, was so glorious, and so glistened afar off, that the spectators might not well abide the sight of it. But the inner parts were all so curiously set out with cedar, gold, jewels, &c., as he said of Cleopatra's palace in Egypt,——[1] *Crassumque trabes absconderat aurum*, that the beholders were amazed. What so pleasant as to see some pageant or sight go by, as at coronations, weddings, and such like solemnities, to see an ambassador or a prince met, received, entertained with masks, shows, fireworks, &c. To see two kings fight in single combat, as Porus and Alexander; Canute and Edmund Ironside; Scanderbeg and Ferat Bassa the Turk; when not honour alone but life itself is at stake, as the [2] poet of Hector,

> "nec enim pro tergore Tauri,
> Pro bove nec certamen erat, quæ præmia cursûs
> Esse solent, sed pro magni vitâque animâque——Hectoris."

To behold a battle fought, like that of Cressy, or Agincourt, or Poictiers, *quâ nescio* (saith Froissart) *an vetustas ullam proferre possit clariorem.* To see one of Cæsar's triumphs in old Rome revived, or the like. To be present at an interview, [3] as that famous of Henry the Eighth and Francis the First, so much renowned all over Europe; *ubi tanto apparatu* (saith Hubertus Vellius) *tamque triumphali pompâ ambo reges cum eorum conjugibus coiere, ut nulla unquam ætas tam celebria festa viderit aut audierit*, no age ever saw the like. So infinitely pleasant are such shows, to the sight of which oftentimes they will come hundreds of miles, give any money for a place, and remember many years after with

[1] Lucan. l. 8. "The timbers were concealed by solid gold." [2] Iliad. 10. "For neither was the contest for the hide of a bull, nor for a beeve, which are the usual prizes in the race, but for the life and soul of the great Hector." [3] Between Ardes and Guines, 1519.

singular delight. Bodine, when he was ambassador in England, said he saw the noblemen go in their robes to the parliament house, *summâ cum jucunditate vidimus*, he was much affected with the sight of it. Pomponius Columna, saith Jovius in his life, saw thirteen Frenchmen, and so many Italians, once fight for a whole army: *Quod jucundissimum spectaculum in vitâ dicit suâ*, the pleasantest sight that ever he saw in his life. Who would not have been affected with such a spectacle? Or that single combat of [1] Breaute the Frenchman, and Anthony Schets a Dutchman, before the walls of Sylvaducis in Brabant, anno 1600. They were twenty-two horse on the one side, as many on the other, which, like Livy's Horatii, Torquati and Corvini, fought for their own glory and country's honour, in the sight and view of their whole city and army. [2] When Julius Cæsar warred about the banks of Rhone, there came a barbarian prince to see him and the Roman army, and when he had beheld Cæsar a good while, [3] "I see the gods now (saith he) which before I heard of," *nec fæliciorem ullam vitæ meæ aut optavi, aut sensi diem:* it was the happiest day that ever he had in his life. Such a sight alone were able of itself to drive away melancholy; if not forever, yet it must needs expel it for a time. Radzivilus was much taken with the pacha's palace in Cairo, and amongst many other objects which that place afforded, with that solemnity of cutting the banks of the Nile by Imbram Pacha, when it overflowed, besides two or three hundred gilded galleys on the water, he saw two millions of men gathered together on the land, with turbans as white as snow; and 'twas a goodly sight. The very reading of feasts, triumphs, interviews, nuptials, tilts, tournaments, combats, and monomachies, is most acceptable and pleasant. [4] Franciscus Modius hath made a large collection of such solemnities in two great tomes, which whoso will may peruse.

[1] Swertius in delitiis, fol. 487, veteri Horatiorum exemplo, virtute et successu admirabili, cæsis hostibus 17, in conspectu patriæ, &c. [2] Paterculus, vol. post. [3] Quos antea audivi, inquit, hodie vidi deos. [4] Pandectæ Triumph. fol.

The inspection alone of those curious iconographies of temples and palaces, as that of the Lateran church in Albertus Durer, that of the temple of Jerusalem in [1] Josephus, Adricomius, and Villalpandus; that of the Escurial in Guadas, of Diana at Ephesus in Pliny, Nero's golden palace in Rome, [2] Justinian's in Constantinople, that Peruvian Jugo's in [3] Cusco, *ut non ab hominibus, sed à dæmoniis constructum videatur;* St. Mark's in Venice, by Ignatius, with many such; *priscorum artificum opera* (saith that [4] interpreter of Pausanias), the rare workmanship of those ancient Greeks, in theatres, obelisks, temples, statues, gold, silver, ivory, marble images, *non minore fermè quum leguntur, quam quum cernuntur, animum delectatione complent,* affect one as much by reading almost as by sight.

The country hath his recreations, the city his several gymnics and exercises, May games, feasts, wakes, and merrymeetings, to solace themselves; the very being in the country; that life itself is a sufficient recreation to some men, to enjoy such pleasures, as those old patriarchs did. Diocletian, the emperor, was so much affected with it, that he gave over his sceptre, and turned gardener. Constantine wrote twenty books of husbandry. Lysander, when ambassadors came to see him, bragged of nothing more than of his orchard, *hi sunt ordines mei.* What shall I say of Cincinnatus, Cato, Tully, and many such? how they have been pleased with it, to prune, plant, inoculate and graft, to show so many several kinds of pears, apples, plums, peaches, &c.,

> [5] "Nunc captare feras laqueo, nunc fallere visco,
> Atque etiam magnos canibus circundare saltus,
> Insidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres."
>
> "Sometimes with traps deceive, with line and string
> To catch wild birds and beasts, encompassing
> The grove with dogs, and out of bushes firing."
>
> "et nidos avium scrutari," &c.

[1] Lib. 6, cap. 14, de bello Jud. [2] Procopius. [3] Laet. lib. 10, Amer. descript. [4] Romulus Amaseus, præfat Pausan. [5] Virg. 1 Georg.

Jucundus, in his preface to Cato, Varro, Columella, &c., put out by him, confesseth of himself, that he was mightily delighted with these husbandry studies, and took extraordinary pleasure in them; if the theory or speculation can so much affect, what shall the place and exercise itself, the practical part do? The same confession I find in Herberstein, Porta, Camerarius, and many others, which have written of that subject. If my testimony were aught worth, I could say as much of myself; I am *verè Saturnus;* no man ever took more delight in springs, woods, groves, gardens, walks, fishponds, rivers, &c. But

> *"Tantalus à labris sitiens fugientia captat
> Flumina:"

And so do I; *Velle licet, potiri non licet."* †

Every palace, every city almost hath his peculiar walks, cloisters, terraces, groves, theatres, pageants, games, and several recreations; every country, some professed gymnics to exhilarate their minds, and exercise their bodies. The [1] Greeks had their Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean games, in honour of Neptune, Jupiter, Apollo; Athens hers; some for honour, garlands, crowns; for [2] beauty, dancing, running, leaping, like our silver games. The [3] Romans had their feasts, as the Athenians, and Lacedemonians held their public banquets, in Pritanæo, Panathenæis, Thesperiis, Phiditiis, plays, naumachies, places for sea-fights, [4] theatres, amphitheatres, able to contain seventy thousand men, wherein they had several delightsome shows to exhilarate the people; [5] gladiators, combats of men with themselves, with wild beasts, and wild beasts one with another, like our bull-baitings, or bear-baitings (in which many countrymen and citizens amongst us so much delight, and so frequently use), dancers on ropes. Jugglers, wrestlers, comedies, tragedies,

* "The thirsting Tantalus gapes for the water that eludes his lips." † "I may desire, but can't enjoy." [1] Boterus, lib. 3, polit. cap. 1. [2] See Athenæus dipnoso. [3] Ludi votivi, sacri, ludicri, Megalenses, Cereales, Florales, Martiales, &c., Rosinus, 5, 12. [4] See Lipsius Amphitheatrum. Rosinus, lib. 5. Meursius, de ludis Græcorum. [5] 1500 men at once, tigers, lions, elephants, horses, dogs, bears, &c.

publicly exhibited at the emperor's and city's charge, and that with incredible cost and magnificence. In the Low Countries (as [1]Meteran relates), before these wars, they had many solemn feasts, plays, challenges, artillery gardens, colleges of rhymers, rhetoricians, poets; and to this day, such places are curiously maintained in Amsterdam, as appears by that description of Isaacus Pontanus, *Rerum Amstelod. lib.* 2, *cap.* 25. So likewise, not long since at Friburg, in Germany, as is evident by that relation of [2]Neander, they had *Ludos septennales*, solemn plays every seven years, which Bocerus, one of their own poets, hath elegantly described:

> "At nunc magnifico spectacula structa paratu
> Quid memorem, veteri non concessura Quirino,
> Ludorum pompa?" [3] &c.

In Italy they have solemn declamations of certain select young gentlemen in Florence (like those reciters in old Rome), and public theatres in most of their cities, for stage-players and others, to exercise and recreate themselves. All seasons almost, all places have their several pastimes; some in summer, some in winter; some abroad, some within; some of the body, some of the mind; and diverse men have diverse recreations and exercises. Domitian, the emperor, was much delighted with catching flies; Augustus to play with nuts amongst children; [4]Alexander Severus was often pleased to play with whelps and young pigs. [5]Adrian was so wholly enamoured with dogs and horses, that he bestowed monuments and tombs of them, and buried them in graves. In foul weather, or when they can use no other convenient sports, by reason of the time, as we do cock-fighting, to avoid idleness, I think (though some be more seriously taken with it, spend much time, cost, and charges, and are too solicitous

[1] Lib. ult. et l. 1, ad finem consuetudine non minus laudabili quam veteri contubernia Rhetorum, Rythmorum in urbibus et municipiis, certisque diebus exercebant se sagittarii, gladiatores, &c. Alia ingenii, animique exercitia, quorum præcipuum studium, principem populum tragœdiis, comœdiis fabulis, scenicis, aliisque id genus ludis recreare. [2] Orbis terræ descript. part. 3. [3] "What shall I say of their spectacles produced with the most magnificent decorations,—a degree of costliness never indulged in even by the Romans?" [4] Lampridius. [5] Spartian.

about it), [1] Severus used partridges and quails, as many Frenchmen do still, and to keep birds in cages, with which he was much pleased, when at any time he had leisure from public cares and businesses. He had (saith Lampridius), tame pheasants, ducks, partridges, peacocks, and some twenty thousand ringdoves and pigeons. Busbequius, the emperor's orator, when he lay in Constantinople, and could not stir much abroad, kept for his recreation, busying himself to see them fed, almost all manner of strange birds and beasts; this was something, though not to exercise his body, yet to refresh his mind. Conradus Gesner, at Zurich in Switzerland, kept so likewise for his pleasure, a great company of wild beasts; and (as he saith) took great delight to see them eat their meat. Turkey gentlewomen, that are perpetual prisoners, still mewed up according to the custom of the place, have little else besides their household business, or to play with their children to drive away time, but to dally with their cats, which they have *in delitiis*, as many of our ladies and gentlewomen use monkeys and little dogs. The ordinary recreations which we have in winter, and in most solitary times busy our minds with, are cards, tables, and dice, shovel-board, chess-play, the philosopher's game, small trunks, shuttlecock, billiards, music, masks, singing, dancing, yule games, frolics, jests, riddles, catches, purposes, questions, and commands, [2] merry tales of errant knights, queens, lovers, lords, ladies, giants, dwarfs, thieves, cheaters, witches, fairies, goblins, friars, &c., such as the old woman told Psyche in [3] Apuleius, Boccace novels, and the rest, *quarum auditione pueri delectantur, senes narratione*, which some delight to hear, some to tell; all are well pleased with. Amaranthus, the philosopher, met Hermocles, Diophantus, and Philolaus, his companions, one day busily discoursing about Epicurus and Democritus's tenets, very solicitous which was most probable and came

[1] Delectatus lusis catulorum, porcellorum, ut perdices inter se pugnarent, aut ut aves parvulæ sursum et deorsum volitarent, his maxime delectatus, ut solitudines publicas sublevaret. [2] Brumales læte ut possint producere noctes. [3] Miles. 4.

nearest to truth; to put them out of that surly controversy, and to refresh their spirits, he told them a pleasant tale of Stratocles the physician's wedding, and of all the particulars, the company, the cheer, the music, &c., for he was new come from it; with which relation they were so much delighted, that Philolaus wished a blessing to his heart, and many a good wedding, [1] many such merrymeetings might he be at, "to please himself with the sight, and others with the narration of it." News are generally welcome to all our ears, *avidè audimus, aures enim hominum novitate lætantur* [2] (as Pliny observes), we long after rumour to hear and listen to it, [3] *densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.* We are most part too inquisitive and apt to hearken after news, which Cæsar, in his [4] Commentaries, observes of the old Gauls, they would be inquiring of every carrier and passenger what they had heard or seen, what news abroad?

> "quid toto fiat in orbe,
> Quid Seres, quid Thraces agant, secreta novercæ,
> Et pueri, quis amet," &c.,

as at an ordinary with us, bakehouse or barber's shop. When that great Gonsalva was upon some displeasure confined by King Ferdinand to the city of Loxa in Andalusia, the only comfort (saith [5] Jovius) he had to ease his melancholy thoughts, was to hear news, and to listen after those ordinary occurrences, which were brought him *cum primis*, by letters or otherwise out of the remotest parts of Europe. Some men's whole delight is to take tobacco, and drink all day long in a tavern or alehouse, to discourse, sing, jest, roar, talk of a cock and bull over a pot, &c. Or when three or four good companions meet, tell old stories by the fireside, or in the sun, as old folks usually do, *quæ aprici meminere senes*, remembering afresh and with pleasure ancient matters, and such like accidents, which happened in their younger years; oth-

[1] O dii similibus sæpe conviviis date ut ipse videndo delectetur, et postmodum narrando delectet. Theod. prodromus Amorum dial. interpret. Gilberto Gaulinio. [2] Epist. lib. 8, Ruffino. [3] Hor. [4] Lib. 4. Gallicæ consuetudinis est ut viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant, et quid quisque eorum audierit aut cognôrit de quâ re quærunt. [5] Vitæ ejus lib. ult.

ers' best pastime is to game, nothing to them so pleasant. [1] *Hic Veneri indulget, hunc decoquit alea*—many too nicely take exceptions at cards, [2] tables, and dice, and such mixed lusorious lots, whom Gataker well confutes. Which though they be honest recreations in themselves, yet may justly be otherwise excepted at, as they are often abused, and forbidden as things most pernicious; *insanam rem et damnosam*, [3] Lemnius calls it. "For most part in these kind of disports 'tis not art or skill, but subtlety, cunnycatching, knavery, chance and fortune carries all away;" 'tis *ambulatoria pecunia*,

> "puncto mobilis horæ
> Permutat dominos, et cedit in altera jura." [4]

They labour most part not to pass their time in honest disport, but for filthy lucre, and covetousness of money. *In fœdissimum lucrum et avaritiam hominum convertitur*, as Daneus observes. *Fons fraudum et maleficiorum*, 'tis the fountain of cozenage and villainy. [5] "A thing so common all over Europe at this day, and so generally abused, that many men are utterly undone by it," their means spent, patrimonies consumed, they and their posterity beggared; besides swearing, wrangling, drinking, loss of time, and such inconveniences, which are ordinary concomitants; [6] "for when once they have got a haunt of such companies, and habit of gaming, they can hardly be drawn from it, but as an itch it will tickle them, and as it is with whoremasters, once entered, they cannot easily leave it off:" *Vexat mentes insania cupido*, they are mad upon their sport. And in conclusion (which Charles the Seventh, that good French king, published in an edict against gamesters,) *undè piæ et hilaris*

[1] Juven. [2] They account them unlawful because sortilegious. [3] Instit. c. 44. In his ludis plerumque non ars aut peritia viget, sed fraus, fallacia, dolus, astutia, casus, fortuna, temeritas locum habent, non ratio, consilium, sapientia, &c. [4] "In a moment of fleeting time it changes masters and submits to new control." [5] Abusus tam frequens hodie in Europa ut plerique crebro harum usu patrimonium profundant, exhaustisque facultatibus, ad inopiam redigantur. [6] Ubi semel prurigo ista animum occupat ægre discuti potest, solicitantibus undique ejusdem farinæ hominibus, damnosas illas voluptates repetunt, quod et scortatoribus insitum, &c.

vitæ suffugium sibi suisque liberis totique familiæ, &c. "That which was once their livelihood, should have maintained wife, children, family, is now spent and gone;" *mœror et egestas, &c.*, sorrow and beggary succeeds. So good things may be abused, and that which was first invented to [1] refresh men's weary spirits, when they come from other labours and studies to exhilarate the mind, to entertain time and company, tedious otherwise in those long solitary winter nights, and keep them from worse matters, an honest exercise is contrarily perverted.

Chess-play is a good and witty exercise of the mind for some kind of men, and fit for such melancholy, Rhasis holds, as are idle, and have extravagant impertinent thoughts, or troubled with cares, nothing better to distract their mind, and alter their meditations; invented (some say) by the [2] general of an army in a famine, to keep soldiers from mutiny; but if it proceed from overmuch study, in such a case it may do more harm than good; it is a game too troublesome for some men's brains, too full of anxiety, all out as bad as study; besides it is a testy choleric game, and very offensive to him that loseth the mate. [3] William the Conqueror, in his younger years, playing at chess with the Prince of France (Dauphiné was not annexed to that crown in those days), losing a mate, knocked the chess-board about his pate, which was a cause afterward of much enmity between them. For some such reason it is belike, that Patritius, in his 3 *book, tit.* 12, *de reg. instit.* forbids his prince to play at chess; hawking and hunting, riding, &c., he will allow; and this to other men, but by no means to him. In Muscovy, where they live in stoves and hot-houses all winter long, come seldom or little abroad, it is again very necessary, and therefore in those parts, (saith [4] Herberstein,) much used. At Fez

[1] Instituitur ista exercitatio, non lucri, sed valetudinis et oblectamenti ratione, et quo animus defatigatus respiret, novasque vires ad subeundos labores denuo concipiat. [2] Latrunculorum ludus inventus est à duce, ut cum miles intolerabili fame laboraret, altero die edens altero ludens, famis oblivisceretur. Bellonius. See more of this game in Daniel Souter's Palamedes, vel de variis ludis, l. 3. [3] D. Hayward, in vita ejus. [4] Muscovit. commentarium.

in Africa, where the like inconvenience of keeping within doors is through heat, it is very laudable; and (as [1] Leo Afer relates) as much frequented. A sport fit for idle gentlewomen, soldiers in garrison, and courtiers that have nought but love matters to busy themselves about, but not altogether so convenient for such as are students. The like I may say of Col. Bruxer's philosophy game, D. Fulke's *Metromachia* and his *Ouronomachia*, with the rest of those intricate astrological and geometrical fictions, for such especially as are mathematically given; and the rest of those curious games.

Dancing, singing, masking, mumming, stage-plays, howsoever they be heavily censured by some severe Catos, yet if opportunely and soberly used, may justly be approved. *Melius est fodere, quam saltare*,[2] saith Austin; but what is that if they delight in it? [3] *Nemo saltat sobrius.* But in what kind of dance? I know these sports have many oppugners, whole volumes writ against them; when as all they say (if duly considered) is but *ignoratio Elenchi;* and some again, because they are now cold and wayward, past themselves, cavil at all such youthful sports in others, as he did in the comedy; they think them, *illico nasci senes, &c.* Some out of preposterous zeal object many times trivial arguments, and because of some abuse, will quite take away the good use, as if they should forbid wine because it makes men drunk; but in my judgment they are too stern; there "is a time for all things, a time to mourn, a time to dance," Eccles. iii. 4, "a time to embrace, a time not to embrace (verse 5), and nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his own works," verse 22; for my part, I will subscribe to the king's declaration, and was ever of that mind, those May games, wakes, and Whitsun ales, &c., if they be not at unseasonable hours, may justly be permitted. Let them freely feast, sing and dance, have their puppet-plays, hobby-horses, tabors,

[1] Inter cives Fessanos latrunculorum ludus est usitatissimus, lib. 3, de Africa. [2] "It is better to dig than to dance." [3] Tullius. "No sensible man dances."

crowds, bagpipes, &c., play at ball, and barleybrakes, and what sports and recreations they like best. In Franconia, a province of Germany, (saith [1] Aubanus Bohemus,) the old folks after evening prayer, went to the alehouse, the younger sort to dance; and to say truth with [2] Sarisburiensis, *satius fuerat sic otiari, quam turpius occupari*, better do so than worse, as without question otherwise (such is the corruption of man's nature) many of them will do. For that cause, plays, masks, jesters, gladiators, tumblers, jugglers, &c., and all that crew is admitted and winked at; [3] *Tota jocularium scena procedit, et ideo spectacula admissa sunt, et infinita tyrocinia vanitatum, ut his occupentur, qui perniciosiùs otiari solent:* that they might be busied about such toys, that would otherwise more perniciously be idle. So that as [4] Tacitus said of the astrologers in Rome, we may say of them, *genus hominum est quod in civitate nostra et vitabitur semper et retinebitur*, they are a debauched company most part, still spoken against, as well they deserve some of them, (for I so relish and distinguish them as fiddlers and musicians), and yet ever retained. "Evil is not to be done (I confess) that good may come of it;" but this is evil *per accidens*, and, in a qualified sense, to avoid a greater inconvenience, may justly be tolerated. Sir Thomas More, in his Utopian Commonwealth, [5] "as he will have none idle, so will he have no man labour overhard, to be toiled out like a horse, 'tis more than slavish infelicity, the life of most of our hired servants and tradesmen elsewhere (excepting his Utopians) but half the day allotted for work, and half for honest recreation, or whatsoever employment they shall think fit for themselves." If one half day in a week were allowed to our household servants for their merrymeetings, by their hard masters, or in a year some feasts, like those Roman Saturnals, I think they would labour harder all the rest of their

[1] De mor. gent. [2] Polycrat. l. 1, cap. 8. [3] Idem Sarisburiensis. [4] Hist. lib. 1. [5] Nemo desidet otiosus, ita nemo asinino more ad seram noctem laborat; nam ea plusquam servilis ærumna, quæ opificum vita est, exceptis Utopiensibus, qui diem in 24 horas dividunt, sex duntaxat operi deputant, reliquum à somno et cibo cujusque arbitrio permittitur.

time, and both parties be better pleased; but this needs not (you will say), for some of them do nought but loiter all the week long.

This which I am at, is for such as are *fracti animis*, troubled in mind, to ease them, over-toiled on the one part, to refresh; over-idle on the other, to keep themselves busied. And to this purpose, as any labour or employment will serve to the one, any honest recreation will conduce to the other, so that it be moderate and sparing, as the use of meat and drink; not to spend all their life in gaming, playing, and pastimes, as too many gentlemen do; but to revive our bodies and recreate our souls with honest sports; of which as there be diverse sorts, and peculiar to several callings, ages, sexes, conditions, so there be proper for several seasons, and those of distinct natures, to fit that variety of humours which is amongst them, that if one will not, another may; some in summer, some in winter, some gentle, some more violent, some for the mind alone, some for the body and mind; (as to some it is both business and a pleasant recreation to oversee workmen of all sorts, husbandry, cattle, horse, &c. To build, plot, project, to make models, cast up accounts, &c.) some without, some within doors; new, old, &c., as the season serveth, and as men are inclined. It is reported of Philippus Bonus, that good duke of Burgundy, (by Lodovicus Vives, in Epist. and Pont. [1]Heuter in his history), that the said duke, at the marriage of Eleonora, sister to the king of Portugal, at Bruges in Flanders, which was solemnized in the deep of winter, when, as by reason of unseasonable weather, he could neither hawk nor hunt, and was now tired with cards, dice, &c., and such other domestic sports, or to see ladies dance, with some of his courtiers, he would in the evening walk disguised all about the town. It so fortuned, as he was walking late one night, he found a country fellow dead drunk, snorting on a bulk; [2]he caused his followers to bring him to his palace,

[1] Rerum Burgund. lib. 4. [2] Jussit hominem deferri ad palatium et lecto ducali collocari, &c., mirari homo ubi se eo loci videt.

and there stripping him of his old clothes, and attiring him after the court fashion, when he waked, he and they were all ready to attend upon his excellency, persuading him he was some great duke. The poor fellow admiring how he came there, was served in state all the day long; after supper he saw them dance, heard music, and the rest of those court-like pleasures; but late at night when he was well tippled, and again fast asleep, they put on his old robes, and so conveyed him to the place where they first found him. Now the fellow had not made them so good sport the day before as he did when he returned to himself; all the jest was to see how he [1] looked upon it. In conclusion, after some little admiration, the poor man told his friends he had seen a vision, constantly believed it, would not otherwise be persuaded, and so the jest ended. [2] Antiochus Epiphanes would often disguise himself, steal from his court, and go into merchants', goldsmiths', and other tradesmen's shops, sit and talk with them, and sometimes ride or walk alone, and fall aboard with any tinker, clown, serving-man, carrier, or whomsoever he met first. Sometimes he did *ex insperato* give a poor fellow money, to see how he would look, or on set purpose lose his purse as he went, to watch who found it, and withal how he would be affected, and with such objects he was much delighted. Many such tricks are ordinarily put in practice by great men, to exhilarate themselves and others, all which are harmless jests, and have their good uses.

But amongst those exercises, or recreations of the mind within doors, there is none so general, so aptly to be applied to all sorts of men, so fit and proper to expel idleness and melancholy, as that of study: *Studia senectutem oblectant, adolescentiam alunt, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium et solatium præbent, domi delectant, &c.*, find the rest in *Tully, pro Archia Poeta.*[3] What so full of content, as to read, walk,

[1] Quid interest, inquit Lodovicus Vives, (epist. ad Francisc. Barducem,) inter diem illius et nostros aliquot annos? nihil penitus, nisi quod, &c. [2] Hen. Stephan. præfat. Herodoti. [3] "Study is the delight of old age, the support of youth, the ornament of prosperity, the solace and refuge of adversity, the comfort of domestic life," &c.

and see maps, pictures, statues, jewels, marbles, which some so much magnify, as those that Phidias made of old so exquisite and pleasing to be beheld, that as [1]Chrysostom thinketh, "if any man be sickly, troubled in mind, or that cannot sleep for grief, and shall but stand over against one of Phidias's images, he will forget all care, or whatsoever else may molest him, in an instant?" There be those as much taken with Michael Angelo's, Raphael de Urbino's, Francesco Francia's pieces, and many of those Italian and Dutch painters, which were excellent in their ages; and esteem of it as a most pleasing sight, to view those neat architectures, devices, escutcheons, coats of arms, read such books, to peruse old coins of several sorts in a fair gallery; artificial works, perspective glasses, old relics, Roman antiquities, variety of colours. A good picture is *falsa veritas, et muta poesis;* and though (as [2]Vives saith) *artificialia delectant, sed mox fastidimus*, artificial toys please but for a time; yet who is he that will not be moved with them for the present? When Achilles was tormented and sad for the loss of his dear friend Patroclus, his mother Thetis brought him a most elaborate and curious buckler made by Vulcan, in which were engraven sun, moon, stars, planets, sea, land, men fighting, running, riding, women scolding, hills, dales, towns, castles, brooks, rivers, trees, &c., with many pretty landscapes, and perspective pieces; with sight of which he was infinitely delighted, and much eased of his grief.

> [3]"Continuo eo spectaculo captus delenito mœrore
> Oblectabatur, in manibus tenens dei splendida dona."

Who will not be affected so in like case, or to see those well-furnished cloisters and galleries of the Roman cardinals, so richly stored with all modern pictures, old statues and antiquities? *Cum se——spectando recreet simul et legendo*, to see their pictures alone and read the description, as [4]Boissardus

[1] Orat. 12, siquis animo fuerit afflictus aut æger, nec somnum admittens, is mihi videtur è regione stans talis imaginis, oblivisci omnium posse, quæ humanæ vitæ atrocia et difficilia accidere solent. [2] 3, De anima. [3] Iliad 19. [4] Topogr. Rom. part. 1.

well adds, whom will it not affect? which Bozius, Pomponius Lætus, Marlianus, Schottus, Cavclerius, Ligorius, &c., and he himself hath well performed of late. Or in some prince's cabinets, like that of the great dukes in Florence, of Felix Platerus in Basil, or noblemen's houses, to see such variety of attires, faces, so many, so rare, and such exquisite pieces, of men, birds, beasts, &c., to see those excellent landscapes, Dutch works, and curious cuts of Sadlier of Prague, Albertus Durer, Goltzius Vrintes, &c., such pleasant pieces of perspective, Indian pictures made of feathers, China works, frames, thaumaturgical motions, exotic toys, &c. Who is he that is now wholly overcome with idleness, or otherwise involved in a labyrinth of worldly cares, troubles, and discontents, that will not be much lightened in his mind by reading of some enticing story, true or feigned, where as in a glass he shall observe what our forefathers have done, the beginnings, ruins, falls, periods of commonwealths, private men's actions displayed to the life, &c. [1] Plutarch therefore calls them, *secundas mensas et bellaria*, the second course and junkets, because they were usually read at noblemen's feasts. Who is not earnestly affected with a passionate speech, well penned, an elegant poem, or some pleasant bewitching discourse, like that of [2] Heliodorus, *ubi oblectatio quædam placide fluit cum hilaritate conjuncta?* Julian the Apostate was so taken with an oration of Libanius, the sophister, that as he confesseth, he could not be quiet till he had read it all out. *Legi orationem tuam magna ex parte, hesternâ die ante prandium, pransus vero sine ullâ intermissione totam absolvi.*[3] *O argumenta! O compositionem!* I may say the same of this or that pleasing tract, which will draw his attention along with it. To most kind of men it is an extraordinary delight to study. For what a world of books offers itself, in all subjects, arts, and sciences, to the sweet content and capacity of the reader? In arithmetic, geometry, perspective, optics,

[1] Quod heroum conviviis legi solitæ. [2] Melancthon, de Heliodoro. [3] I read a considerable part of your speech before dinner, but after I had dined I finished it completely. Oh what arguments, what eloquence!

astronomy, architecture, sculpture, painting, of which so many and such elaborate treatises are of late written; in mechanics and their mysteries, military matters, navigation, [1] riding of horses, [2] fencing, swimming, gardening, planting, great tomes of husbandry, cookery, falconry, hunting, fishing, fowling, &c., with exquisite pictures of all sports, games, and what not? In music, metaphysics, natural and moral philosophy, philology, in policy, heraldry, genealogy, chronology, &c., they afford great tomes, or those studies of [3] antiquity, &c., *et* [4] *quid subtilius Arithmeticis inventionibus, quid jucundius Musicis rationibus, quid divinius Astronomicis, quid rectius Geometricis demonstrationibus?* What so sure, what so pleasant? He that shall but see that geometrical tower of Garezenda at Bologna in Italy, the steeple and clock at Strasburg, will admire the effects of art, or that engine of Archimedes, to remove the earth itself, if he had but a place to fasten his instrument; Archimedis Cochlea, and rare devices to corrivate waters, musical instruments, and trisyllable echoes again, again, and again repeated, with myriads of such. What vast tomes are extant in law, physic, and divinity, for profit, pleasure, practice, speculation, in verse or prose, &c.! their names alone are the subject of whole volumes, we have thousands of authors of all sorts, many great libraries full well furnished, like so many dishes of meat, served out for several palates; and he is a very block that is affected with none of them. Some take an infinite delight to study the very languages wherein these books are written, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, &c. Methinks it would please any man to look upon a geographical map, [5] *suavi animum delectatione allicere, ob incredibilem rerum varietatem et jucunditatem, et ad pleniorem sui cognitionem excitare*, chorographical, topographical delineations, to behold, as it were,

[1] Pluvines. [2] Thibault. [3] As in travelling the rest go forward and look before them, an antiquary alone looks round about him, seeing things past, &c., hath a complete horizon. Janus Bifrons. [4] Cardan. "What is more subtile than arithmetical conclusions; what more agreeable than musical harmonies; what more divine than astronomical, what more certain than geometrical demonstrations?" [5] Hondius, præfat. Mercatoris. "It allures the mind by its agreeable attraction, on account of the incredible variety and pleasantness of the subjects, and excites to a further step in knowledge."

all the remote provinces, towns, cities of the world, and never to go forth of the limits of his study, to measure by the scale and compass their extent, distance, examine their site. Charles the Great, as Platina writes, had three fair silver tables, in one of which superficies was a large map of Constantinople, in the second, Rome neatly engraved, in the third, an exquisite description of the whole world, and much delight he took in them. What greater pleasure can there now be, than to view those elaborate maps of Ortelius, [1] Mercator, Hondius, &c.? To peruse those books of cities, put out by Braunus and Hogenbergius? To read those exquisite descriptions of Maginus, Munster, Herrera, Laet, Merula, Boterus, Leander Albertus, Camden, Leo Afer, Adricomius, Nic. Gerbelius, &c.! Those famous expeditions of Christoph. Columbus, Americus Vespucius, Marcus Polus the Venetian, Lod. Vertomannus, Aloysius Cadamustus, &c.? Those accurate diaries of Portuguese, Hollanders, of Bartison, Oliver à Nort, &c., Hakluyt's voyages, Pet. Martyr's Decades, Benzo, Lerius, Linschoten's relations, those Hodæporicons of Jod. a Meggen, Brocard the monk, Bredenbachius, Jo. Dublinius, Sands, &c., to Jerusalem, Egypt, and other remote places of the world? those pleasant itineraries of Paulus Hentzerus, Jodocus Sincerus, Dux Polonus, &c., to read Bellonius's observations, P. Gillius his surveys; those parts of America, set out, and curiously cut in pictures, by Fratres a Bry. To see a well-cut herbal, herbs, trees, flowers, plants, all vegetables expressed in their proper colours to the life, as that of Matthiolus upon Dioscorides, Delacampius, Lobel, Bauhinus, and that last voluminous and mighty herbal of Beslar of Nuremberg, wherein almost every plant is to his own bigness. To see birds, beasts, and fishes of the sea, spiders, gnats, serpents, flies, &c., all creatures set out by the same art, and truly expressed in lively colours, with an exact description of their natures, virtues, qualities, &c., as hath been accurately performed by Ælian, Gesner, Ulysses Aldro-

[1] Atlas Geog.

vandus, Bellonius, Rondoletius, Hippolytus Salvianus, &c. [1] *Arcana cœli, naturæ secreta, ordinem universi scire majoris felicitatis et dulcedinis est, quam cogitatione quis assequi possit, aut mortalis sperare.* What more pleasing studies can there be than the mathematics, theoretical or practical parts? as to survey land, make maps, models, dials, &c., with which I was ever much delighted myself. *Talis est Mathematum pulchritudo* (saith [2] Plutarch) *ut his indignum sit divitiarum phaleras istas et bullas, et puellaria spectacula comparari;* such is the excellency of these studies, that all those ornaments and childish bubbles of wealth, are not worthy to be compared to them: *credi mihi* ([3] saith one) *extingui dulce erit Mathematicarum artium studio,* I could even live and die with such meditations, [4] and take more delight, true content of mind in them, than thou hast in all thy wealth and sport, how rich soever thou art. And as [5] Cardan well seconds me, *Honorificum magis est et gloriosum hæc intelligere, quam provinciis præesse, formosum aut ditem juvenem esse.*[6] The like pleasure there is in all other studies, to such as are truly addicted to them, [7] *ea suavitas* (one holds) *ut cum quis ea degustaverit, quasi poculis Circeis captus, non possit unquam ab illis divelli;* the like sweetness, which as Circe's cup bewitcheth a student, he cannot leave off, as well may witness those many laborious hours, days and nights, spent in the voluminous treatises written by them; the same content. [8] Julius Scaliger was so much affected with poetry, that he brake out into a pathetical protestation, he had rather be the author of twelve verses in Lucan, or such an ode in [9] Horace, than emperor of Germany. [10] Nicholas Gerbelius, that good old man, was so much ravished with a few Greek authors restored to light, with hope and desire of enjoying the rest, that he

[1] Cardan. "To learn the mysteries of the heavens, the secret workings of nature, the order of the universe, is a greater happiness and gratification than any mortal can think or expect to obtain." [2] Lib. de cupid. divitiarum. [3] Leon. Diggs. præfat. ad perpet. prognost. [4] Plus capio voluptatis, &c. [5] In Hipperchen. divis. 3. [6] "It is more honourable and glorious to understand these truths than to govern provinces, to be beautiful, or to be young." [7] Cardan. præfat. rerum variet. [8] Poetices lib. [9] Lib. 3, Ode 9. Donec gratus eram tibi, &c. [10] De Pelopones. lib. 6, descript. Græc.

exclaims forthwith, *Arabibus atque Indis omnibus erimus ditiores*, we shall be richer than all the Arabic or Indian princes; of such [1] esteem they were with him, incomparable worth and value. Seneca prefers Zeno and Chrysippus, two doting stoics (he was so much enamoured of their works), before any prince or general of an army; and Orontius, the mathematician, so far admires Archimedes, that he calls him, *Divinum et homine majorem*, a petty god, more than a man; and well he might, for aught I see, if you respect fame or worth. Pindarus, of Thebes, is as much renowned for his poems, as Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Hercules or Bacchus, his fellow-citizens, for their warlike actions; *et si famam respicias, non pauciores Aristotelis quam Alexandri meminerunt* (as Cardan notes), Aristotle is more known than Alexander; for we have a bare relation of Alexander's deeds, but Aristotle, *totus vivit in monumentis*, is whole in his works; yet I stand not upon this; the delight is it, which I aim at, so great pleasure, such sweet content there is in study. [2] King James, 1605, when he came to see our University of Oxford, and amongst other edifices now went to view that famous library, renewed by Sir Thomas Bodley, in imitation of Alexander, at his departure brake out into that noble speech, If I were not a king, I would be a university man; [3] "and if it were so that I must be a prisoner, if I might have my wish, I would desire to have no other prison than that library, and to be chained together with so many good authors *et mortuis magistris*." So sweet is the delight of study, the more learning they have (as he that hath a dropsy, the more he drinks the thirstier he is,) the more they covet to learn, and the last day is *prioris discipulus;* harsh at first learning is, *radices amaræ*, but *fructus dulces*, according to that of Isocrates, pleasant at last; the longer they live, the more they are enamoured with the Muses. Heinsius, the

[1] Quos si integros haberemus, Dii boni, quas opes, quos thesauros teneremus!
[2] Isaack Wake musæ regnantes.
[3] Si unquam mihi in fatis sit, ut captivus ducar, si mihi daretur optio, hoc cuperem carcere concludi, his catenis illigari, cum hisce captivis concatenatis ætatem agere.

keeper of the library at Leyden in Holland, was mewed up in it all the year long; and that which to thy thinking should have bred a loathing, caused in him a greater liking. [1] "I no sooner (saith he) come into the library, but I bolt the door to me, excluding lust, ambition, avarice, and all such vices, whose nurse is idleness, the mother of ignorance, and melancholy herself, and in the very lap of eternity, amongst so many divine souls, I take my seat, with so lofty a spirit and sweet content, that I pity all our great ones, and rich men that know not this happiness." I am not ignorant in the mean time (notwithstanding this which I have said) how barbarously and basely, for the most part, our ruder gentry esteem of libraries and books, how they neglect and contemn so great a treasure, so inestimable a benefit, as Æsop's cock did the jewel he found in the dunghill; and all through error, ignorance, and want of education. And 'tis a wonder, withal, to observe how much they will vainly cast away in unnecessary expenses, *quot modis pereant* (saith [2] Erasmus) *magnatibus pecuniæ, quantum absumant alea, scorta, compotationes, profectiones non necessariæ, pompæ, bella quæsita, ambitio, colax, morio, ludio, &c.*, what in hawks, hounds, lawsuits, vain building, gormandizing, drinking, sports, plays, pastimes, &c. If a well-minded man to the Muses would sue to some of them for an exhibition, to the further maintenance or enlargement of such a work, be it college, lecture, library, or whatsoever else may tend to the advancement of learning, they are so unwilling, so averse, that they had rather see these which are already, with such cost and care erected, utterly ruined, demolished or otherwise employed; for they repine many and grudge at such gifts and revenues so bestowed; and therefore it were in vain, as Erasmus well notes, *vel ab his, vel à negotiatoribus qui se Mammonæ dediderunt, improbum fortasse tale officium exigere*, to solicit or ask anything of such men that

[1] Epist. Primiero. Plerunque in qua simul ac pedem posui, foribus pessulum obdo; ambitionem autem, amorem, libidinem, etc., excludo, quorum parens est ignavia, imperitia nutrix, et in ipso æternitatis gremio, inter tot illustres animas sedem mihi sumo, cum ingenti quidem animo, ut subinde magnatum me misereat, qui fælicitatem hanc ignorant.

[2] Chil. 2, Cent. 1, Adag. 1.

are likely damned to riches; to this purpose. For my part I pity these men, *stultos jubeo esse libenter*, let them go as they are, in the catalogue of Ignoramus. How much, on the other side, are all we bound that are scholars, to those munificent Ptolemies, bountiful Mæcenates, heroical patrons, divine spirits,

[1] "qui nobis hæc otia fecerunt, namque erit ille mihi semper Deus"
"These blessings, friend, a Deity bestow'd,
For never can I deem him less than God."

that have provided for us so many well-furnished libraries, as well in our public academies in most cities, as in our private colleges? How shall I remember [2] Sir Thomas Bodley, amongst the rest, [3] Otho Nicholson, and the Right Reverend John Williams, Lord Bishop of Lincoln (with many other pious acts), who besides that at St. John's College in Cambridge, that in Westminster, is now likewise in *Fieri* with a library at Lincoln (a noble precedent for all corporate towns and cities to imitate), *O quam te memorem (vir illustrissime), quibus elogiis?* But to my task again.

Whosoever he is therefore that is overrun with solitariness, or carried away with pleasing melancholy and vain conceits, and for want of employment knows not how to spend his time, or crucified with worldly care, I can prescribe him no better remedy than this of study, to compose himself to the learning of some art or science. Provided always that this malady proceed not from overmuch study; for in such case he adds fuel to the fire, and nothing can be more pernicious; let him take heed he do not overstretch his wits, and make a skeleton of himself; or such inamoratos as read nothing but playbooks, idle poems, jests, Amadis de Gaul, the Knight of the Sun, the Seven Champions, Palmerin de Oliva, Huon of Bordeaux, &c. Such many times prove in the end as mad as Don Quixote. Study is only prescribed to those that are otherwise idle, troubled in mind, or carried headlong with vain thoughts and imaginations, to distract their cogitations

[1] Virg. eclog. 1. [2] Founder of our public library in Oxon. [3] Ours in Christ Church, Oxon.

(although variety of study, or some serious subject, would do the former no harm,) and divert their continual meditations another way. Nothing in this case better than study; *semper aliquid memoriter ediscant*, saith Piso, let them learn something without book, transcribe, translate, &c. Read the Scriptures, which Hyperius, *lib.* 1, *de quotid. script. lect. fol.* 77, holds available of itself, [1] "the mind is erected thereby from all worldly cares, and hath much quiet and tranquillity." For as [2] Austin well hath it, 'tis *scientia scientiarum, omni melle dulcior, omni pane suavior, omni vino hilarior:* 'tis the best nepenthe, surest cordial, sweetest alterative, presentest diverter; for neither as [3] Chrysostom well adds, "those boughs and leaves of trees which are plashed for cattle to stand under, in the heat of the day, in summer, so much refresh them with their acceptable shade, as the reading of the Scripture doth recreate and comfort a distressed soul, in sorrow and affliction." Paul bids "pray continually;" *quod cibus corpori, lectio animæ facit*, saith Seneca, as meat is to the body, such is reading to the soul. [4] "To be at leisure without books is another hell, and to be buried alive." [5] Cardan calls a library the physic of the soul; [6] "divine authors fortify the mind, make men bold and constant; and (as Hyperius adds) godly conference will not permit the mind to be tortured with absurd cogitations." Rhasis enjoins continual conference to such melancholy men, perpetual discourse of some history, tale, poem, news, &c., *alternos sermones edere ac bibere, æque jucundum quam cibus, sive potus*, which feeds the mind as meat and drink doth the body, and pleaseth as much; and therefore the said Rhasis, not without good cause, would have somebody still talk seriously, or dispute with them, and sometimes [7] "to cavil and wrangle (so that it break not out to a violent

[1] Animus levatur inde à curis multa quiete et tranquillitate fruens. [2] Ser. 38, ad Fratres Erem. [3] Hom. 4, de pœnitentia. Nam neque arborum comæ pro pecorum tuguriis factæ, meridie per æstatem, optabilem exhibentes umbram oves ita reficiunt, ac scripturarum lectio afflictas angore animas solatur et recreat. [4] Otium sine literis mors est, et vivi hominis sepultura. Seneca. [5] Cap. 99, l. 57, de rer. var. [6] Fortem reddunt animum et constantem; et pium colloquium non permittit animum absurdâ cogitatione torqueri. [7] Altercationibus utantur, quæ non permittunt animum submergi profundis cogitationibus, de quibus

perturbation), for such altercation is like stirring of a dead fire to make it burn afresh," it whets a dull spirit, "and will not suffer the mind to be drowned in those profound cogitations, which melancholy men are commonly troubled with." [1] Ferdinand and Alphonsus, kings of Arragon and Sicily, were both cured by reading the history, one of Curtius, the other of Livy, when no prescribed physic would take place. Camerarius [2] relates as much of Lorenzo de' Medici. Heathen philosophers are so full of divine precepts in this kind, that, as some think, they alone are able to settle a distressed mind. [3] *Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem, &c.* Epictetus, Plutarch, and Seneca; *qualis ille, quæ tela*, saith Lipsius, *adversus omnes animi casus administrat, et ipsam mortem, quomodò vitia eripit, infert virtutes?* when I read Seneca, [4] "methinks I am beyond all human fortunes, on the top of a hill above mortality." Plutarch saith as much of Homer, for which cause belike Niceratus, in Xenophon, was made by his parents to con Homer's Iliads and Odysseys without book, *ut in virum bonum evaderet*, as well to make him a good and honest man, as to avoid idleness. If this comfort be got from philosophy, what shall be had from divinity? What shall Austin, Cyprian, Gregory, Bernard's divine meditations afford us?

> "Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
> Plenius et melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicunt." [5]

Nay, what shall the Scripture itself? Which is like an apothecary's shop, wherein are all remedies for all infirmities of mind, purgatives, cordials, alteratives, corroboratives, lenatives, &c. "Every disease of the soul," saith [6] Austin, "hath a peculiar medicine in the Scripture; this only is required that the sick man take the potion which God hath already

otiose cogitat et tristatur in iis. [1] Bodin. prefat. ad meth. hist. [2] Operum subcis. cap. 15. [3] Hor. [4] Fatendum est cacumine Olympi constitutus supra ventos et procellas, et omnes res humanas. [5] "Who explain what is fair, foul, useful, worthless, more fully and faithfully than Chrysippus and Crantor?" [6] In Ps. xxxvi. omnis morbus animi in scripturâ habet medicinam; tantum opus est ut qui sit æger, non recuset potionem quam Deus temperavit.

tempered." [1] Gregory calls it "a glass wherein we may see all our infirmities," *ignitum colloquium*, Psalm cxix. 140, [2] Origen a charm. And therefore Hierom prescribes Rusticus the monk, [3] "continually to read the Scripture, and to meditate on that which he hath read; for as mastication is to meat, so is meditation on that which we read." I would for these causes wish him that is melancholy to use both human and divine authors, voluntarily to impose some task upon himself, to divert his melancholy thoughts: to study the art of memory, Cosmus Rosselius, Pet. Ravennas, Scenkelius's Detectus, or practise Brachygraphy, &c., that will ask a great deal of attention; or let him demonstrate a proposition in Euclid, in his last five books, extract a square root, or study Algebra; than which, as [4] Clavius holds, "in all human disciplines nothing can be more excellent and pleasant, so abstruse and recondite, so bewitching, so miraculous, so ravishing, so easy withal and full of delight," *omnem humanum captum superare videtur*. By this means you may define *ex ungue leonem*, as the diverb is, by his thumb alone the bigness of Hercules, or the true dimensions of the great [5] Colossus, Solomon's temple, and Domitian's amphitheatre out of a little part. By this art you may contemplate the variation of the twenty-three letters, which may be so infinitely varied, that the words complicated and deduced thence will not be contained within the compass of the firmament; ten words may be varied 40,320 several ways; by this art you may examine how many men may stand one by another in the whole superficies of the earth, some say 148,456,800, 000,000, *assignando singulis passum quadratum* (assigning a square foot to each), how many men, supposing all the world as habitable as France, as fruitful and so long-lived, may be born in 60,000 years, and so may you demonstrate with

[1] In moral. speculum quo nos intueri possimus. [2] Hom. 28. Ut incantatione virus fugatur, ita lectione malum. [3] Iterum atque iterum moneo, ut animam sacræ scripturæ lectione occupes. Masticat divinum pabulum meditatio. [4] Ad 2 definit. 2 elem. In disciplinis humanis nihil præstantius reperitur: quippe miracula quædam numerorum eruit tam abstrusa et recondita, tanta nihilo minus facilitate et voluptate, ut, &c. [5] Which contained 1,080,000 weight of brass.

[1] Archimedes how many sands the mass of the whole world might contain if all sandy, if you did but first know how much a small cube, as big as a mustard-seed might hold, with infinite such. But in all nature what is there so stupendous as to examine and calculate the motion of the planets, their magnitudes, apogees, perigees, eccentricities, how far distant from the earth, the bigness, thickness, compass of the firmament, each star, with their diameters and circumference, apparent area, superficies, by those curious helps of glasses, astrolabes, sextants, quadrants, of which Tycho Brahe in his mechanics, optics ([2] divine optics), arithmetic, geometry, and such like arts and instruments? What so intricate and pleasing withal, as to peruse and practise Heron Alexandrinus's works, *de spiritalibus*, *de machinis bellicis*, *de machinâ se movente*, *Jordani Nemorarii de ponderibus proposit.* 13, that pleasant tract of Machometes Bragdedinus, *de superficierum divisionibus*, Apollonius's Conics, or Commandinus's labours in that kind, *de centro gravitatis*, with many such geometrical theorems and problems? Those rare instruments and mechanical inventions of Jac. Bessonus, and Cardan to this purpose, with many such experiments intimated long since by Roger Bacon, in his tract *de* [3] *Secretis artis et naturæ*, as to make a chariot to move *sine animali*, diving boats, to walk on the water by art, and to fly in the air, to make several cranes and pulleys, *quibus homo trahat ad se mille homines*, lift up and remove great weights, mills to move themselves, Archita's dove, Albertus's brazen head, and such thaumaturgical works. But especially to do strange miracles by glasses, of which Proclus and Bacon writ of old, burning-glasses, multiplying glasses, perspectives, *ut unus homo appareat exercitus*, to see afar off, to represent solid bodies by cylinders and concaves, to walk in the air, *ut veraciter videant* (saith Bacon) *aurum et argentum et quicquid aliud volunt, et quum veniant ad locum visionis, nihil inveniant*, which glasses

[1] Vide Clavium in com. de Sacrobosco. [2] Distantias cœlorum sola Optica dijudicat. [3] Cap. 4 et 5.

are much perfected of late by Baptista Porta and Galileo, and much more is promised by Maginus and Midorgius, to be performed in this kind. *Otocousticons* some speak of, to intend hearing, as the other do sight; Marcellus Vrencken, a Hollander, in his epistle to Burgravius, makes mention of a friend of his that is about an instrument, *quo videbit quæ in altero horizonte sint.* But our alchemists, methinks, and Rosicrusians afford most rarities, and are fuller of experiments; they can make gold, separate and alter metals, extract oils, salts, lees, and do more strange works than Geber, Lullius, Bacon, or any of those ancients. Crollius hath made after his master Paracelsus, *aurum fulminans*, or *aurum volatile*, which shall imitate thunder and lightning, and crack louder than any gunpowder; Cornelius Drible a perpetual motion, inextinguishable lights, *linum non ardens*, with many such feats; see his book *de naturâ elementorum*, besides hail, wind, snow, thunder, lightning, &c., those strange fireworks, devilish petards, and such like warlike machinations derived hence, of which read Tartalea and others. Ernestus Burgravius, a disciple of Paracelsus, hath published a discourse, in which he specifies a lamp to be made of man's blood, *Lucerna vitæ et mortis index*, so he terms it, which chemically prepared forty days, and afterwards kept in a glass, shall show all the accidents of this life; *si lampas hic clarus, tunc homo hilaris et sanus corpore et animo; si nebulosus et depressus, malè afficitur, et sic pro statu hominis variatur, unde sumptus sanguis;* [1] and which is most wonderful, it dies with the party, *cum homine perit, et evanescit*, the lamp and the man whence the blood was taken, are extinguished together. The same author hath another tract of Mumia (all out as vain and prodigious as the first) by which he will cure most diseases, and transfer them from a man to a beast, by drawing blood from one, and applying it to the other, *vel in plantam derivare*, and an *Alexipharmacum*,

[1] "If the lamp burn brightly, then the man is cheerful and healthy in mind and body; if, on the other hand, he from whom the blood is taken be melancholic or a spendthrift, then it will burn dimly, and flicker in the socket."

of which Roger Bacon of old in his *Tract. de retardanda senectute*, to make a man young again, live three or four hundred years. Besides panaceas, martial amulets, *unguentum armarium*, balsams, strange extracts, elixirs, and such like magico-magnetical cures. Now what so pleasing can there be as the speculation of these things, to read and examine such experiments, or if a man be more mathematically given, to calculate, or peruse Napier's Logarithms, or those tables of artificial [1] sines and tangents, not long since set out by mine old collegiate, good friend, and late fellow-student of Christ Church in Oxford, [2] Mr. Edmund Gunter, which will perform that by addition and subtraction only, which heretofore Regiomontanus's tables did by multiplication and division, or those elaborate conclusions of his [3] sector, quadrant, and cross-staff. Or let him that is melancholy calculate spherical triangles, square a circle, cast a nativity, which howsoever some tax, I say with [4] Garcæus, *dabimus hoc petulantibus ingeniis*, we will in some cases allow; or let him make an *ephemerides*, read Suisset, the calculator's works, Scaliger *de emendatione temporum*, and Petavius his adversary, till he understand them, peruse subtle Scotus and Suarez's metaphysics, or school divinity, Occam, Thomas, Entisberus, Durand, &c. If those other do not affect him, and his means be great, to employ his purse and fill his head, he may go find the philosopher's stone; he may apply his mind, I say, to heraldry, antiquity, invent impresses, emblems; make epithalamiums, epitaphs, elegies, epigrams, palindroma epigrammata, anagrams, chronograms, acrostics, upon his friends' names; or write a comment on Martianus Capella, Tertullian *de pallio*, the Nubian geography, or upon Ælia Lælia Crispis, as many idle fellows have essayed; and rather than do nothing, vary a [5] verse a thousand ways with Putean, so torturing his wits, or as Rainnerus of Luneburgh, [6] 2150

[1] Printed at London, Anno 1620. [2] Once astronomy reader at Gresham College. [3] Printed at London by William Jones, 1623. [4] Præfat. Meth. Astrol. [5] Tot tibi sunt dotes virgo, quot sidera cœlo. [6] Da pie Christe urbi bona sit pax tempore nostro.

times in his *Proteus Poeticus*, or Scaliger, Chrysolithus, Cleppissius, and others, have in like sort done. If such voluntary tasks, pleasure and delight, or crabbedness of these studies, will not yet divert their idle thoughts, and alienate their imaginations, they must be compelled, saith Christophorus à Vega, *cogi debent, l. 5, c. 14*, upon some mulct, if they perform it not, *quod ex officio incumbat*, loss of credit or disgrace, such as our public University exercises. For, as he that plays for nothing will not heed his game; no more will voluntary employment so thoroughly affect a student, except he be very intent of himself, and take an extraordinary delight in the study, about which he is conversant. It should be of that nature his business, which *volens nolens* he must necessarily undergo, and without great loss, mulct, shame, or hinderance, he may not omit.

Now for women, instead of laborious studies, they have curious needleworks, cutworks, spinning, bonelace, and many pretty devices of their own making, to adorn their houses, cushions, carpets, chairs, stools, ("for she eats not the bread of idleness," Prov. xxxi. 27, *quæsivit lanam et linum*,) confections, conserves, distillations, &c., which they show to strangers.

> [1] "Ipsa comes præsesque operis venientibus ultro
> Hospitibus monstrare solet, non segniter horas
> Contestata suas, sed nec sibi deperiis se."
>
> "Which to her guests she shows, with all her pelf,
> Thus far my maids, but this I did myself."

This they have to busy themselves about, household offices, &c., [2] neat gardens, full of exotic, versicolour, diversely varied, sweet-smelling flowers, and plants in all kinds, which they are most ambitious to get, curious to preserve and keep, proud to possess, and much many times brag of. Their merrymeetings and frequent visitations, mutual invitations in good towns, I voluntarily omit, which are so much in use,

[1] Chalonerus, Lib. 9, de Rep. Angel. [2] Hortus coronarius, medicus et culinarius, &c.

gossiping among the meaner sort, &c., old folks have their beads; an excellent invention to keep them from idleness, that are by nature melancholy, and past all affairs, to say so many paternosters, avemarias, creeds, if it were not profane and superstitious. In a word, body and mind must be exercised, not one, but both, and that in a mediocrity; otherwise it will cause a great inconvenience. If the body be overtired, it tires the mind. The mind oppresseth the body, as with students it oftentimes falls out, who (as [1] Plutarch observes) have no care of the body, "but compel that which is mortal to do as much as that which is immortal; that which is earthly, as that which is ethereal. But as the ox tired, told the camel (both serving one master), that refused to carry some part of his burden, before it were long he should be compelled to carry all his pack, and skin to boot, (which by and by, the ox being dead, fell out,) the body may say to the soul, that will give him no respite or remission; a little after, an ague, vertigo, consumption, seizeth on them both, all his study is omitted, and they must be compelled to be sick together;" he that tenders his own good estate, and health, must let them draw with equal yoke, both alike, [2] "that so they may happily enjoy their wished health."

MEMB. V.

Waking and terrible Dreams rectified.

As waking that hurts, by all means must be avoided, so sleep, which so much helps, by like ways, [3] "must be procured, by nature or art, inward or outward medicines, and be

[1] Tom. 1, de sanit. tuend. Qui rationem corporis non habent, sed cogunt mortalem immortali, terrestrem æthereæ æqualem præstare industriam: Cæterum ut Camelo usu venit, quod ei bos prædixerat, cum eidem servirent domino et parte oneris levare illum Camelus recusasset, paulo post et ipsius cutem, et totum onus cogeretur gestare (quod mortuo bove impletum), Ita animo quoque contingit, dum defatigato corpori, &c. [2] Ut pulchram illam et amabilem sanitatem præstemus. [3] Interdicendæ vigiliæ, somni paulo longiores conciliandi. Altomarus, cap. 7. Somnus supra modum prodest, quovismodo conciliandus, Piso.

protracted longer than ordinary, if it may be, as being an especial help." It moistens and fattens the body, concocts, and helps digestion (as we see in dormice, and those Alpine mice that sleep all winter,) which Gesner speaks of, when they are so found sleeping under the snow in the dead of winter, as fat as butter. It expels cares, pacifies the mind, refresheth the weary limbs after long work:

> [1] "Somne, quies rerum, placidissime somne deorum,
> Pax animi, quem cura fugit, qui corpora duris
> Fessa ministeriis mulces reparasque labori."
>
> "Sleep, rest of things, O pleasing deity,
> Peace of the soul, which cares dost crucify,
> Weary bodies refresh and mollify."

The chiefest thing in all physic, [2] Paracelsus calls it, *omnia arcana gemmarum superans et metallorum.* The fittest time is [3] "two or three hours after supper, when as the meat is now settled at the bottom of the stomach, and 'tis good to lie on the right side first, because at that site the liver doth rest under the stomach, not molesting any way, but heating him as a fire doth a kettle, that is put to it. After the first sleep 'tis not amiss to lie on the left side, that the meat may the better descend;" and sometimes again on the belly, but never on the back. Seven or eight hours is a competent time for a melancholy man to rest, as Crato thinks; but as some do, to lie in bed and not sleep, a day, or half a day together, to give assent to pleasing conceits and vain imaginations, is many ways pernicious. To procure this sweet moistening sleep, it's best to take away the occasions (if it be possible) that hinder it, and then to use such inward or outward remedies, which may cause it. *Constat hodie* (saith Boissardus in his tract *de magiâ, cap.* 4,) *multos ita fascinari ut noctes integras exigant insomnes, summâ inquietudine animorum et corporum;* many cannot sleep for witches and fascinations, which are too

[1] Ovid. [2] In Hippoc. Aphorism. [3] Crato, cons. 21, lib. 2. duabus aut tribus horis post cœnam, quum jam cibus ad fundum ventriculi resederit, primum super latere dextro quiescendum, quod in tali decubitu jecur sub ventriculo quiescat, non gravans sed cibum calfaciens, perinde ac ignis lebetem qui illi admovetur; post primum somnum quiescendum latere sinistro, &c.

familiar in some places; they call it *dare alicui malam noctem.* But the ordinary causes are heat and dryness, which must first be removed; [1] a hot and dry brain never sleeps well; grief, fears, cares, expectations, anxieties, great businesses, [2] *In aurem utramque otiose ut dormias*, and all violent perturbations of the mind, must in some sort be qualified, before we can hope for any good repose. He that sleeps in the daytime, or is in suspense, fear, any way troubled in mind, or goes to bed upon a full [3] stomach, may never hope for quiet rest in the night; *nec enim meritoria somnos admittunt*, as the [4] poet saith; inns and such like troublesome places are not for sleep; one calls hostler, another tapster, one cries and shouts, another sings, whoops, halloos,

> [5] "absentem cantat amicam,
> Multâ prolutus vappâ nauta atque viator."

Who not accustomed to such noises can sleep amongst them? He that will intend to take his rest must go to bed *animo securo, quieto et libero*, with a [6] secure and composed mind, in a quiet place: *omnia noctis erunt placida compósta quiete;* and if that will not serve, or may not be obtained, to seek then such means as are requisite. To lie in clean linen and sweet; before he goes to bed, or in bed, to hear [7] "sweet music," which Ficinus commends, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 24, or as Jobertus, *med. pract. lib.* 3, *cap.* 10, [8] "to read some pleasant author till he be asleep, to have a basin of water still dropping by his bedside," or to lie near that pleasant murmur, *lene sonantis aquæ.* Some floodgates, arches, falls of water, like London Bridge, or some continuate noise which may benumb the senses, *lenis motus, silentium et tenebræ, tum et ipsa voluntas somnos faciunt;* as a gentle noise to some procures sleep,

[1] Sæpius accidit melancholicis, ut nimium exsiccato cerebro vigiliis attenuentur. Ficinus, lib. 1, cap. 29. [2] Ter. "That you may sleep calmly on either ear." [3] Ut sis nocte levis, sit tibi cæna brevis. [4] Juven. Sat. 3. [5] Hor. Ser. lib. 1, Sat. 5. "The tipsy sailor and his travelling companion sing the praises of their absent sweethearts." [6] Sepositis curis omnibus quantum fieri potest, una cum vestibus, &c. Kirkst. [7] Ad horam somni aures sauvibus cantibus et sonis delinire. [8] Lectio jucunda, aut sermo, ad quem attentior animus convertitur, aut aqua ab alto in subjectam pelvim delabatur, &c. Ovid.

so, which Bernardinus Tilesius, *lib. de somno*, well observes, silence, in a dark room, and the will itself, is most available to others. Piso commends frications, Andrew Borde a good draught of strong drink before one goes to bed; I say, a nutmeg and ale, or a good draught of muscadine, with a toast and nutmeg, or a posset of the same, which many use in a morning, but methinks, for such as have dry brains, are much more proper at night; some prescribe a [1] sup of vinegar as they go to bed, a spoonful, saith Ætius, Tetrabib. *lib.* 2, *ser.* 2, *cap.* 10, *lib.* 6, *cap.* 10, *Ægineta*, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 14, Piso, "a little after meat, [2] because it rarefies melancholy, and procures an appetite to sleep." *Donat. ab Altomar. cap.* 7, and Mercurialis approve of it, if the malady proceed from the [3] spleen. Salust. Salvian. *lib.* 2, *cap.* 1, *de remed.* Hercules de Saxoniâ, *in Pan. Ælianus* Montaltus, *de morb. capitis*, *cap.* 28, *de melan.* are altogether against it. Lod. Mercatus, *de inter. Morb. cau. lib.* 1, *cap.* 17, in some cases doth allow it. [4] Rhasis seems to deliberate of it, though Simeon commend it (in sauce peradventure) he makes a question of it; as for baths, fomentations, oils, potions, simples or compounds, inwardly taken to this purpose, [5] I shall speak of them elsewhere. If, in the midst of the night, when they lie awake, which is usual to toss and tumble, and not sleep, [6] Ranzovius would have them, if it be in warm weather, to rise and walk three or four turns (till they be cold) about the chamber, and then go to bed again.

Against fearful and troublesome dreams, *Incubus* and such inconveniences, wherewith melancholy men are molested, the best remedy is to eat a light supper, and of such meats as are easy of digestion, no hare, venison, beef, &c., not to lie on his back, not to meditate or think in the daytime of any terrible objects, or especially talk of them before he goes to bed. For, as he said in Lucian after such conference, *Hecates somniare mihi videor*, I can think of nothing but hobgob-

[1] Aceti sorbitio. [2] Attenuat melancholiam, et ad conciliandum somnum juvat. [3] Quod lieni acetum conveniat. [4] Cont. 1, tract. 9, meditandum de aceto. [5] Sect. 5, Memb. 1, Subsect. 6. [6] Lib. de sanit. tuenda.

lins; and as Tully notes, [1] "for the most part our speeches in the daytime cause our fantasy to work upon the like in our sleep," which Ennius writes of Homer: *Et canis in somnis leporis vestigia latrat:* as a dog dreams of a hare, so do men on such subjects they thought on last.

> [2] "Somnia quæ mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris,
> Nec delubra deûm, nec ab æthere numina mittunt,
> Sed sibi quisque facit," &c.

For that cause when Ptolemy, king of Egypt, had posed the seventy interpreters in order, and asked the nineteenth man what would make one sleep quietly in the night, he told him, [3] "the best way was to have divine and celestial meditations, and to use honest actions in the daytime." [4] Lod. Vives wonders how schoolmen could sleep quietly, and were not terrified in the night, or walk in the dark, they had such monstrous questions, and thought of such terrible matters all day long." They had need, amongst the rest, to sacrifice to god Morpheus, whom [5] Philostratus paints in a white and black coat, with a horn and ivory box full of dreams, of the same colours, to signify good and bad. If you will know how to interpret them, read Artemidorus, Sambucus and Cardan; but how to help them, [6] I must refer you to a more convenient place.

[1] In Som. Scip. fit enim fere ut cogitationes nostræ et sermones pariant aliquid in somno, quale de Homero scribit Ennius, de quo videlicet sæpissimè vigilans solebat cogitare et loqui. [2] Aristæ hist. "Neither the shrines of the gods, nor the deities themselves, send down from the heavens those dreams which mock our minds with these flitting shadows, — we cause them to ourselves." [3] Optimum de cœlestibus et honestis meditari, et ea facere. [4] Lib. 3, de causis cor. art. tam mira monstra quæstionum sæpe nascuntur inter eos, ut mirer eos interdum in somniis non terreri, aut de illis in tenebris audere verba facere, adeo res sunt monstrosæ. [5] Icon. lib. 1. [6] Sect. 5, Memb. 1, Subs. 6.

MEMB. VI.

SUBSECT. I.—*Perturbations of the Mind rectified. From Himself, by resisting to the utmost, confessing his Grief to a Friend, &c.*

WHOSOEVER he is that shall hope to cure this malady in himself or any other, must first rectify these passions and perturbations of the mind; the chiefest cure consists in them. A quiet mind is that *voluptas*, or *summum bonum* of Epicurus; *non dolere, curis vacare, animo tranquillo esse*, not to grieve, but to want cares, and to have a quiet soul, is the only pleasure of the world, as Seneca truly recites his opinion, not that of eating and drinking, which injurious Aristotle maliciously puts upon him, and for which he is still mistaken, *malè audit et vapulat*, slandered without a cause, and lashed by all posterity. [1] "Fear and sorrow, therefore, are especially to be avoided, and the mind to be mitigated with mirth, constancy, good hope; vain terror, bad objects are to be removed, and all such persons in whose companies they be not well pleased." Gualter Bruel, Fernelius, *consil.* 43, Mercurialis, *consil.* 6, Piso, Jacchinus, *cap.* 15, *in* 9 Rhasis, Capivaccius, Hildesheim, &c., all inculcate this as an especial means of their cure, that their [2] "minds be quietly pacified, vain conceits diverted, if it be possible, with terrors, cares, [3] fixed studies, cogitations, and whatsoever it is that shall any way molest or trouble the soul," because that otherwise there is no good to be done. [4] "The body's mischiefs," as Plato proves, "proceed from the soul; and if the mind be not first satisfied, the body can never be cured." Alcibiades raves (saith [5] Maximus Tyrius) and is sick, his furious desires carry

[1] Animi perturbationes summè fugiendæ, metus potissimum et tristitia: eorumque loco animus demulcendus hilaritate, animi constantia, bona spe; removendi terrores, et eorum consortium quos non probant. [2] Phantasiæ eorum placidè subvertendæ, terrores ab animo removendi. [3] Ab omni fixa cogitatione quovismodo avertantur. [4] Cuncta mala corporis ab animo procedunt, quæ nisi curentur, corpus curari minime potest, Charmid. [5] Disputat. An morbi gra-

him from Lyceus to the pleading place, thence to the sea, so into Sicily, thence to Lacedæmon, thence to Persia, thence to Samos, then again to Athens; Critias tyrannizeth over all the city; Sardanapalus is lovesick; these men are ill-affected all, and can never be cured, till their minds be otherwise qualified. Crato, therefore, in that often-cited Counsel of his for a nobleman his patient, when he had sufficiently informed him in diet, air, exercise, Venus, sleep, concludes with these as matters of greatest moment, *Quod reliquum est, animæ accidentia corrigantur*, from which alone proceeds melancholy; they are the fountain, the subject, the hinges whereon it turns, and must necessarily be reformed. [1] "For anger stirs choler, heats the blood and vital spirits; sorrow on the other side refrigerates the body, and extinguisheth natural heat, overthrows appetite, hinders concoction, dries up the temperature, and perverts the understanding;" fear dissolves the spirits, infects the heart, attenuates the soul; and for these causes all passions and perturbations must, to the utmost of our power and most seriously, be removed. Ælianus Montaltus attributes so much to them, [2] "that he holds the rectification of them alone to be sufficient to the cure of melancholy in most patients." Many are fully cured when they have seen or heard, &c., enjoy their desires, or be secured and satisfied in their minds; Galen, the common master of them all, from whose fountain they fetch water, brags, *lib.* 1, *de san. tuend.* that he, for his part, hath cured divers of this infirmity, *solum animis ad rectum institutis*, by right settling alone of their minds.

Yea, but you will here infer, that this is excellent good indeed if it could be done; but how shall it be effected, by whom, what art, what means? *hic labor, hoc opus est.* 'Tis a natural infirmity, a most powerful adversary, all men are

viores corporis an animi. Renoldo interpret. ut parum absit à furore, rapitur à Lyceo in concionem, à concione ad mare, à mari in Siciliam, &c. [1] Ira bilem movet, sanguinem adurit, vitales spiritus accendit, mœstitia universum corpus infrigidat, calorem innatum extinguit, appetitum destruit, concoctionem impedit, corpus exsiccat, intellectum pervertit. Quamobrem hæc omnia prorsus vitanda sunt, et pro virili fugienda. [2] De mel. cap. 26, ex illis solum remedium; multi ex visis, auditis, &c., sanati sunt.

subject to passions, and melancholy above all others, as being distempered by their innate humours, abundance of choler adust, weakness of parts, outward occurrences; and how shall they be avoided? the wisest men, greatest philosophers of most excellent wit, reason, judgment, divine spirits, cannot moderate themselves in this behalf; such as are sound in body and mind, Stoics, heroes, Homer's gods, all are passionate, and furiously carried sometimes; and how shall we that are already crazed, *fracti animis*, sick in body, sick in mind, resist? we cannot perform it. You may advise and give good precepts, as who cannot? But how shall they be put in practice? I may not deny but our passions are violent, and tyrannize of us, yet there be means to curb them; though they be headstrong, they may be tamed, they may be qualified, if he himself or his friends will but use their honest endeavours, or make use of such ordinary helps as are commonly prescribed.

He himself (I say); from the patient himself the first and chiefest remedy must be had; for if he be averse, peevish, waspish, give way wholly to his passions, will not seek to be helped, or be ruled by his friends, how is it possible he should be cured? But if he be willing, at least, gentle, tractable, and desire his own good, no doubt but he may *magnam morbi deponere partem*, be eased at least, if not cured. He himself must do his utmost endeavour to resist and withstand the beginnings. *Principiis obsta*, "Give not water passage, no not a little," Ecclus. xxv. 27. If they open a little, they will make a greater breach at length. Whatsoever it is that runneth in his mind, vain conceit, be it pleasing or displeasing, which so much affects or troubleth him, [1] "by all possible means he must withstand it, expel those vain, false, frivolous imaginations, absurd conceits, feigned fears and sorrows; from which," saith Piso, "this disease primarily proceeds,

[1] Pro viribus annitendum in prædictis, tum in aliis, à quibus malum velut à primariâ causâ occasionem nactum est, imaginationes absurdæ falsæque et mœstitia quæcunque subierit propulsetur, aut aliud agendo, aut ratione persuadendo earum mutationem subitò facere.

and takes his first occasion or beginning, by doing something or other that shall be opposite unto them, thinking of something else, persuading by reason, or howsoever to make a sudden alteration of them." Though he have hitherto run in a full career, and precipitated himself, following his passions, giving reins to his appetite, let him now stop upon a sudden, curb himself in; and as [1] Lemnius adviseth, "strive against with all his power, to the utmost of his endeavour, and not cherish those fond imaginations, which so covertly creep into his mind, most pleasing and amiable at first, but bitter as gall at last, and so headstrong, that by no reason, art, counsel, or persuasion, they may be shaken off." Though he be far gone, and habituated unto such fantastical imaginations, yet as [2] Tully and Plutarch advise, let him oppose, fortify, or prepare himself against them, by premeditation, reason, or as we do by a crooked staff, bend himself another way.

> [3] "Tu tamen interea effugito quæ tristia mentem
> Solicitant, procul esse jube curasque metumque
> Pallentem, ultrices iras, sint omnia læta."
>
> "In the mean time expel them from thy mind,
> Pale fears, sad cares, and griefs which do it grind,
> Revengeful anger, pain and discontent,
> Let all thy soul be set on merriment."

Curas tolle graves, irasci crede profanum. If it be idleness hath caused this infirmity, or that he perceive himself given to solitariness, to walk alone, and please his mind with fond imaginations, let him by all means avoid it; 'tis a bosom enemy, 'tis delightful melancholy, a friend in show, but a secret devil, a sweet poison, it will in the end be his undoing; let him go presently, task or set himself a work, get some good company. If he proceed, as a gnat flies about a candle so long till at length he burn his body, so in the end he will undo himself; if it be any harsh object, ill company, let him presently go from it. If by his own default, through ill diet,

[1] Lib. 2, c. 16, de occult. nat. Quisquis huic malo obnoxius est, acriter obsistat, et summa cura obluctetur, nec ullo modo foveat imaginationes tacite obrepentes animo, blandas ab initio et amabiles, sed quæ adeo convalescunt ut nulla ratione excuti queant. [2] 3 Tusc. ad Apollonium. [3] Fracastorius.

bad air, want of exercise, &c., let him now begin to reform himself. "It would be a perfect remedy against all corruption, if," as [1] Roger Bacon hath it, "we could but moderate ourselves in those six non-natural things." [2] "If it be any disgrace, abuse, temporal loss, calumny, death of friends, imprisonment, banishment, be not troubled with it, do not fear, be not angry, grieve not at it, but with all courage sustain it." (Gordonius, *lib.* 1, *c.* 15, *de conser. vit.*) *Tu contra audentior ito.* [3] If it be sickness, ill success, or any adversity that hath caused it, oppose an invincible courage, "fortify thyself by God's word, or otherwise," *mala bonis persuadenda*, set prosperity against adversity, as we refresh our eyes by seeing some pleasant meadow, fountain, picture, or the like; recreate thy mind by some contrary object, with some more pleasing meditation divert thy thoughts.

Yea, but you infer again, *facilè consilium damus aliis*, we can easily give counsel to others; every man, as the saying is, can tame a shrew but he that hath her; *si hîc esses, aliter sentires;* if you were in our misery, you would find it otherwise, 'tis not so easily performed. We know this to be true; we should moderate ourselves, but we are furiously carried, we cannot make use of such precepts, we are overcome, sick, *malè sani*, distempered and habituated to these courses, we can make no resistance; you may as well bid him that is diseased not to feel pain, as a melancholy man not to fear, not to be sad; 'tis within his blood, his brains, his whole temperature, it cannot be removed But he may choose whether he will give way too far unto it, he may in some sort correct himself. A philosopher was bitten with a mad dog, and as the nature of that disease is to abhor all waters, and liquid things, and to think still they see the picture of a dog before

[1] Epist. de secretis artis et naturæ, cap. 7, de retard. sen. Remedium esset contra corruptionem propriam, si quilibet exerceret regimen sanitatis, quod consistit in rebus sex non naturalibus. [2] Pro aliquo vituperio non indigneris, nec pro amissione alicujus rei, pro morte alicujus, nec pro carcere, nec pro exilio, nec pro alia re, nec irascaris, nec timeas, nec doleas, sed cum summa præsentia hæc sustineas. [3] Quodsi incommoda adversitatis infortunia hoc malum invexerint, his infractum animum opponas, Dei verbo ejusque fiducia te suffulcias, &c. Lemnius, lib. 1, c. 16.

them: he went for all this, *reluctante se*, to the bath, and seeing there (as he thought) in the water the picture of a dog, with reason overcame this conceit, *quid cani cum balneo?* what should a dog do in a bath? a mere conceit. Thou thinkest thou hearest and seest devils, black men, &c., 'tis not so, 'tis thy corrupt fantasy; settle thine imagination, thou art well. Thou thinkest thou hast a great nose, thou art sick, every man observes thee, laughs thee to scorn; persuade thyself 'tis no such matter; this is fear only, and vain suspicion. Thou art discontent, thou art sad and heavy; but why? upon what ground? consider of it; thou art jealous, timorous, suspicious; for what cause? examine it thoroughly, thou shalt find none at all, or such as is to be contemned, such as thou wilt surely deride, and contemn in thyself, when it is past. Rule thyself then with reason, satisfy thyself, accustom thyself, wean thyself from such fond conceits, vain fears, strong imaginations, restless thoughts. Thou mayest do it; *Est in nobis assuescere* (as Plutarch saith), we may frame ourselves as we will. As he that useth an upright shoe, may correct the obliquity, or crookedness, by wearing it on the other side; we may overcome passions if we will. *Quicquid sibi imperavit animus obtinuit* (as [1]Seneca saith) *nulli tam feri affectus, ut non disciplinâ perdomentur*, whatsoever the will desires, she may command; no such cruel affections, but by discipline they may be tamed; voluntarily thou wilt not do this or that, which thou oughtest to do, or refrain, &c., but when thou art lashed like a dull jade, thou wilt reform it; fear of a whip will make thee do, or not do. Do that voluntarily then which thou canst do, and must do by compulsion; thou mayest refrain if thou wilt, and master thine affections. [2]"As in a city (saith Melancthon) they do by stubborn, rebellious rogues, that will not submit themselves to political judgment, compel them by force; so must we do by our affections.

[1] Lib. 2, de Ira. [2] Cap. 3, de affect. anim. Ut in civitatibus contumaces qui non cedunt politico imperio vi coercendi sunt; ita Deus nobis indidit alteram imperii formam; si cor non deponit vitiosum affectum, membra foras coercenda sunt, ne ruant in quod affectus impellat; et locomotiva, quæ herili imperio obtemperat, alteri resistat.

If the heart will not lay aside those vicious motions, and the fantasy those fond imaginations, we have another form of government to enforce and refrain our outward members, that they be not led by our passions. If appetite will not obey, let the moving faculty overrule her, let her resist and compel her to do otherwise." In an ague the appetite would drink; sore eyes that itch would be rubbed; but reason saith no, and therefore the moving faculty will not do it. Our fantasy would intrude a thousand fears, suspicions, chimeras upon us, but we have reason to resist, yet we let it be overborne by our appetite; [1] "imagination enforceth spirits, which, by an admirable league of nature, compel the nerves to obey, and they our several limbs;" we give too much way to our passions. And as to him that is sick of an ague, all things are distasteful and unpleasant, *non ex cibi vitio*, saith Plutarch, not in the meat, but in our taste: so many things are offensive to us, not of themselves, but out of our corrupt judgment, jealousy, suspicion, and the like; we pull these mischiefs upon our own heads.

If then our judgment be so depraved, our reason overruled, will precipitated, that we cannot seek our own good, or moderate ourselves, as in this disease commonly it is, the best way for ease is to impart our misery to some friend, not to smother it up in our own breast; *alitur vitium crescitque tegendo*, &c., and that which was most offensive to us, a cause of fear and grief, *quod nunc te coquit*, another hell; for [2] *strangulat inclusus dolor atque exæstuat intus*, grief concealed strangles the soul; but when as we shall but impart it to some discreet, trusty, loving friend, it is [3] instantly removed, by his counsel happily, wisdom, persuasion, advice, his good means, which we could not otherwise apply unto ourselves. A friend's counsel is a charm, like mandrake wine, *curas sopit;* and as a [4] bull that is tied to a fig-tree

[1] Imaginatio impellit spiritus, et inde nervi moventur, &c., et obtemperant imaginationi et appetitui mirabili fœdere, ad exequendum quod jubent. [2] Ovid. Trist. lib. 5. [3] Participes inde calamitatis nostræ sunt, et velut exonerata in eos sarcina onere levamur. Arist. Eth. lib. 9. [4] Camerarius, Embl. 26, cent. 2.

becomes gentle on a sudden (which some, saith [1] Plutarch, interpret of good words), so is a savage, obdurate heart mollified by fair speeches. "All adversity finds ease in complaining, (as [2] Isidore holds,) and 'tis a solace to relate it," [3] Ἀγαθὴ δὲ παραίφασίς ἐστιν ἑταῖρον. Friends' confabulations are comfortable at all times, as fire in winter, shade in summer, *quale sopor fessis in gramine*, meat and drink to him that is hungry or athirst; Democritus's collyrium is not so sovereign to the eyes as this is to the heart; good words are cheerful and powerful of themselves, but much more from friends, as so many props, mutually sustaining each other like ivy and a wall, which Camerarius hath well illustrated in an emblem. *Lenit animum simplex vel sæpè narratio*, the simple narration many times easeth our distressed mind, and in the midst of greatest extremities; so divers have been relieved, by [4] exonerating themselves to a faithful friend; he sees that which we cannot see for passion and discontent, he pacifies our minds, he will ease our pain, assuage our anger; *quanta inde voluptas, quanta securitas*, Chrysostom adds, what pleasure, what security by that means! [5] "Nothing so available, or that so much refresheth the soul of man." Tully, as I remember, in an epistle to his dear friend Atticus, much condoles the defect of such a friend. [6] "I live here (saith he) in a great city, where I have a multitude of acquaintance, but not a man of all that company with whom I dare familiarly breathe, or freely jest. Wherefore I expect thee, I desire thee, I send for thee; for there be many things which trouble and molest me, which had I but thee in presence, I could quickly disburden myself of in a walking discourse." The like, peradventure, may he and he say with that old man in the comedy,

[1] Sympos. lib. 6, cap. 10. [2] Epist. 8, lib. 3. Adversa fortuna habet in querelis levamentum; et malorum relatio, &c. [3] Alloquium chari juvat, et solamen amici. Emblem. 54, cent. 1. [4] As David did to Jonathan, 1 Sam. xx. [5] Seneca, Epist. 67. [6] Hic in civitate magna et turba magna neminem reperire possumus quocum suspirare familiariter aut jocari liberè possimus. Quare te expectamus, te desideramus, te arcessimus. Multa sunt enim quæ me solicitant et angunt, quæ mihi videor aures tuas nactus, unius ambulationis sermone exhaurire posse.

"Nemo est meorum amicorum hodie,
Apud quem expromere occulta mea audeam," [1]

and much inconvenience may both he and he suffer in the mean time by it. He or he, or whosoever then labours of this malady, by all means let him get some trusty friend, [2] *Semper habens Pylademque aliquem qui curet Orestem*, a Pylades, to whom freely and securely he may open himself. For as in all other occurrences, so it is in this, *Si quis in cœlum ascendisset*, &c., as he said in [3] Tully, if a man had gone to heaven, "seen the beauty of the skies," stars errant, fixed, &c., *insuavis erit admiratio*, it will do him no pleasure, except he have somebody to impart to what he hath seen. It is the best thing in the world, as [4] Seneca therefore adviseth in such a case, "to get a trusty friend, to whom we may freely and sincerely pour out our secrets; nothing so delighteth and easeth the mind, as when we have a prepared bosom, to which our secrets may descend, of whose conscience we are assured as our own, whose speech may ease our succourless estate, counsel relieve, mirth expel our mourning, and whose very sight may be acceptable unto us." It was the counsel which that politic [5] Commineus gave to all princes, and others distressed in mind, by occasion of Charles Duke of Burgundy, that was much perplexed, "first to pray to God, and lay himself open to him, and then to some special friend, whom we hold most dear, to tell all our grievances to him; nothing so forcible to strengthen, recreate, and heal the wounded soul of a miserable man."

[1] "I have not a single friend this day to whom I dare disclose my secrets." [2] Ovid. [3] De amicitia. [4] De tranquil. c. 7. Optimum est amicum fidelem nancisci in quem secreta nostra infundamus; nihil æquè oblectat animum, quam ubi sint præparata pectora, in quæ tutò secreta descendant, quorum conscientia æque ac tua: quorum sermo solitudinem leniat, sententia consilium expediat, hilaritas tristitiam dissipet, conspectusque ipse delectet. [5] Comment. l. 7. Ad Deum confugiamus, et peccatis veniam precemur, inde ad amicos, et cui plurimum tribuimus, nos patefaciamus totos, et animi vulnus quo affligimur: nihil ad reficiendum animum efficacius.

SUBSECT. II.—*Help from Friends by Counsel, Comfort, fair and foul Means, witty Devices, Satisfaction, Alteration of his Course of Life, removing Objects, &c.*

WHEN the patient of himself is not able to resist, or overcome these heart-eating passions, his friends or physician must be ready to supply that which is wanting. *Suæ erit humanitatis et sapientiæ* (which [1] Tully enjoineth in like case) *siquid erratum, curare, aut improvisum, suâ diligentiâ corrigere.* They must all join; *nec satis medico*, saith [2] Hippocrates, *suum fecisse officium, nisi suum quoque ægrotus, suum astantes*, &c. First, they must especially beware, a melancholy discontented person (be it in what kind of melancholy soever) never be left alone or idle; but as physicians prescribe physic, *cum custodiâ*, let them not be left unto themselves, but with some company or other, lest by that means they aggravate and increase their disease; *non oportet ægros hujusmodi esse solos vel inter ignotos, vel inter eos quos non amant aut negligunt*, as Rod. à Fonseca, *tom.* 1, *consul.* 35, prescribes. *Lugentes custodire solemus* (saith [3] Seneca) *ne solitudine malè utantur;* we watch a sorrowful person, lest he abuse his solitariness, and so should we do a melancholy man; set him about some business, exercise or recreation, which may divert his thoughts, and still keep him otherwise intent; for his fantasy is so restless, operative and quick, that if it be not in perpetual action, ever employed, it will work upon itself, melancholize, and be carried away instantly with some fear, jealousy, discontent, suspicion, some vain conceit or other. If his weakness be such that he cannot discern what is amiss, correct, or satisfy, it behooves them by counsel, comfort, or persuasion, by fair or foul means, to alienate his mind, by some artificial invention, or some contrary persuasion, to remove all objects, causes, companies, occasions, as may any ways molest him, to humour him, please him, divert him, and if it be possible, by altering his

[1] Ep. Q. frat. [2] Aphor. prim. [3] Epist. 10.

course of life, to give him security and satisfaction. If he conceal his grievances, and will not be known of them, [1] "they must observe by his looks, gestures, motions, fantasy, what it is that offends," and then to apply remedies unto him; many are instantly cured, when their minds are satisfied. [2] Alexander makes mention of a woman, "that by reason of her husband's long absence in travel, was exceeding peevish and melancholy, but when she heard her husband was returned, beyond all expectation, at the first sight of him, she was freed from all fear, without help of any other physic restored to her former health." Trincavellius, *consil.* 12, *lib.* 1, hath such a story of a Venetian, that being much troubled with melancholy, [3] "and ready to die for grief, when he heard his wife was brought to bed of a son, instantly recovered." As Alexander concludes, [4] "If our imaginations be not inveterate, by this art they may be cured, especially if they proceed from such a cause." No better way to satisfy, than to remove the object, cause, occasion, if by any art or means possible we may find it out. If he grieve, stand in fear, be in suspicion, suspense, or any way molested, secure him, *Solvitur malum*, give him satisfaction, the cure is ended; alter his course of life, there needs no other physic. If the party be sad, or otherwise affected, "consider (saith [5] Trallianus) the manner of it, all circumstances, and forthwith make a sudden alteration," by removing the occasions, avoid all terrible objects, heard or seen, [6] "monstrous and prodigious aspects," tales of devils, spirits, ghosts, tragical stories; to such as are in fear they strike a great impression, renewed many times, and recall such chimeras and terrible fictions into their mind. [7] "Make not so much as mention of them

[1] Observando motus, gestus, manus, pedes, oculos, phantasiam, Piso. [2] Mulier melancholiâ correpta ex longa viri peregrinatione, et iracundè omnibus respondens, quum maritus domum reversus, præter spem, &c. [3] Præ dolore moriturus quum nunciatum esset uxorem peperisse filium subitò recuperavit. [4] Nisi affectus longo tempore infestaverit, tali artificio imaginationes curare oportet, præsertim ubi malum ab his velut à primaria causa occasionem habuerit. [5] Lib. 1, cap. 16. Si ex tristitia aut alio affectu cœperit, speciem considera, aut aliud quid eorum, quæ subitam alterationem facere possunt. [6] Evitandi monstrifici aspectus, &c. [7] Neque enim tam actio, aut recordatio rerum hujusmodi displicet, sed

in private talk, or a dumb show tending to that purpose; such things (saith Galateus) are offensive to their imaginations." And to those that are now in sorrow, [1] Seneca "forbids all sad companions, and such as lament; a groaning companion is an enemy to quietness." [2] Or if there be any such party at whose presence the patient is not well pleased, he must be removed; gentle speeches, and fair means, must first be tried; no harsh language used, or uncomfortable words; and not expel, as some do, one madness with another; he that so doth, is madder than the patient himself;" all things must be quietly composed; *eversa non evertenda, sed erigenda*, things down must not be dejected, but reared, as Crato counselleth; [3] "he must be quietly and gently used," and we should not do anything against his mind, but by little and little effect it. As a horse that starts at a drum or trumpet, and will not endure the shooting of a piece, may be so manned by art, and animated, that he cannot only endure, but is much more generous at the hearing of such things, much more courageous than before, and much delighteth in it: they must not be reformed, *ex abrupto*, but by all art and insinuation, made to such companies, aspects, objects they could not formerly away with. Many at first cannot endure the sight of a green wound, a sick man, which afterward became good chirurgeons, bold empirics; a horse starts at a rotten post afar off, which coming near he quietly passeth. 'Tis much in the manner of making such kind of persons, be they never so averse from company, bashful, solitary, timorous, they may be made at last with those Roman matrons, to desire nothing more than in a public show, to see a full company of gladiators breathe out their last.

If they may not otherwise be accustomed to brook such distasteful and displeasing objects, the best way then is gen-

iis vel gestus alterius Imaginationi adumbrare, vehementer molestum. Galat. de mor. cap. 7. [1] Tranquil. Præcipue vitentur tristes, et omnia deplorantes; tranquillitati inimicus est comes perturbatus, omnia gemens. [2] Illorum quoque hominum, à quorum consortio abhorrent, præsentia amovenda, nec sermonibus ingratis obtundendi; si quis insaniam ab insania sic curari æstimet, et protervè utitur, magis quam æger insanit. Crato, consil. 184, Scoltzii. [3] Molliter ac suaviter æger tractetur, nec ad ea adigatur quæ non curat.

erally to avoid them. Montanus, *consil.* 229, to the Earl of Montfort, a courtier, and his melancholy patient, adviseth him to leave the court, by reason of those continual discontents, crosses, abuses, [1] "cares, suspicions, emulations, ambition, anger, jealousy, which that place afforded, and which surely caused him to be so melancholy at the first;" *Maxima quæque domus servis est plena superbis;* a company of scoffers and proud jacks are commonly conversant and attendant in such places, and able to make any man that is of a soft, quiet disposition (as many times they do) *ex stulto insanum*, if once they humour him, a very idiot, or stark mad. A thing too much practised in all common societies, and they have no better sport than to make themselves merry by abusing some silly fellow, or to take advantage of another man's weakness. In such cases as in a plague, the best remedy is *citò, longè, tardè;* (for to such a party, especially if he be apprehensive, there can be no greater misery,) to get him quickly gone far enough off, and not to be over-hasty in his return. If he be so stupid that he do not apprehend it, his friends should take some order, and by their discretion supply that which is wanting in him, as in all other cases they ought to do. If they see a man melancholy given, solitary, averse from company, please himself with such private and vain meditations, though he delight in it, they ought by all means seek to divert him, to dehort him, to tell him of the event and danger that may come of it. If they see a man idle, that by reason of his means otherwise will betake himself to no course of life, they ought seriously to admonish him, he makes a noose to entangle himself, his want of employment will be his undoing. If he have sustained any great loss, suffered a repulse, disgrace, &c., if it be possible, relieve him. If he desire aught, let him be satisfied; if in suspense, fear, suspicion, let him be secured; and if it may conveniently be, give him his heart's content; for the body cannot be cured

[1] Ob suspiciones, curas, æmulationem, ambitionem, iras, &c., quas locus ille ministrat, et quæ fecissent melancholicum.

till the mind be satisfied. [1] Socrates, in Plato, would prescribe no physic for Charmides's headache, "till first he had eased his troubled mind; body and soul must be cured together, as head and eyes."

> [2] "Oculum non curabis sine toto capite,
> Nec caput sine toto corpore,
> Nec totum corpus sine anima."

If that may not be hoped or expected, yet ease him with comfort, cheerful speeches, fair promises, and good words, persuade him, advise him. "Many," saith [3] Galen, "have been cured by good counsel and persuasion alone." "Heaviness of the heart of man doth bring it down, but a good word rejoiceth it," Prov. xii. 25. "And there is he that speaketh words like the pricking of a sword, but the tongue of a wise man is health," ver. 18. *Oratio namque saucii animi est remedium*, a gentle speech is the true cure of a wounded soul, as [4] Plutarch contends out of Æschylus and Euripides: "if it be wisely administered it easeth grief and pain, as diverse remedies do many other diseases." 'Tis *incantationis instar*, a charm, *æstuantis animi refrigerium*, that true Nepenthe of Homer, which was no Indian plant, or feigned medicine, which Epidamna, Thonis's wife, sent Helena for a token, as Macrobius, 7 *Saturnal.*, Goropius Hermat. *lib.* 9, Greg. Nazianzen, and others suppose, but opportunity of speech; for Helena's bowl, Medea's unction, Venus's girdle, Circe's cup, cannot so enchant, so forcibly move or alter as it doth. A letter sent or read will do as much; *multum allevor quum tuas literas lego*, I am much eased, as [5] Tully wrote to Pomponius Atticus, when I read thy letters, and as Julianus the Apostate once signified to Maximus the philosopher; as Alexander slept with Homer's works, so do I with thine epistles, *tanquam Pæoniis medicamentis, easque assiduè tanquam recentes et*

[1] Nisi prius animum turbatissimum curâsset; oculi sine capite, nec corpus sine animâ curari potest. [2] E Græco. "You shall not cure the eye, unless you cure the whole head also; nor the head, unless the whole body; nor the whole body, unless the soul besides." [3] Et nos non paucos sanavimus, animi motibus ad debitum revocatis, lib. 1, de sanit. tuend. [4] Consol. ad Apollonium. Si quis sapienter et suo tempore adhibeat, Remedia morbis diversis diversa sunt; dolentem sermo benignus sublevat. [5] Lib. 12, Epist.

novas iteramus; scribe ergo, et assiduè scribe, or else come thyself; *amicus ad amicum venies.* Assuredly a wise and well-spoken man may do what he will in such a case; a good orator alone, as [1] Tully holds, can alter affections by power of his eloquence, "comfort such as are afflicted, erect such as are depressed, expel and mitigate fear, lust, anger," &c. And how powerful is the charm of a discreet and dear friend? *Ille regit dictis animos et temperat iras.* What may not he effect? As [2] Chremes told Menedemus, "Fear not, conceal it not, O friend! but tell me what it is that troubles thee, and I shall surely help thee by comfort, counsel, or in the matter itself." [3] Arnoldus, *lib.* 1, *breviar. cap.* 18, speaks of a usurer in his time, that upon a loss, much melancholy and discontent, was so cured. As imagination, fear, grief, cause such passions, so conceits alone, rectified by good hope, counsel, &c., are able again to help; and 'tis incredible how much they can do in such a case, as [4] Trincavellius illustrates by an example of a patient of his; Porphyrius, the philosopher, in Plotinus's life (written by him), relates, that being in a discontented humour through insufferable anguish of mind, he was going to make away himself; but meeting by chance his master Plotinus, who perceiving by his distracted looks all was not well, urged him to confess his grief; which when he had heard, he used such comfortable speeches, that he redeemed him *è faucibus Erebi*, pacified his unquiet mind, insomuch that he was easily reconciled to himself, and much abashed to think afterwards that he should ever entertain so vile a motion. By all means, therefore, fair promises, good words, gentle persuasions, are to be used, not to be too rigorous at first, [5] "or to insult over them, not to deride, neglect, or contemn, but rather," as Lemnius exhorteth, "to pity, and by all plausible means to seek to redress them;" but if satis-

[1] De nat. deorum, consolatur afflictos, deducit perterritos à timore, cupiditates imprimis, et iracundias comprimit. [2] Heauton. Act. 1, Scen. 1. Ne metue, ne verere, crede inquam mihi, aut consolando, aut consilio, aut re juvero. [3] Novi fœneratorem avarum apud meos sic curatum, qui multam pecuniam amiserat. [4] Lib. 1, consil. 12. Incredibile dictu quantum juvent. [5] Nemo istiusmodi conditionis hominibus insultet, aut in illos sit severior, verum miseriæ potius indolescat, vicemque deploret. lib. 2, cap. 16.

faction may not be had, mild courses, promises, comfortable speeches, and good counsel will not take place; then as Christophorus à Vega determines, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 14, *de Mel.* to handle them more roughly, to threaten and chide, saith [1]Altomarus, terrify sometimes, or as Salvianus will have them, to be lashed and whipped, as we do by a starting horse, [2] that is affrighted without a cause, or as [3] Rhasis adviseth, "one while to speak fair and flatter, another while to terrify and chide, as they shall see cause."

When none of these precedent remedies will avail, it will not be amiss, which Savanarola and Ælian Montaltus so much commend, *clavum clavo pellere*, [4] "to drive out one passion with another, or by some contrary passion," as they do bleeding at nose by letting blood in the arm, to expel one fear with another, one grief with another. [5] Christophorus à Vega accounts it rational physic, *non alienum à ratione;* and Lemnius much approves it, "to use a hard wedge to a hard knot," to drive out one disease with another, to pull out a tooth, or wound him, to geld him, saith [6] Platerus, as they did epileptical patients of old, because it quite alters the temperature, that the pain of the one may mitigate the grief of the other; [7] "and I knew one that was so cured of a quartan ague, by the sudden coming of his enemies upon him." If we may believe [8] Pliny, whom Scaliger calls *mendaciorum patrem*, the father of lies, Q. Fabius Maximus, that renowned consul of Rome, in a battle fought with the king of the Allobroges, at the river Isaurus, was so rid of a quartan ague. Valesius, in his controversies, holds this an excellent remedy, and if it be discreetly used in this malady, better than any physic.

[1] Cap. 7 Idem Piso Laurentius, cap. 8. [2] Quod timet nihil est, ubi cogitur et videt. [3] Una vice blandiantur, una vice iisdem terrorem incutiant. [4] Si vero fuerit ex novo malo audito, vel ex animi accidente, aut de amissione mercium, aut morte amici, introducantur nova contraria his quæ ipsum ad gaudia moveant; de hoc semper niti debemus, &c. [5] Lib. 3, cap. 14. [6] Cap. 3. Castratio olim à veteribus usa in morbis desperatis, &c. [7] Lib. 1, cap. 5, sic morbum morbo, ut clavum clavo, retundimus, et malo nodo malum cuneum adhibemus. Novi ego qui ex subito hostium incursu et inopi nato timore quartanam depulerat. [8] Lib. 7, cap. 50. In acie pugnans febre quartana liberatus est.

Sometimes again by some [1] feigned lie, strange news, witty device, artificial invention, it is not amiss to deceive them. [2] "As they hate those," saith Alexander, "that neglect or deride, so they will give ear to such as will soothe them up. If they say they have swallowed frogs or a snake, by all means grant it, and tell them you can easily cure it; 'tis an ordinary thing. Philodotus, the physician, cured a melancholy king, that thought his head was off, by putting a leaden cap thereon; the weight made him perceive it, and freed him of his fond imagination. A woman, in the said Alexander, swallowed a serpent as she thought; he gave her a vomit, and conveyed a serpent, such as she conceived, into the basin; upon the sight of it she was amended. The pleasantest dotage that ever I read, saith [3] Laurentius, was of a gentleman at Senes in Italy, who was afraid to piss, lest all the town should be drowned; the physicians caused the bells to be rung backward, and told him the town was on fire, whereupon he made water, and was immediately cured. Another supposed his nose so big, that he should dash it against the wall if he stirred; his physician took a great piece of flesh, and holding it in his hand, pinched him by the nose, making him believe that flesh was cut from it. Forestus, *obs. lib.* 1, had a melancholy patient, who thought he was dead, [4] "he put a fellow in a chest, like a dead man, by his bedside, and made him rear himself a little, and eat; the melancholy man asked the counterfeit, whether dead men use to eat meat? He told him yea; whereupon he did eat likewise and was cured." Lemnius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 6, *de* 4 *complex.* hath many such instances, and Jovianus Pontanus, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 2, of Wisd. of the like; but amongst the rest I find one most memorable, registered in the [5] French chronicles of an advocate of Paris before mentioned, who believed verily he was

[1] Jacchinus, c. 15, in 9 Rhasis, Mont. cap. 26. [2] Lib. 1, cap. 16, aversantur eos qui eorum affectus rident, contemnunt. Si ranas et viperas comedisse se putant, concedere debemus, et spem de cura facere. [3] Cap. 8, de mel. [4] Cistam posuit ex Medicorum consilio prope eum, in quem alium se mortuum fingentem posuit; hic in cista jacens, &c. [5] Serres. 1550.

dead, &c. I read a multitude of examples of melancholy men cured by such artificial inventions.

Subsect. III.—*Music a Remedy.*

Many and sundry are the means which philosophers and physicians have prescribed to exhilarate a sorrowful heart, to divert those fixed and intent cares and meditations, which in this malady so much offend; but in my judgment none so present, none so powerful, none so apposite as a cup of strong drink, mirth, music, and merry company. Ecclus. xl. 20. "Wine and music rejoice the heart." [1] Rhasis, *cont.* 9, *Tract.* 15, Altomarus, *cap.* 7, Ælianus Montaltus, *c.* 26, Ficinus, Bened. Victor. Faventinus are almost immoderate in the commendation of it; a most forcible medicine [2] Jacchinus calls it; Jason Pratensis, "a most admirable thing, and worthy of consideration, that can so mollify the mind, and stay those tempestuous affections of it." *Musica est mentis medicina mœstæ*, a roaring-meg against melancholy, to rear and revive the languishing soul; [3] "affecting not only the ears, but the very arteries, the vital and animal spirits, it erects the mind, and makes it nimble." Lemnius, *instit. cap.* 44. This it will effect in the most dull, severe and sorrowful souls, [4] "expel grief with mirth, and if there be any clouds, dust, or dregs of cares yet lurking in our thoughts, most powerfully it wipes them all away," Salisbur. *polit. lib.* 1, *cap.* 6, and that which is more, it will perform all this in an instant; [5] "Cheer up the countenance, expel austerity, bring in hilarity (Girald. *Camb. cap.* 12, *Topog. Hiber.*), inform our manners, mitigate anger;" Athenæus (*Dipnosophist. lib.* 14, *cap.* 10,) calleth it an infinite treasure to such as are endowed with it; *Dulcisonum reficit tristia*

[1] In 9 Rhasis. Magnam vim habet musica. [2] Cap. de Mania. Admiranda profectò res est, et digna expensione, quod sonorum concinnitas mentem emolliat, sistatque procellosas ipsius affectiones. [3] Languens animus inde erigitur et reviviscit, nec tam aures afficit, sed et sonitu per arterias undique diffuso, spiritus tum vitales tum animales excitat, mentem reddens agilem, &c. [4] Musica venustate sua mentes severiores capit, &c. [5] Animos tristes subitò exhilarat, nubilos vultus serenat, austeritatem reponit, jucunditatem exponit, barbariemque facit deponere gentes, mores instituit, iracundiam mitigat.

corda melos, Eobanus Hessus. Many other properties [1] Cassiodorus, *epist.* 4, reckons up of this our divine music, not only to expel the greatest griefs, but "it doth extenuate fears and furies, appeaseth cruelty, abateth heaviness, and to such as are watchful it causeth quiet rest; it takes away spleen and hatred," be it instrumental, vocal, with strings, wind, [2] *Quæ à spiritu, sine manuum dexteritate gubernetur*, &c., it cures all irksomeness and heaviness of the soul. [3] Labouring men that sing to their work, can tell as much, and so can soldiers when they go to fight, whom terror of death cannot so much affright as the sound of trumpet, drum, fife, and such like music animates; *metus enim mortis*, as [4] Censorinus informeth us, *musicâ depellitur*. "It makes a child quiet," the nurse's song, and many times the sound of a trumpet on a sudden, bells ringing, a carman's whistle, a boy singing some ballad tune early in the street, alters, revives, recreates a restless patient that cannot sleep in the night, &c. In a word, it is so powerful a thing that it ravisheth the soul, *regina sensuum*, the queen of the senses, by sweet pleasure (which is a happy cure), and corporal tunes pacify our incorporeal soul, *sine ore loquens, dominatum in animam exercet*, and carries it beyond itself, helps, elevates, extends it. Scaliger, *exercit.* 302, gives a reason of those effects, [5] "because the spirits about the heart take in that trembling and dancing air into the body, are moved together, and stirred up with it," or else the mind, as some suppose harmonically composed, is roused up at the tunes of music. And 'tis not only men that are so affected, but almost all other creatures. You know the tale of Hercules Gallus, Orpheus, and Amphion, *fælices animas*. Ovid calls them, that could *saxa movere sono testudinis*, &c., make stocks and stones, as well as beasts and other animals dance after their pipes; the dog and hare, wolf and lamb; *vicinumque lupo præbuit agna*

[1] Cithara tristitiam jucundat, timidos furores attenuat, cruentam sævitiam blande reficit, languorem, &c. [2] Pet. Aretine. [3] Castilio, de aulic. lib. 1, fol. 27. [4] Lib. de Natali, cap. 12. [5] Quod spiritus qui in corde agitant tremulum et subsaltantem recipiunt aërem in pectus, et inde excitantur, à spiritu musculi moventur, &c.

latus; clamosus graculus, stridula cornix, et Jovis aquila, as Philostratus describes it in his images, stood all gaping upon Orpheus; and [1] trees pulled up by the roots came to hear him, *Et comitem quercum pinus amica trahit.*

Arion made fishes follow him, which, as common experience evinceth, [2] are much affected with music. All singing birds are much pleased with it, especially nightingales, if we may believe Calcagninus; and bees amongst the rest, though they be flying away, when they hear any tingling sound, will tarry behind. [3] "Harts, hinds, horses, dogs, bears, are exceedingly delighted with it." Scal. *exerc.* 302. Elephants, Agrippa adds, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 24, and in Lydia in the midst of a lake there be certain floating islands (if ye will believe it), that after music will dance.

But to leave all declamatory speeches in praise [4] of divine music, I will confine myself to my proper subject: besides that excellent power it hath to expel many other diseases, it is a sovereign remedy against [5] despair and melancholy, and will drive away the devil himself. Canus, a Rhodian fiddler, in [6] Philostratus, when Apollonius was inquisitive to know what he could do with his pipe, told him, "That he would make a melancholy man merry, and him that was merry much merrier than before, a lover more enamoured, a religious man more devout." Ismenias the Theban, [7] Chiron the centaur, is said to have cured this and many other diseases by music alone; as now they do those, saith [8] Bodine, that are troubled with St. Vitus's Bedlam dance. [9] Timotheus, the musician, compelled Alexander to skip up and down, and leave his dinner (like the tale of the Friar and the Boy), whom Austin, *de civ. Dei*, *lib.* 17, *cap.* 14, so much com-

[1] Arbores radicibus avulsæ, &c. [2] M. Carew of Anthony, in descript. Cornwall, saith of whales, that they will come and show themselves dancing at the sound of a trumpet, fol. 35, 1, et fol. 154, 2 book. [3] De cervo, equo, cane, urso idem compertum; musica afficiuntur. [4] Numen inest numeris. [5] Sæpe graves morbos modulatum carmen abegit, Et desperatis conciliavit opem. [6] Lib. 5, cap. 7. Mœrentibus mœrorem adimam, lætantem vero seipso reddam hilariorem, amantem calidiorem, religiosum divino numine correptum, et ad Deos colendos paratiorem. [7] Natalis Comes Myth. lib. 4, cap. 12. [8] Lib. 5, de rep. Curat Musica furorem Sancti Viti. [9] Exilire è convivio, Cardan, subtil. lib. 13.

mends for it. Who hath not heard how David's harmony drove away the evil spirits from King Saul, 1 Sam. xvi. and Elisha, when he was much troubled by importunate kings, called for a minstrel, "and when he played, the hand of the Lord came upon him," 2 Kings iii.? Censorinus, *de natali*, *cap.* 12, reports how Asclepiades the physician helped many frantic persons by this means, *phreneticorum mentes morbo turbatas*—Jason Pratensis, *cap. de Maniâ*, hath many examples, how Clinias and Empedocles cured some desperately melancholy, and some mad, by this our music. Which because it hath such excellent virtues, belike [1] Homer brings in Phemius playing, and the Muses singing at the banquet of the gods. Aristotle, *Polit. l.* 8, *c.* 5, Plato, 2, *de legibus*, highly approve it, and so do all politicians. The Greeks, Romans, have graced music, and made it one of the liberal sciences, though it be now become mercenary. All civil Commonwealths allow it; Cneius Manlius (as [2] Livius relates) anno *ab urb. cond.* 567, brought first out of Asia to Rome singing wenches, players, jesters, and all kind of music to their feasts. Your princes, emperors, and persons of any quality, maintain it in their courts; no mirth without music. Sir Thomas More, in his absolute Utopian commonwealth, allows music as an appendix to every meal, and that throughout, to all sorts. Epictetus calls *mensam mutam præsepe*, a table without music a manger; for "the concert of musicians at a banquet, is a carbuncle set in gold; and as the signet of an emerald well trimmed with gold, so is the melody of music in a pleasant banquet." Ecclus. xxxii. 5, 6. [3] Louis the Eleventh, when he invited Edward the Fourth to come to Paris, told him that as a principal part of his entertainment, he should hear sweet voices of children, Ionic and Lydian tunes, exquisite music, he should have a——, and the cardinal of Bourbon to be his confessor, which he used as a most plausible argument; as to a sensual man indeed it

[1] Iliad. 1. [2] Libro 9, cap. 1. Psaltrias, sambucistriasque, et convivalia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis ex Asia invexit in urbem. [3] Comineus.

is. [1] Lucian in his book, *de saltatione*, is not ashamed to confess that he took infinite delight in singing, dancing, music, women's company, and such like pleasures; "and if thou (saith he) didst but hear them play and dance, I know thou wouldst be so well pleased with the object, that thou wouldst dance for company thyself, without doubt thou wilt be taken with it." So Scaliger ingenuously confesseth, *exercit.* 274. [2] "I am beyond all measure affected with music, I do most willingly behold them dance, I am mightily detained and allured with that grace and comeliness of fair women, I am well pleased to be idle amongst them." And what young man is not? As it is acceptable and conducing to most, so especially to a melancholy man. Provided always, his disease proceed not originally from it, that he be not some light *inamorato*, some idle fantastic, who capers in conceit all the day long, and thinks of nothing else, but how to make jigs, sonnets, madrigals, in commendation of his mistress. In such cases music is most pernicious, as a spur to a free horse will make him run himself blind, or break his wind; *Incitamentum enim amoris musica*, for music enchants, as Menander holds, it will make such melancholy persons mad, and the sound of those jigs and hornpipes will not be removed out of the ears a week after. [3] Plato for this reason forbids music and wine to all young men, because they are most part amorous, *ne ignis addatur igni*, lest one fire increase another. Many men are melancholy by hearing music, but it is a pleasing melancholy that it causeth; and therefore to such as are discontent, in woe, fear, sorrow, or dejected, it is a most present remedy; it expels cares, alters their grieved minds, and easeth in an instant. Otherwise, saith [4] Plutarch, *Musica magis dementat quàm vinum;* music makes some men mad as a tiger; like Astolphos's horn in Ariosto; or Mercury's golden wand in Homer, that made

[1] Ista libenter et magnâ cum voluptate spectare soleo. Et scio te illecebris hisce captum iri et insuper tripudiaturum, haud dubiè demulcebere. [2] In musicis supra omnem fidem capior et oblector; choreas libentissimè aspicio, pulchrarum fœminarum venustate detineor, otiari inter has solutus curis possum. [3] 3, De legibus. [4] Sympos. quæst. 5. Musica multos magis dementat quam vinum.

some wake, others sleep, it hath divers effects; and [1] Theophrastus right well prophesied, that diseases were either procured by music or mitigated.

Subsect. IV.—*Mirth and merry Company, fair Objects, Remedies.*

Mirth and merry company may not be separated from music, both concerning and necessarily required in this business. "Mirth" (saith [2] Vives) "purgeth the blood, confirms health, causeth a fresh, pleasing and fine colour," prorogues life, whets the wit, makes the body young, lively and fit for any manner of employment. The merrier the heart the longer the life; "A merry heart is the life of the flesh," Prov. xiv. 30. "Gladness prolongs his days," Ecclus. xxx. 22; and this is one of the three Salernitan doctors, Dr. Merryman, Dr. Diet, Dr. Quiet, [3] which cure all diseases——*Mens hilaris, requies, moderata dieta.* [4] *Gomesius, præfat. lib.* 3, *de sal. gen.* is a great magnifier of honest mirth, by which (saith he) "we cure many passions of the mind in ourselves, and in our friends;" which [5] Galateus assigns for a cause why we love merry companions; and well they deserve it, being that as [6] Magninus holds, a merry companion is better than any music, and as the saying is, *comes jucundus in viâ pro vehiculo*, as a wagon to him that is wearied on the way. *Jucunda confabulatio, sales, joci*, pleasant discourse, jests, conceits, merry tales, *melliti verborum globuli*, as Petronius, [7] Pliny, [8] Spondanus, [9] Cælius, and many good authors plead, are that sole Nepenthes of Homer, Helena's bowl, Venus's girdle, so renowned of old [10] to expel grief and care, to cause

[1] Animi morbi vel à musicâ curantur vel inferuntur. [2] Lib. 3, de animâ. Lætitia purgat sanguinem, valetudinem conservat, colorem inducit florentem, nitidum, gratum. [3] Spiritus temperat, calorem excitat, naturalem virtutem corroborat, juvenile corpus diu servat, vitam prorogat, ingenium acuit, et hominem negotiis quibuslibet aptiorem reddit. Schola Salern. [4] Dum contumeliâ vacant et festiva lenitate mordent, mediocres animi ægritudines sanari solent, &c. [5] De mor. fol. 57. Amamus ideo eos qui sunt faceti et jucundi. [6] Regim. sanit. part. 2. Nota quod amicus bonus et dilectus socius, narrationibus suis jucundis superat omnem melodiam. [7] Lib. 21, cap. 27. [8] Comment. in 4 Odyss. [9] Lib. 26, c. 15. [10] Homericum illud Nepenthes quod mœrorem tollit, et cuthimiam, et hilaritatem parit.

mirth and gladness of heart, if they be rightly understood, or seasonably applied. In a word,

> [1]" Amor, voluptas, Venus, gaudium,
> Jocus, ludus, sermo suavis, suaviatio,"
>
> " Gratification, pleasure, love, joy,
> Mirth, sport, pleasant words and no alloy,"

are the true Nepenthes. For these causes our physicians generally prescribe this as a principal engine to batter the walls of melancholy, a chief antidote, and a sufficient cure of itself. " By all means (saith [2]Mesue) procure mirth to these men in such things as are heard, seen, tasted or smelled, or any way perceived, and let them have all enticements and fair promises, the sight of excellent beauties, attires, ornaments, delightsome passages to distract their minds from fear and sorrow, and such things on which they are so fixed and intent. [3]Let them use hunting, sports, plays, jests, merry company," as Rhasis prescribes, " which will not let the mind be molested, a cup of good drink now and then, hear music, and have such companions with whom they are especially delighted; [4]merry tales or toys, drinking, singing, dancing, and whatsoever else may procure mirth;" and by no means, saith Guianerius, suffer them to be alone. Benedictus Victorius Faventinus, in his empirics, accounts it an especial remedy against melancholy, [5]" to hear and see singing, dancing, maskers, mummers, to converse with such merry fellows and fair maids." " For the beauty of a woman cheereth the countenance," Ecclus. xxxvi. 22. [6]Beauty alone is a sovereign remedy against fear, grief, and all melancholy fits; a charm, as Peter de la Seine and many other writers affirm,

[1] Plaut. Bacch. [2] De ægritud. capitis. Omni modo generet lætitiam in iis, de iis quæ audiuntur et videntur, aut odorantur, aut gustantur, aut quocunque modo sentiri possunt, et aspectu formarum multi decoris et ornatûs, et negotiatione jucundâ, et blandientibus ludis, et promissis distrahantur eorum animi, de re aliqua quam timent et dolent. [3] Utantur venationibus, ludis, jocis, amicorum consortiis, quæ non sinunt animum turbari, vino et cantu et loci mutatione, et biberia, et gaudio, ex quibus præcipue delectantur. [4] Piso, ex fabulis et ludis quærenda delectatio. His versetur qui maximè grati sunt, cantus et chorea ad lætitiam prosunt. [5] Præcipue valet ad expellendam melancholiam stare in cantibus, ludis, et sonis, et habitare cum familiaribus, et præcipue cum puellis jucundis. [6] Par. 5, de avocamentis, lib. de absolvendo luctu.

a banquet itself; he gives instance in discontented Menelaus, that was so often freed by Helena's fair face; and [1] Tully, 3 *Tusc.* cites Epicurus as a chief patron of this tenet. To expel grief, and procure pleasure, sweet smells, good diet, touch, taste, embracing, singing, dancing, sports, plays, and above the rest, exquisite beauties, *quibus oculi jucundè moventur et animi*, are most powerful means, *obvia forma*, to meet or see a fair maid pass by, or to be in company with her. He found it by experience, and made good use of it in his own person, if Plutarch belie him not; for he reckons up the names of some more elegant pieces; [2] Leontia, Boedina, Hedieia, Nicedia, that were frequently seen in Epicurus's garden, and very familiar in his house. Neither did he try it himself alone, but if we may give credit to [3] Athenæus, he practised it upon others. For when a sad and sick patient was brought unto him to be cured, "he laid him on a down bed, crowned him with a garland of sweet-smelling flowers, in a fair perfumed closet delicately set out, and after a portion or two of good drink, which he administered, he brought in a beautiful young [4] wench that could play upon a lute, sing, and dance," &c., Tully, 3 *Tusc.* scoffs at Epicurus, for this his profane physic (as well he deserved), and yet Phavorinus and Stobæus highly approve of it; most of our looser physicians in some cases, to such parties especially, allow of this; and all of them will have a melancholy, sad, and discontented person, make frequent use of honest sports, companies, and recreations, *et incitandos ad Venerem*, as [5] Rodericus à Fonseca will, *aspectu et contactu pulcherrimarum fœminarum*, to be drawn to such consorts whether they will or no. Not to be an auditor only, or a spectator, but sometimes an actor himself. *Dulce est desipere in loco*, to play the fool now and then is not amiss, there is a time for all things. Grave Socrates would be merry by fits, sing, dance, and take his liquor

[1] Corporum complexus, cantus, ludi, formæ, &c. [2] Circa hortos Epicuri frequentes. [3] Dipnosoph. lib. 10. Coronavit florido serto incendens odores, in culcitra plumea collocavit dulciculam potionem propinans, psaltriam adduxit, &c. [4] Ut reclinatâ suaviter in lectum puellâ, &c. [5] Tom. 2, consult. 85.

too, or else Theodoret belies him; so would old Cato, [1] Tully by his own confession, and the rest. Xenophon, in his *Sympos.* brings in Socrates as a principal actor, no man merrier than himself, and sometimes he would [2] "ride a cockhorse with his children,"——*equitare in arundine longâ* (though Alcibiades scoffed at him for it), and well he might; for now and then (saith Plutarch) the most virtuous, honest, and gravest men will use feasts, jests, and toys, as we do sauce to our meats. So did Scipio and Lælius,

> [3] "Qui ubi se a vulgo et scena in secreta remôrant,
> Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Læli,
> Nugari cum illo, et discincti ludere, donec
> Decoqueretur olus, soliti"
>
> "Valorous Scipio and gentle Lælius,
> Removed from the scene and rout so clamorous,
> Were wont to recreate themselves their robes laid by
> Whilst supper by the cook was making ready."

Machiavel, in the eighth book of his Florentine history, gives this note of Cosmo de' Medici, the wisest and gravest man of his time in Italy, that he would [4] "now and then play the most egregious fool in his carriage, and was so much given to jesters, players, and childish sports, to make himself merry, that he that should but consider his gravity on the one part, his folly and lightness on the other, would surely say, there were two distinct persons in him." Now methinks he did well in it, though [5] Salisburiensis be of opinion, that magistrates, senators, and grave men, should not descend to lighter sports, *ne respublica ludere videatur;* but as Themistocles, still keep a stern and constant carriage. I commend Cosmo de' Medici and Castruccius Castrucanus, than whom Italy never knew a worthier captain, another Alexander, if [6] Machiavel do not deceive us in his life: "when a friend of his reprehended him for dancing beside his dignity" (belike at

[1] Epist. Fam. lib. 7, 22 epist. Heri demum bene potus, seroque redieram. [2] Valer. Max. cap. 8, lib. 8. Interpositâ arundine cruribus suis, cum filiis ludens, ab Alcibiade risus est. [3] Hor. [4] Hominibus facetis, et ludis puerilibus ultra modum deditus, adeo ut si cui in eo tam gravitatem quam levitatem considerare liberet, duas personas distinctas in eo esse diceret. [5] De nugis curial. lib. 1, cap. 4. Magistratus et viri graves, à ludis levioribus arcendi. [6] Machiavel, vita ejus. Ab amico reprehensus, quod præter dignitatem tripudiis operam daret, respondet, &c.

some cushion dance), he told him again, *qui sapit interdiu, vix unquam noctu desipit*, he that is wise in the day may dote a little in the night. Paulus Jovius relates as much of Pope Leo Decimus, that he was a grave, discreet, staid man, yet sometimes most free, and too open in his sports. And 'tis not altogether [1] unfit or misbeseeming the gravity of such a man, if that decorum of time, place, and such circumstances be observed. [2] *Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem;* and as [3] he said in an epigram to his wife, I would have every man say to himself, or to his friend,

> " Moll, once in pleasant company by chance,
> I wished that you for company would dance:
> Which you refused, and said, your years require,
> Now, matron-like, both manners and attire.
> Well, Moll, if needs you will be matron-like,
> Then trust to this, I will thee matron like:
> Yet so to you my love may never lessen,
> As you for church, house, bed, observe this lesson:
> Sit in the church as solemn as a saint,
> No deed, word, thought, your due devotion taint.
> Veil, if you will, your head, your soul reveal
> To him that only wounded souls can heal:
> Be in my house as busy as a bee,
> Having a sting for every one but me;
> Buzzing in every corner, gath'ring honey:
> Let nothing waste, that costs or yieldeth money.
> [4] And when thou seest my heart to mirth incline,
> Thy tongue, wit, blood, warm with good cheer and wine:
> Then of sweet sports let no occasion 'scape,
> But be as wanton, toying as an ape."

Those old [5] Greeks had their Lubentiam Deam, goddess of pleasure, and the Lacedemonians, instructed from Lycurgus, did *Deo Risui sacrificare*, after their wars especially, and in times of peace, which was used in Thessaly, as it appears by that of [6] Apuleius, who was made an instrument of their laughter himself: [7] " Because laughter and merriment was to season their labours and modester life." [8] *Risus enim divum*

[1] There is a time for all things, to weep, laugh, mourn, dance, Eccles. iii. 4.
[2] Hor. [3] Sir John Harrington, Epigr. 50.
[4] Lucretia toto sis licet usque die, Thaida nocte volo. [5] Lil. Giraldus, hist. deor. Syntag. 1. [6] Lib. 2, de aur. as.
[7] Eo quod risus esset laboris et modesti victûs condimentum. [8] Calcag. epig.

atque hominum est æterna voluptas. Princes use jesters, players, and have those masters of revels in their courts. The Romans at every supper (for they had no solemn dinner) used music, gladiators, jesters, &c., as [1] Suetonius relates of Tiberius, Dion of Commodus, and so did the Greeks. Besides music, in Xenophon's *Sympos. Philippus ridendi artifex*, Philip, a jester, was brought to make sport. Paulus Jovius, in the eleventh book of his history, hath a pretty digression of our English customs, which howsoever some may misconstrue, I, for my part, will interpret to the best. [2] "The whole nation beyond all other mortal men, is most given to banqueting and feasts; for they prolong them many hours together, with dainty cheer, exquisite music, and facete jesters, and afterwards they fall a dancing and courting their mistresses, till it be late in the night." Volateran gives the same testimony of this island, commending our jovial manner of entertainment and good mirth, and methinks he saith well, there is no harm in it; long may they use it, and all such modest sports. Ctesias reports of a Persian king, that had one hundred and fifty maids attending at his table, to play, sing, and dance by turns; and [3] Lil. Geraldus of an Egyptian prince, that kept nine virgins still to wait upon him, and those of most excellent feature, and sweet voices, which afterwards gave occasion to the Greeks of that fiction of the nine Muses. The king of Æthiopia in Africa, most of our Asiatic princes have done so and do; those Sophies, Mogors, Turks, &c., solace themselves after supper amongst their queens and concubines, *quæ jucundioris oblectamenti causa* ([4] saith mine author) *coram rege psallere et saltare consueverant*, taking great pleasure to see and hear them sing and dance. This and many such means to exhilarate the heart of men, have been still practised in all ages, as knowing there is no better

[1] Cap. 61. In deliciis habuit scurras et adulatores. [2] Universa gens supra mortales cæteros conviviorum studiosissima. Ea enim per varias et exquisitas dapes, interpositis musicis et joculatoribus, in multas sæpius horas extrahunt, ac subinde productis choreis et amoribus fœminarum indulgent, &c. [3] Syntag. de Musis. [4] Athenæus, lib. 12 et 14, assiduis mulierum vocibus, cantuque symphoniæ Palatium Persarum regis totum personabat. Jovius, hist. lib. 18.

thing to the preservation of man's life. What shall I say then, but to every melancholy man,

> [1] "Utere convivis, non tristibus utere amicis,
> Quos nugæ et risus, et joca salsa juvant."
>
> "Feast often, and use friends not still so sad,
> Whose jests and merriments may make thee glad."

Use honest and chaste sports, scenical shows, plays, games; [2] *Accedant juvenumque Chori, mistæque puellæ.* And as Marsilius Ficinus concludes an epistle to Bernard Canisianus, and some other of his friends, will I this tract to all good students, [3] "Live merrily, O my friends, free from cares, perplexity, anguish, grief of mind, live merrily," *lætitiæ cœlum vos creavit:* [4] "Again and again I request you to be merry, if anything trouble your hearts, or vex your souls, neglect and contemn it, [5] let it pass. [6] And this I enjoin you, not as a divine alone, but as a physician; for without this mirth, which is the life and quintessence of physic, medicines, and whatsoever is used and applied to prolong the life of man, is dull, dead, and of no force." *Dum fata sinunt, vivite læti* (Seneca), I say be merry.

> [7] "Nec lusibus virentem
> Viduemus hanc juventam."

It was Tiresias the prophet's counsel to [8] Menippus, that travelled all the world over, even down to hell itself to seek content, and his last farewell to Menippus, to be merry. [9] "Contemn the world (saith he), and count that is in it vanity and toys; this only covet all thy life long; be not curious, or over solicitous in anything, but with a well composed and contested estate to enjoy thyself, and above all things to be merry."

[1] Eobanus Hessus. [2] Fracastorius. [3] Vivite ergo læti, O amici, procul ab angustia, vivite læti. [4] Iterum precor et obtestor, vivite læti: illud quod cor urit, negligite. [5] Lætus in præsens animus quod ultra oderit curare. Hor. He was both Sacerdos et Medicus. [6] Hæc autem non tam ut sacerdos, amici, mando vobis, quam ut medicus; nam absque hac una tanquam medicinarum vita, medicinæ omnes ad vitam producendam adhibitæ moriuntur: vivite læti. [7] Locheus Anacreon. [8] Lucian. Necyomantia. Tom. 2. [9] Omnia mundana nugas æstima. Hoc solum tota vita persequere, ut præsentibus bene compositis, minime curiosus, aut ulla in re solicitus, quam plurimum potes vitam hilarem traducas.

"Si Numerus uti censet sine amore jocisque,
Nil est jucundum, vivas in amore jocisque."[1]

Nothing better (to conclude with Solomon, Eccles. iii. 22), "Than that a man should rejoice in his affairs." 'Tis the same advice which every physician in this case rings to his patient, as Capivaccius to his, [2] "avoid overmuch study and perturbations of the mind, and as much as in thee lies, live at heart's-ease;" Prosper Calenus to that melancholy Cardinal Cæsius, [3] "amidst thy serious studies and business, use jests and conceits, plays and toys, and whatsoever else may recreate thy mind." Nothing better than mirth and merry company in this malady. [4] "It begins with sorrow (saith Montanus), it must be expelled with hilarity."

But see the mischief; many men, knowing that merry company is the only medicine against melancholy, will therefore neglect their business; and in another extreme, spend all their days among good fellows in a tavern or an alehouse, and know not otherwise how to bestow their time but in drinking; maltworms, men-fishes, or water-snakes, [5] *Qui bibunt solum ranarum more, nihil comedentes*, like so many frogs in a puddle. 'Tis their sole exercise to eat, and drink; to sacrifice to Volupia, Rumina, Edulica, Potina, Mellona, is all their religion. They wish for Philoxenus's neck, Jupiter's trinoctium, and that the sun would stand still as in Joshua's time, to satisfy their lust, that they might *dies noctesque pergræcari et bibere.* Flourishing wits, and men of good parts, good fashion, and good worth, basely prostitute themselves to every rogue's company, to take tobacco and drink, to roar and sing scurrilous songs in base places.

[6] "Invenies aliquem cum percussore jacentem,
Permistum nautis, aut furibus, aut fugitivis."

[1] "If the world think that nothing can be happy without love and mirth, then live in joy and jollity." [2] Hildesheim, spicel. 2, de Mania, fol. 161. Studia literarum et animi perturbationes fugiat, et quantum potest jucunde vivat. [3] Lib. de atra bile. Gravioribus curis ludos et facetias aliquando interpone, jocos, et quæ solent animum relaxare. [4] Consil. 30, mala valetudo aucta et contracta est tristitia, ac propterea exhilaratione animi removenda. [5] Athen. dipnosoph. lib. 1. [6] Juven. sat. 8. "You will find him beside some cutthroat, along with sailors, or thieves, or runaways."

Which Thomas Erastus objects to Paracelsus, that he would lie drinking all day long with carmen and tapsters, in a brothel-house, is too frequent amongst us, with men of better note; like Timocreon of Rhodes, *multa bibens, et multa vorans*, &c. They drown their wits, seethe their brains in ale, consume their fortunes, lose their time, weaken their temperatures, contract filthy diseases, rheums, dropsies, calentures, tremor, get swoln jugulars, pimpled red faces, sore eyes, &c.; heat their livers, alter their complexions, spoil their stomachs, overthrow their bodies; for drink drowns more than the sea and all the rivers that fall into it (mere funges and casks), confound their souls, suppress reason, go from Scylla to Charybdis, and use that which is a help to their undoing. [1] *Quid refert morbo an ferro pereamve ruinâ?* [2] When the Black Prince went to set the exiled king of Castile into his kingdom, there was a terrible battle fought between the English and the Spanish; at last the Spanish fled, the English followed them to the river-side, where some drowned themselves to avoid their enemies, the rest were killed. Now tell me what difference is between drowning and killing? As good be melancholy still, as drunken beasts and beggars. Company a sole comfort, and an only remedy to all kind of discontent, is their sole misery and cause of perdition. As Hermione lamented in Euripides, *malæ mulieres me fecerunt malam.* Evil company marred her, may they justly complain, bad companions have been their bane. For, [3] *malus malum vult ut sit sui similis;* one drunkard in a company, one thief, one whoremaster, will by his good-will make all the rest as bad as himself,

> [4] "Et si
> Nocturnos jures te formidare vapores,"

be of what complexion you will, inclination, love or hate, be it good or bad, if you come amongst them, you must do as

[1] Hor. "What does it signify whether I perish by disease or by the sword!" [2] Frossard. hist. lib. 1. Hispani cum Anglorum vires ferre non possent, in fugam se dederunt, &c. Præcipites in fluvium se dederunt, ne in hostium manus venirent. [3] Ter. [4] Hor. "Although you swear that you dread the night air."

they do; yea, [1] though it be to the prejudice of your health, you must drink *venenum pro vino*. And so like grasshoppers, whilst they sing over their cups all summer, they starve in winter; and for a little vain merriment shall find a sorrowful reckoning in the end.

SECT. III. MEMB. I.

Subsect. I.—*A Consolatory Digression, containing the Remedies of all manner of Discontents.*

Because in the preceding section I have made mention of good counsel, comfortable speeches, persuasion, how necessarily they are required to the cure of a discontented or troubled mind, how present a remedy they yield, and many times a sole sufficient cure of themselves; I have thought fit in this following section, a little to digress (if at least it be to digress in this subject), to collect and glean a few remedies, and comfortable speeches out of our best orators, philosophers, divines, and fathers of the church, tending to this purpose. I confess, many have copiously written of this subject, Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Xenophon, Epictetus, Theophrastus, Xenocrates, Crantor, Lucian, Boethius; and some of late, Sadoletus, Cardan, Budæus, Stella, Petrarch, Erasmus, besides Austin, Cyprian, Bernard, &c. And they so well, that as Hierome in like case said, *si nostrum areret ingenium, de illorum posset fontibus irrigari*, if our barren wits were dried up, they might be copiously irrigated from those wellsprings; and I shall but *actum agere;* yet because these tracts are not so obvious and common, I will epitomize, and briefly insert some of their divine precepts, reducing their voluminous and vast treatises to my small scale; for it were otherwise impossible to bring so great vessels into so little a creek. And although (as Cardan said of his book *de consol.*) [2] "I know

[1] Ἢ πίθι ἢ ἄπιθι, "either drink or depart." [2] Lib. de lib. propriis. Hos libros

beforehand, this tract of mine many will contemn and reject; they that are fortunate, happy, and in flourishing estate, have no need of such consolatory speeches; they that are miserable and unhappy, think them insufficient to ease their grieved minds, and comfort their misery; yet I will go on; for this must needs do some good to such as are happy, to bring them to a moderation, and make them reflect and know themselves, by seeing the inconstancy of human felicity, others' misery; and to such as are distressed, if they will but attend and consider of this, it cannot choose but give some content and comfort." [1] "Tis true, no medicine can cure all diseases, some affections of the mind are altogether incurable; yet these helps of art, physic, and philosophy must not be contemned." Arrianus and Plotinus are stiff in the contrary opinion, that such precepts can do little good. Boethius himself cannot comfort in some cases, they will reject such speeches like bread of stones, *Insana stultæ mentis hæc solatia.*[2]

Words add no courage, which [3] Catiline once said to his soldiers, "a captain's oration doth not make a coward a valiant man;" and as Job [4] feelingly said to his friends, "you are but miserable comforters all." 'Tis to no purpose in that vulgar phrase to use a company of obsolete sentences, and familiar sayings; as [5] Plinius Secundus, being now sorrowful and heavy for the departure of his dear friend, Cornelius Rufus, a Roman senator, wrote to his fellow Tiro in like case, *adhibe solatia, sed nova aliqua, sed fortia, quæ audierim nunquam, legerim nunquam: nam quæ audivi, quæ legi omnia, tanto dolore superantur*, either say something that I never read nor heard of before, or else hold thy peace. Most men will here except trivial consolations, ordinary speeches, and

scio multos spernere, nam felices his se non indigere putant, infelices ad solationem miseriæ non sufficere. Et tamen felicibus moderationem, dum inconstantiam humanæ felicitatis docent, præstant; infelices si omnia rectè æstimare velint, felices reddere possunt. [1] Nullum medicamentum omnes sanare potest; sunt affectus animi qui prorsus sunt insanabiles; non tamen artis opus sperni debet, aut medicinæ, aut philosophiæ. [2] "The insane consolations of a foolish mind." [3] Salust. Verba virtutem non addunt, nec imperatoris oratio facilè timido fortem. [4] Job, cap. 16. [5] Epist. 13, lib. 1.

known persuasions in this behalf will be of small force; what can any man say that hath not been said? To what end are such parenetical discourses? you may as soon remove Mount Caucasus, as alter some men's affections. Yet sure I think they cannot choose but do some good, and comfort and ease a little, though it be the same again, I will say it, and upon that hope I will adventure. [1]*Non meus hic sermo*, 'tis not my speech this, but of Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Austin, Bernard, Christ and his Apostles. If I make nothing, as [2] Montaigne said in like case, I will mar nothing; 'tis not my doctrine but my study, I hope I shall do nobody wrong to speak what I think, and deserve not blame in imparting my mind. If it be not for thy ease, it may for mine own; so Tully, Cardan, and Boethius wrote *de consol.* as well to help themselves as others; be it as it may I will essay.

Discontents and grievances are either general or particular; general are wars, plagues, dearths, famine, fires, inundations, unseasonable weather, epidemical diseases which afflict whole kingdoms, territories, cities; or peculiar to private men, [3] as cares, crosses, losses, death of friends, poverty, want, sickness, orbities, injuries, abuses, &c. Generally all discontent [4] *homines quatimur fortunæ salo.* No condition free, *quisque suos patimur manes.* Even in the midst of our mirth and jollity, there is some grudging, some complaint, as [5] he saith, our whole life is a glucupricon, a bitter-sweet passion, honey and gall mixed together, we are all miserable and discontent, who can deny it? If all, and that it be a common calamity, an inevitable necessity, all distressed, then as Cardan infers, [6] "who art thou that hopest to go free? Why dost thou not grieve thou art a mortal man, and not governor of the

[1] Hor. [2] Lib. 2, Essays, cap. 6. [3] Alium paupertas, alium orbitas, hunc morbi, illum timor, alium injuriæ, hunc insidiæ, illum uxor, filii distrahunt, Cardan. [4] Boethius, l. 1, met. 5. [5] Apuleius, 4, florid. Nihil homini tam prosperè datum divinitus, quin ei admixtum sit aliquid difficultatis, in amplissima quaque lætitia subest quædam querimonia, conjugatione quadam mellis et fellis. [6] Si omnes premantur, quis tu es qui solus evadere cupis ab ea lege quæ neminem præterit? cur te mortalem factum et universi non orbis regem fieri non doles?

world?" *Ferre quam sortem patiuntur omnes, Nemo recuset,* [1] "If it be common to all, why should one man be more disquieted than another?" If thou alone wert distressed, it were indeed more irksome, and less to be endured; but when the calamity is common, comfort thyself with this, thou hast more fellows, *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris;* 'tis not thy sole case, and why shouldst thou be so impatient? [2] "Ay, but alas we are more miserable than others, what shall we do? Besides private miseries, we live in perpetual fear and danger of common enemies; we have Bellona's whips, and pitiful outcries, for epithalamiums; for pleasant music, that fearful noise of ordnance, drums, and warlike trumpets still sounding in our ears; instead of nuptial torches, we have firing of towns and cities; for triumphs, lamentations; for joy, tears." [3] "So it is and so it was, and so it ever will be. He that refuseth to see and hear, to suffer this, is not fit to live in this world, and knows not the common condition of all men, to whom so long as they live, with a reciprocal course, joys and sorrows are annexed, and succeed one another." It is inevitable, it may not be avoided, and why then shouldst thou be so much troubled? *Grave nihil est homini quod fert necessitas,* as [4] Tully deems out of an old poet, "that which is necessary cannot be grievous." If it be so, then comfort thyself in this, [5] "that whether thou wilt or no, it must be endured;" make a virtue of necessity, and conform thyself to undergo it. [6] *Si longa est, levis est; si gravis est, brevis est.* If it be long, 'tis light; if grievous, it cannot last. It will away, *dies dolorem minuit,* and if nought else, time will wear it out; custom will ease it; [7] oblivion is a common med-

[1] Puteanus, ep. 75. Neque cuiquam præcipue dolendum eo quod accidit universis. [2] Lorchan. Gallobelgicus, lib. 3. Anno 1598, de Belgis. Euge! sed eheu inquis quid agemus? ubi pro Epithalamio Bellonæ flagellum, pro musica harmonia terribilem lituorum et tubarum audias clangorem, pro tædis nuptialibus, villarum, pagorum, urbium videas incendia; ubi pro jubilo lamenta, pro risu fletus aërem complent. [3] Ita est profecto, et quisquis hæc videre abnuis, huic seculo parum aptus es, aut potius nostrorum omnium conditionem ignoras, quibus reciproco quodam nexu læta tristibus, tristia lætis, invicem succedunt. [4] In Tusc. è vetere poeta. [5] Cardan. lib. 1, de consol. Est consolationis genus non leve, quod à necessitate fit; sive feras, sive non feras, ferendum est tamen. [6] Seneca. [7] Omni dolori tempus est medicina; ipsum luctum extinguit, injurias delet, omnis mali oblivionem adfert.

icine for all losses, injuries, griefs, and detriments whatsoever, [1] "and when they are once past, this commodity comes of infelicity, it makes the rest of our life sweeter unto us:" [2] *Atque hæc olim meminisse juvabit*, "recollection of the past is pleasant;" "the privation and want of a thing many times makes it more pleasant and delightsome than before it was." We must not think, the happiest of us all, to escape here without some misfortunes,

> [3] "Usque adeò nulla est sincera voluptas,
> Solicitumque aliquid lætis intervenit."

Heaven and earth are much unlike; [4] "Those heavenly bodies indeed are freely carried in their orbs without any impediment or interruption, to continue their course for innumerable ages, and make their conversions; but men are urged with many difficulties, and have diverse hinderances, oppositions still crossing, interrupting their endeavours and desires, and no mortal man is free from this law of nature." We must not therefore hope to have all things answer our own expectation, to have a continuance of good success and fortunes, *Fortuna nunquam perpetuò est bona.* And as Minutius Felix, the Roman consul, told that insulting Coriolanus, drunk with his good fortunes, look not for that success thou hast hitherto had; [5] "It never yet happened to any man since the beginning of the world, nor ever will, to have all things according to his desire, or to whom fortune was never opposite and adverse." Even so it fell out to him as he foretold. And so to others, even to that happiness of Augustus; though he were Jupiter's almoner, Pluto's treasurer, Neptune's admiral, it could not secure him. Such was Alcibiades's fortune, Narsetes, that great Gonsalvus, and most famous men's, that as

[1] Habet hoc quoque commodum omnis infelicitas, suaviorem vitam cum abierit relinquit. [2] Virg. [3] Ovid. "For there is no pleasure perfect, some anxiety always intervenes." [4] Lorchan. Sunt namque infera superis, humana terrenis longe disparia. Etenim beatæ mentes feruntur liberè, et sine ullo impedimento, stellæ, æthereique orbes cursus et conversiones suas jam sæculis innumerabilibus constantissimè conficiunt; verum homines magnis angustiis. Neque hac naturæ lege est quisquam mortalium solutus. [5] Dionysius Halicar. lib. 8, non enim unquam contigit, nec post homines natos invenies quenquam, cui omnia ex animi sententia successerint, ita ut nulla in re fortuna sit ei adversata.

[1] Jovius concludes, "it is almost fatal to great princes, through their own default or otherwise circumvented with envy and malice, to lose their honours, and die contumeliously." 'Tis so, still hath been, and ever will be, *Nihil est ab omni parte beatum*,

> "There's no perfection is so absolute,
> That some impurity doth not pollute."

Whatsoever is under the moon is subject to corruption, alteration; and so long as thou livest upon earth look not for other. [2] "Thou shalt not here find peaceable and cheerful days, quiet times, but rather clouds, storms, calumnies; such is our fate." And as those errant planets in their distinct orbs have their several motions, sometimes direct, stationary, retrograde, in apogee, perigee, oriental, occidental, combust, feral, free, and as our astrologers will, have their fortitudes and debilities, by reason of those good and bad irradiations, conferred to each other's site in the heavens, in their terms, houses, case, detriments, &c. So we rise and fall in this world, ebb and flow, in and out, reared and dejected, lead a troublesome life, subject to many accidents and casualties of fortunes, variety of passions, infirmities as well from ourselves as others.

Yea, but thou thinkest thou art more miserable than the rest, other men are happy but in respect of thee, their miseries are but flea-bitings to thine, thou alone art unhappy, none so bad as thyself. Yet if, as Socrates said, [3] "All men in the world should come and bring their grievances together, of body, mind, fortune, sores, ulcers, madness, epilepsies, agues, and all those common calamities of beggary, want, servitude, imprisonment, and lay them on a heap to be equally divided, wouldst thou share alike, and take thy portion? or be as thou art?" Without question thou wouldst be as thou art. If some Jupiter should say, to give us all content,

[1] Vit. Gonsalvi, lib. ult. Ut ducibus fatale sit clarissimis à culpa sua, secus circumveniri cum malitia et invidia, imminutaque dignitate per contumeliam mori. [2] In terris purum illum ætherem non invenies, et ventos serenos; nimbos potius, procellas, calumnias. Lips. cent. misc. ep. 8. [3] Si omnes homines sua mala suasque curas in unum cumulum conferrent, æquis divisuri portionibus, &c.

[1] "Jam faciam quod vultis; eris tu, qui modò miles,
Mercator; tu consultus modò, rusticus; hinc vos,
Vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus; eia
Quid statis? nolint."

"Well be't so then: you master soldier
Shall be a merchant; you sir lawyer
A country gentleman; go you to this,
That side you; why stand ye? It's well as 'tis."

[2] "Every man knows his own, but not others' defects and miseries; and 'tis the nature of all men still to reflect upon themselves, their own misfortunes," not to examine or consider other men's, not to compare themselves with others; To recount their miseries, but not their good gifts, fortunes, benefits, which they have, or ruminate on their adversity, but not once to think on their prosperity, not what they have, but what they want; to look still on them that go before, but not on those infinite numbers that come after. [3] "Whereas many a man would think himself in heaven, a petty prince, if he had but the least part of that fortune which thou so much repinest at, abhorrest, and accountest a most vile and wretched estate." How many thousands want that which thou hast? how many myriads of poor slaves, captives, of such as work day and night in coal-pits, tin-mines, with sore toil to maintain a poor living, of such as labour in body and mind, live in extreme anguish and pain, all which thou art free from? *O fortunatos nimium bona si sua nôrint:* Thou art most happy if thou couldst be content, and acknowledge thy happiness; [4] *Rem carendo non fruendo cognoscimus*, when thou shalt hereafter come to want that which thou now loathest, abhorrest, and art weary of, and tired with, when 'tis past thou wilt say thou wert most happy; and after a little miss, wish with all thine heart thou hadst the same content again, mightest lead but such a life, a world for such a life; the remembrance of it is

[1] Hor. ser. lib. 1. [2] Quod unusquisque propria mala novit, aliorum nesciat, in causa est, ut se inter alios miserum putet. Cardan. lib. 3, de consol. Plutarch. de consol. ad Apollonium. [3] Quam multos putas qui se cœlo proximos putarent, totidem regulos, si de fortunæ tuæ reliquiis pars iis minima contingat. Boeth. de consol. lib. 2, pros. 4. [4] "You know the value of a thing from wanting more than from enjoying it."

pleasant. Be silent then, [1] rest satisfied, *desine, intuensque in aliorum infortunia solare mentem*, comfort thyself with other men's misfortunes, and as the mouldwarp in Æsop told the fox, complaining for want of a tail, and the rest of his companions, *tacete, quando me oculis captum videtis*, you complain of toys, but I am blind, be quiet. I say to thee, be thou satisfied. It is [2] recorded of the hares, that with a general consent they went to drown themselves, out of a feeling of their misery; but when they saw a company of frogs more fearful than they were, they began to take courage and comfort again. Compare thine estate with others. *Similes aliorum respice casus, mitius ista feres.* Be content and rest satisfied, for thou art well in respect to others; be thankful for that thou hast, that God hath done for thee, he hath not made thee a monster, a beast, a base creature, as he might, but a man, a Christian, such a man; consider aright of it, thou art full well as thou art. [3] *Quicquid vult, habere nemo potest.* no man can have what he will, *Illud potest nolle quod non habet*, he may choose whether he will desire that which he hath not. Thy lot is fallen, make the best of it. [4] "If we should all sleep at all times (as Endymion is said to have done), who then were happier than his fellow?" Our life is but short, a very dream, and while we look about, [5] *immortalitas adest*, eternity is at hand; [6] "our life is a pilgrimage on earth, which wise men pass with great alacrity." If thou be in woe, sorrow, want, distress, in pain, or sickness, think of that of our apostle, "God chastiseth them whom he loveth: they that sow in tears shall reap in joy," Psal. cxxvi. 5. "As the furnace proveth the potter's vessel, so doth temptation try men's thoughts," Ecclus. xxv. 5, 'tis for [7] thy good, *Periisses nisi periisses:* hadst thou not been so visited, thou hadst been utterly undone; "as gold in the fire," so men are tried in

[1] Hesiod. Esto quod es; quod sunt alii, sine quemlibet esse; Quod non es, nolis; quod potes esse, velis. [2] Æsopi fab. [3] Seneca. [4] Si dormirent semper omnes, nullus alio fælicior esset. Card. [5] Seneca de Ira. [6] Plato, Axiocho. An ignoras vitam hanc peregrinationem, &c., quam sapientes cum gaudio percurrunt? [7] Sic expedit; medicus non dat quod patiens vult, sed quod ipse bonum scit.

adversity. *Tribulatio ditat;* and which Camerarius hath well shadowed in an emblem of a thresher and corn.

> "Si tritura absit paleis sunt abdita grana,
> Nos crux mundanis separat à paleis;"
>
> "As threshing separates from straw the corn,
> By crosses from the world's chaff are we borne."

'Tis the very same which [1] Chrysostom comments, *hom.* 2, *in* 3 *Mat.* "Corn is not separated but by threshing, nor men from worldly impediments but by tribulation." 'Tis that which [2] Cyprian ingeminates, *Ser.* 4, *de immort.* 'Tis that which [3] Hierom, which all the fathers inculcate, "so we are catechized for eternity." 'Tis that which the proverb insinuates. *Nocumentum documentum;* 'tis that which all the world rings in our ears. *Deus unicum habet filium sine peccato, nullum sine flagello:* God, saith [4] Austin, hath one son without sin, none without correction. [5] "An expert seaman is tried in a tempest, a runner in a race, a captain in a battle, a valiant man in adversity, a Christian in tentation and misery." *Basil. hom.* 8. We are sent as so many soldiers into this world, to strive with it, the flesh, the devil; our life is a warfare, and who knows it not? [6] *Non est ad astra mollis è terris via;* [7] "and therefore peradventure this world here is made troublesome unto us," that as Gregory notes, "we should not be delighted by the way, and forget whither we are going."

> [8] "Ite nunc fortes, ubi celsa magni
> Ducit exempli via: cur inertes
> Terga nudatis? superata tellus
> Sidera domat."

Go on then merrily to heaven. If the way be troublesome,

[1] Frumentum non egreditur nisi triturat. &c. [2] Non est pœna damnantis sed flagellum corrigentis. [3] Ad hæreditatem æternam sic erudimur. [4] Confess. 6. [5] Nauclerum tempestas, athletam stadium, ducem pugna, magnanimum calamitas, Christianum vero tentatio probat et examinat. [6] Sen Herc. Fur. "The way from the earth to the stars is not so downy." [7] Ideo Deus asperum fecit iter, ne dum delactantur in via, obliviscantur eorum quæ sunt in patria. [8] Boethius, l. 5, met. ult. "Go, now, brave fellows, whither the lofty path of a great example leads. Why do you stupidly expose your backs? The earth brings the stars to subjection."

and you in misery, in many grievances: on the other side you have many pleasant sports, objects, sweet smells, delightsome tastes, music, meats, herbs, flowers, &c., to recreate your senses. Or put case thou art now forsaken of the world, dejected, contemned, yet comfort thyself, as it was said to Agar in the wilderness, [1] "God sees thee, he takes notice of thee:" there is a God above that can vindicate thy cause, that can relieve thee. And surely [2] Seneca thinks he takes delight in seeing thee. "The gods are well pleased when they see great men contending with adversity," as we are to see men fight, or a man with a beast. But these are toys in respect, [3] "Behold," saith he, "a spectacle worthy of God; a good man contented with his estate." A tyrant is the best sacrifice to Jupiter, as the ancients held, and his best object "a contented mind." For thy part then rest satisfied, "cast all thy care on him, thy burden on him, [4] rely on him, trust on him, and he shall nourish thee, care for thee, give thee thine heart's desire;" say with David, "God is our hope and strength, in troubles ready to be found," Psal. xlvi. 1, "for they that trust in the Lord shall be as Mount Zion, which cannot be removed," Psal. cxxv. 1, 2, "as the mountains are about Jerusalem, so is the Lord about his people, from henceforth and for ever."

MEMB. II.

Deformity of Body, Sickness, Baseness of Birth, peculiar Discontent.

Particular discontents and grievances, are either of body, mind, or fortune, which as they wound the soul of man, produce this melancholy, and many great inconveniences, by that antidote of good counsel and persuasion may

[1] Boeth. pro. ult. Manet spectator cunctorum desuper præscius deus, bonis præmia, malis supplicia dispensans. [2] Lib. de provid. Voluptatem capiunt dii siquando magnos viros colluctantes cum calamitate vident. [3] Ecce spectaculum Deo dignum. Vir fortis mala fortuna compositus. [4] 1 Pet. v. 7. Psal. lv. 22.

be eased or expelled. Deformities and imperfections of our bodies, as lameness, crookedness, deafness, blindness, be they innate or accidental, torture many men; yet this may comfort them, that those imperfections of the body do not a whit blemish the soul, or hinder the operations of it, but rather help and much increase it. Thou art lame of body, deformed to the eye, yet this hinders not but that thou mayest be a good, a wise, upright, honest man. [1] "Seldom," saith Plutarch, "honesty and beauty dwell together," and oftentimes under a threadbare coat lies an excellent understanding, *sæpè sub attritâ latitat sapientia veste.* [2] Cornelius Mussus, that famous preacher in Italy, when he came first into the pulpit in Venice, was so much contemned by reason of his outside, a little, lean, poor, dejected person, [3] they were all ready to leave the church; but when they heard his voice they did admire him, and happy was that senator could enjoy his company, or invite him first to his house. A silly fellow to look to, may have more wit, learning, honesty, than he that struts it out *Ampullis jactans, &c., grandia gradiens*, and is admired in the world's opinion: *Vilis sæpe cadus nobile nectar habet*, the best wine comes out of an old vessel. How many deformed princes, kings, emperors, could I reckon up, philosophers, orators? Hannibal had but one eye, Appius Claudius, Timoleon, blind, Muleasse, king of Tunis, John, king of Bohemia, and Tiresias the prophet. [4] "The night hath his pleasure;" and for the loss of that one sense such men are commonly recompensed in the rest; they have excellent memories, other good parts, music, and many recreations; much happiness, great wisdom, as Tully well discourseth in his [5] Tusculan questions: Homer was blind, yet who (saith he) made more accurate, lively, or better descriptions, with both his eyes? Democritus was blind, yet as Laertius writes of him, he saw more than all Greece besides,

[1] Raro sub eodem lare honestas et forma habitant. [2] Josephus Mussus, vita ejus. [3] Homuncio brevis, macilentus, umbra hominis, &c. Ad stuporem ejus eruditionem et eloquentiam admirati sunt. [4] Nox habet suas voluptates. [5] Lib. 5, ad finem, cæcus potest esse sapiens et beatus, &c.

as [1] Plato concludes, *Tum sanè mentis oculus acutè incipit cernere, quum primùm corporis oculus deflorescit*, when our bodily eyes are at worst, generally the eyes of our soul see best. Some philosophers and divines have evirated themselves, and put out their eyes voluntarily, the better to contemplate. Angelus Politianus had a tetter in his nose continually running, fulsome in company, yet no man so eloquent and pleasing in his works. Æsop was crooked, Socrates purblind, long-legged, hairy; Democritus withered; Seneca lean and harsh, ugly to behold, yet show me so many flourishing wits, such divine spirits; Horace, a little bleareyed contemptible fellow, yet who so sententious and wise? Marsilius Ficinus, Faber Stapulensis, a couple of dwarfs; [2] Melancthon a short hard-favoured man, *parvus erat, sed magnus erat*, &c., yet of incomparable parts all three. [3] Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, by reason of a hurt he received in his leg, at the siege of Pampeluna, the chief town of Navarre in Spain, unfit for wars, and less serviceable at court, upon that accident betook himself to his beads, and by those means got more honour than ever he should have done with the use of his limbs, and properness of person; [4] *Vulnus non penetrat animum*, a wound hurts not the soul. Galba the emperor was crook-backed, Epictetus lame; that great Alexander a little man of stature; [5] Augustus Cæsar of the same pitch; Agesilaus *despicabili formâ;* Boccharis a most deformed prince as ever Egypt had, yet as [6] Diodorus Siculus records of him, in wisdom and knowledge far beyond his predecessors. *A. Dom.* 1306. [7] Uladeslaus Cubitalis that pigmy king of Poland reigned and fought more victorious battles than any of his longshanked predecessors. *Nullam virtus respuit staturam*, virtue refuseth no stature, and commonly your great vast bodies, and fine features, are sottish, dull, and leaden spirits. What's in

[1] In convivio, lib. 25. [2] Joachimus Camerarius, vit. ejus. [3] Riber. vit. ejus. [4] Macrobius. [5] Sueton. c 7, 9. [6] Lib. 1. Corpore exili et despecto, sed ingenio et prudentia longe ante se reges cæteros præveniens. [7] Alexander Gaguinus, hist. Polandiæ. Corpore parvus eram, cubito vix altior uno, sed tamen in parvo corpore magnus eram.

them? [1] *Quid nisi pondus iners stolidæque ferocia mentis,* What in Osus and Ephialtes (Neptune's sons in Homer), nine acres long?

> [2] "Qui ut magnus Orion,
> Cum pedes incedit, medii per maxima Nerei
> Stagna, viam findens humero supereminet undas."
>
> "Like tall Orion stalking o'er the flood:
> When with his brawny breast he cuts the waves,
> His shoulder scarce the topmost billow laves."

What in Maximinus, Ajax, Caligula, and the rest of those great Zanzummins, or gigantical Anakims, heavy, vast, barbarous lubbers?

> * "si membra tibi dant grandia Parcæ,
> Mentis eges?"

Their body, saith [3] Lemnius, "is a burden to them, and their spirits not so lively, nor they so erect and merry:" *Non est in magno corpore mica salis:* a little diamond is more worth than a rocky mountain; which made Alexander Aphrodiseus positively conclude, "The lesser, the [4] wiser, because the soul was more contracted in such a body." Let Bodine in his 5 *c. method. hist.* plead the rest; the lesser they are, as in Asia, Greece, they have generally the finest wits. And for bodily stature which some so much admire, and goodly presence, 'tis true, to say the best of them, great men are proper, and tall, I grant,——*caput inter nubila condunt* (hide their heads in the clouds); but *belli pusilli*, little men are pretty: "*Sed si bellus homo est Cotta, pusillus homo est.*" Sickness, diseases, trouble many, but without a cause; [5] "It may be 'tis for the good of their souls:" *Pars fati fuit*, the flesh rebels against the spirit; that which hurts the one, must needs help the other. Sickness is the mother of modesty, putteth us in mind of our mortality; and when we are in the full career of worldly pomp and jollity, she pulleth

[1] Ovid. [2] Virg. Ænei. 10. * "If the fates give you large proportions, do you not require faculties?" [3] Lib. 2, cap. 20. Oneri est illis corporis moles, et spiritus minus vividi. [4] Corpore breves prudentiores quum coarctata sit anima. Ingenio pollet cui vim natura negavit. [5] Multis ad salutem animæ profuit corporis ægritudo, Petrarch.

us by the ear, and maketh us know ourselves. [1] Pliny calls it, the sum of philosophy, "If we could but perform that in our health, which we promise in our sickness." *Quum infirmi sumus,* [2] *optimi sumus;* for "what sick man" (as [3] Secundus expostulates with Rufus) "was ever lascivious, covetous, or ambitious? he envies no man, admires no man, flatters no man, despiseth no man, listens not after lies and tales," &c. And were it not for such gentle remembrances, men would have no moderation of themselves, they would be worse than tigers, wolves, and lions; who should keep them in awe? "princes, masters, parents, magistrates, judges, friends, enemies, fair or foul means cannot contain us, but a little sickness (as [4] Chrysostom observes), will correct and amend us." And therefore with good discretion, [5] Jovianus Pontanus caused this short sentence to be engraven on his tomb in Naples: "Labour, sorrow, grief, sickness, want and woe, to serve proud masters, bear that superstitious yoke, and bury your dearest friends, &c., are the sauces of our life." If thy disease be continuate and painful to thee, it will not surely last; "and a light affliction which is but for a moment, causeth unto us a far more excellent and eternal weight of glory," 2 Cor. iv. 17, bear it with patience; women endure much sorrow in childbed, and yet they will not contain; and those that are barren, wish for this pain; "be courageous, [6] there is as much valour to be shown in thy bed, as in an army, or at a sea-fight:" *aut vincetur, aut vincet,* thou shalt be rid at last. In the mean time, let it take its course, thy mind is not any way disabled. Bilibaldus Pirkimerus, senator to Charles the Fifth, ruled all Germany, lying most part of his days sick of the gout upon his bed. The more

[1] Lib. 7. Summa est totius Philosophiæ, si tales, &c. [2] "When we are sick we are most amiable." [3] Plinius, epist. 7, lib. Quem infirmum libido solicitat, aut avaritia, aut honores? nemini invidet, neminem miratur, neminem despicit, sermone maligno non alitur. [4] Non terret princeps, magister, parens, judex; at ægritudo superveniens, omnia correxit. [5] Nat. Cytræus Europ. deliciis. Labor, dolor, ægritudo, luctus, servire superbis dominis, jugum ferre superstitionis, quos habet charos sepelire, &c., condimenta vitæ sunt. [6] Non tam mari quàm prœlio virtus, etiam lecto exhibetur: vincetur aut vincet; aut tu febrem relinques, aut ipsa te. Seneca.

violent thy torture is, the less it will continue; and though it be severe and hideous for the time, comfort thyself as martyrs do, with honour and immortality. [1] That famous philosopher Epicurus, being in as miserable pain of stone and colic, as a man might endure, solaced himself with a conceit of immortality; "the joy of his soul for his rare inventions repelled the pain of his bodily torments."

Baseness of birth is a great disparagement to some men, especially if they be wealthy, bear office, and come to promotion in a commonwealth; then (as [2] he observes), if their birth be not answerable to their calling, and to their fellows, they are much abashed and ashamed of themselves. Some scorn their own father and mother, deny brothers and sisters, with the rest of their kindred and friends, and will not suffer them to come near them, when they are in their pomp, accounting it a scandal to their greatness to have such beggarly beginnings. Simon in Lucian, having now got a little wealth, changed his name from Simon to Simonides, for that there were so many beggars of his kin, and set the house on fire where he was born, because nobody should point at it. Others buy titles, coats of arms, and by all means screw themselves into ancient families, falsifying pedigrees, usurping scutcheons, and all because they would not seem to be base. The reason is, for that this gentility is so much admired by a company of outsides, and such honour attributed unto it, as amongst [3] Germans, Frenchmen, and Venetians, the gentry scorn the commonalty, and will not suffer them to match with them; they depress, and make them as so many asses, to carry burdens. In our ordinary talk and fallings out, the most opprobrious and scurrile name we can fasten upon a man, or first give, is to call him base rogue, beggarly rascal, and the like; whereas in my judgment, this ought of all other grievances to trouble men least. Of all vanities and fopperies, to

[1] Tullius, lib. 7, fam. ep. Vesicæ morbo laborans, et urinæ mittendæ difficultate tanta, ut vix incrementum caperet; repellebat hæc omnia animi gaudium ob memoriam inventorum. [2] Boeth. lib. 2, pr. 4. Huic sensus exuperat, sed est pudori degener sanguis. [3] Gaspar. Ens polit. thes.

brag of gentility is the greatest; for what is it they crack so much of, and challenge such superiority, as if they were demigods? Birth? *Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?* [1] It is *non ens*, a mere flash, a ceremony, a toy, a thing of nought. Consider the beginning, present estate, progress, ending of gentry, and then tell me what it is. [2] "Oppression, fraud, cozening, usury, knavery, bawdry, murder, and tyranny, are the beginning of many ancient families: [3] one hath been a bloodsucker, a parricide, the death of many a silly soul in some unjust quarrels, seditions, made many an orphan and poor widow, and for that he is made a lord or an earl, and his posterity gentlemen forever after. Another hath been a bawd, a pander to some great men, a parasite, a slave, [4] prostituted himself, his wife, daughter," to some lascivious prince, and for that he is exalted. Tiberius preferred many to honours in his time, because they were famous whoremasters and sturdy drinkers; many come into this parchment-row (so [5] one calls it), by flattery or cozening; search your old families, and you shall scarce find of a multitude (as Æneas Sylvius observes), *qui sceleratum non habent ortum*, that have not a wicked beginning; *aut qui vi et dolo eo fastigii non ascendunt*, as that plebeian in [6] Machiavel in a set oration proved to his fellows, that do not rise by knavery, force, foolery, villany, or such indirect means. "They are commonly able that are wealthy; virtue and riches seldom settle on one man: who then sees not the beginning of nobility? spoils enrich one, usury another, treason a third, witchcraft a fourth, flattery a fifth, lying, stealing, bearing false witness a sixth, adultery the seventh," &c. One makes a fool of him-

[1] "Does such presumption in your origin possess you?" [2] Alii pro pecunia emunt nobilitatem, alii illam lenocinio, alii veneficiis, alii parricidiis; multis perditio nobilitate conciliat, plerique adulatione, detractione, calumniis, &c. Agrip. de vanit. scient. [3] Ex homicidio sæpe orta nobilitas et strenua carnificina. [4] Plures ob prostitutas filias, uxores, nobiles facti; multos venationes, rapinæ, cædes, præstigia, &c. [5] Sat. Menip. [6] Cum enim hos dici nobiles videmus, qui divitiis abundant, divitiæ vero raro virtutis sunt comites, quis non videt ortum nobilitatis degenerem? hunc usuræ ditârunt, illum spolia, proditiones; hic veneficiis ditatus, ille adulationibus, huic adulteria lucrum præbent, nonnullis mendacia, quidam ex conjuge quæstum faciunt, plerique ex natis, &c. Florent. hist. lib. 3.

self to make his lord merry, another dandles my young master, bestows a little nag on him, a third marries a cracked piece, &c. Now may it please your good worship, your lordship, who was the first founder of your family? The poet answers, [1] "*Aut Pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*" Are he or you the better gentleman? If he, then we have traced him to his form. If you, what is it of which thou boastest so much? That thou art his son. It may be his heir, his reputed son, and yet indeed a priest or a servingman may be the true father of him; but we will not controvert that now; married women are all honest; thou art his son's son's son, begotten and born *infra quatuor maria*, &c. Thy great great great grandfather was a rich citizen, and then in all likelihood a usurer, a lawyer, and then a——a courtier, and then a——a country gentleman, and then he scraped it out of sheep, &c. And you are the heir of all his virtues, fortunes, titles; so then, what is your gentry, but as Hierom saith, *Opes antiquæ, inveteratæ divitiæ*, ancient wealth? that is the definition of gentility. The father goes often to the devil, to make his son a gentleman. For the present, what is it? "It began (saith [2] Agrippa), with strong impiety, with tyranny, oppression," &c., and so it is maintained; wealth began it (no matter how got), wealth continueth and increaseth it. Those Roman knights were so called, if they could dispend *per annum* so much. [3] In the kingdom of Naples and France, he that buys such lands, buys the honour, title, barony together with it; and they that can dispend so much amongst us, must be called to bear office, to be knights, or fine for it, as one observes, [4] *nobiliorem ex censu judicant*, our nobles are measured by their means. And what now is the object of honour? What maintains our gentry but wealth? [5] *Nobilitas sine re projectâ vilior algâ.* Without means gentry is nought worth, nothing so contemptible and base. [6] *Disputare*

[1] Juven. "A shepherd, or something that I should rather not tell." [2] Robusta improbitas à tyrannide incepta, &c. [3] Gaspar Ens thesauro polit. [4] Gresserus, Itinerar. fol. 266. [5] Hor. "Nobility without wealth is more worthless than sea-weed." [6] Syl. nup. lib. 4, num. 111.

de nobilitate generis, sine divitiis, est disputare de nobilitate stercoris, saith Nevisanus the lawyer, to dispute of gentry without wealth, is (saving your reverence), to discuss the original of a merd. So that it is wealth alone that denominates, money which maintains it, gives *esse* to it, for which every man may have it. And what is their ordinary exercise? [1] "sit to eat, drink, lie down to sleep, and rise to play;" wherein lies their worth and sufficiency? in a few coats of arms, eagles, lions, serpents, bears, tigers, dogs, crosses, bends, fesses, &c., and such like baubles, which they commonly set up in their galleries, porches, windows, on bowls, platters, coaches, in tombs, churches, men's sleeves, &c. [2] "If he can hawk and hunt, ride a horse, play at cards and dice, swagger, drink, swear," take tobacco with a grace, sing, dance, wear his clothes in fashion, court and please his mistress, talk big fustian, [3] insult, scorn, strut, contemn others, and use a little mimical and apish compliment above the rest, he is a complete, (*Egregiam verò laudem*) a well-qualified gentleman; these are most of their employments, this their greatest commendation. What is gentry, this parchment nobility then, but as [4] Agrippa defines it, "a sanctuary of knavery and naughtiness, a cloak for wickedness and execrable vices, of pride, fraud, contempt, boasting, oppression, dissimulation, lust, gluttony, malice, fornication, adultery, ignorance, impiety?" A nobleman therefore, in some likelihood, as he concludes, is an "atheist, an oppressor, an epicure, a [5] gull, a dizzard, an illiterate idiot, an outside, a glowworm, a proud fool, an arrant ass," *Ventris et inguinis mancipium,* a slave to his lust and belly, *solâque libidine fortis.* And as Salvianus observed of his countrymen the Aquitanes in France, *sicut titulis primi fuere, sic et vitiis* (as they were the first in rank so also in rottenness); and Cabinet du Roy, their own writer,

[1] Exod. xxxii. [2] Omnium nobilium sufficientia in eo probatur si venatica noverint, si aleam, si corporis vires ingentibus poculis commonstrent, si naturæ robur numerosa venere probent, &c. [3] Difficile est, ut non sit superbus dives, Austin. ser. 24. [4] Nobilitas nihil aliud nisi improbitas, furor, rapina, latrocinium, homicidium, luxus, venatio, violentia, &c. [5] The fool took away my lord in the mask, 'twas apposite.

distinctly of the rest. "The nobles of Berry are most part lechers, they of Touraine thieves, they of Narbonne covetous, they of Guienne coiners, they of Provence atheists, they of Rheims superstitious, they of Lyons treacherous, of Normandy proud, of Picardy insolent," &c. We may generally conclude, the greater men, the more vicious. In fine, as [1] Æneas Sylvius adds, "they are most part miserable, sottish, and filthy fellows, like the walls of their houses, fair without, foul within." What dost thou vaunt of now? [2] "What dost thou gape and wonder at? admire him for his brave apparel, horses, dogs, fine houses, manors, orchards, gardens, walks? Why? a fool may be possessor of this as well as he; and he that accounts him a better man, a nobleman for having of it, he is a fool himself." Now go and brag of thy gentility. This is it belike which makes the [3] Turks at this day scorn nobility, and all those huffing bombast titles, which so much elevate their poles; except it be such as have got it at first, maintain it by some supereminent quality, or excellent worth. And for this cause, the Ragusian commonwealth, Switzers, and the United Provinces, in all their aristocracies, or democratical monarchies (if I may so call them), exclude all these degrees of hereditary honours, and will admit of none to bear office, but such as are learned, like those Athenian Areopagites, wise, discreet, and well brought up. The [4] Chinese observe the same customs, no man amongst them noble by birth: out of their philosophers and doctors they choose magistrates; their politic nobles are taken from such as be *moraliter nobiles*, virtuous noble; *nobilitas ut olim ab officio, non à naturâ*, as in Israel of old, and their office was to defend and govern their country in war and peace, not to hawk, hunt, eat, drink, game alone, as too many do. Their Loysii, Mandarini, literati, licentiati, and such as have

[1] De miser. curial. Miseri sunt, inepti sunt, turpes sunt, multi ut parietes ædium suarum speciosi. [2] Miraris aureas vestes, equos, canes, ordinem famulorum, lautas mensas, ædes, villas, prædia, piscinas, sylvas, &c., hæc omnia stultus assequi potest. Pandalus noster lenocinio nobilitatus est. Æneas Sylvius. [3] Bellonius, observ. lib. 2. [4] Mat. Riccius, lib. 1, cap. 3. Ad regendam remp. soli doctores, aut licentiati adsciscuntur, &c.

raised themselves by their worth, are their noblemen only, though fit to govern a state; and why then should any that is otherwise of worth be ashamed of his birth? why should not he be as much respected that leaves a noble posterity, as he that hath had noble ancestors? nay, why not more? for *plures solem orientem*, we adore the sun rising most part; and how much better is it to say, *Ego meis majoribus virtute præluxi* (I have outshone my ancestors in virtues), to boast himself of his virtues, than of his birth? Cathesbeius, sultan of Egypt and Syria, was by his condition a slave, but for worth, valour, and manhood second to no king, and for that cause (as [1] Jovius writes) elected emperor of the Mamelukes. That poor Spanish Pizarro for his valour made by Charles the Fifth Marquess of Anatillo; the Turkey Pachas are all such. Pentinax, Philippus Arabs, Maximinus, Probus, Aurelius, &c., from common soldiers became emperors, Cato, Cincinnatus, &c., consuls. Pius Secundus, Sixtus Quintus, Johan Secundus, Nicholas Quintus, &c., popes. Socrates, Virgil, Horace, *libertino patre natus.* [2] The kings of Denmark fetch their pedigree, as some say, from one Ulfo, that was the son of a bear. [3] *E tenui casâ sæpe vir magnus exit*, many a worthy man comes out of a poor cottage. Hercules, Romulus, Alexander (by Olympia's confession), Themistocles, Jugurtha, King Arthur, William the Conqueror, Homer, Demosthenes, P. Lumbard, P. Comestor, Bartholus, Adrian the fourth Pope, &c., bastards; and almost in every kingdom, the most ancient families have been at first princes' bastards; their worthiest captains, best wits, greatest scholars, bravest spirits in all our annals, have been base. [4] Cardan, in his Subleties, gives a reason why they are most part better able than others in body and mind, and so, *per consequens*, more fortunate. Castruccius Castrucanus, a poor child, found in the field, exposed to misery, became prince of Lucca and

[1] Lib. 1, hist. conditione servus, cæterum acer bello, et animi magnitudine maximorum regum nemini secundus: ob hæc à Mameluchis in regem electus. [2] Olaus Magnus, lib. 18. Saxo Grammaticus, à quo rex Sueno et cætera Danorum regum stemmata. [3] Seneca de Contro. Philos. epist. [4] Corpore sunt et animo fortiores spurii, plerumque ob amoris vehementiam, seminis crass., &c.

Senes in Italy, a most complete soldier and worthy captain; Machiavel compares him to Scipio or Alexander. "And 'tis a wonderful thing ([1] saith he) to him that shall consider of it, that all those, or the greatest part of them, that have done the greatest exploits here upon earth, and excelled the rest of the nobles of their time, have been still born in some abject, obscure place, or of base and obscure abject parents." A most memorable observation, [2] Scaliger accounts it, *et non prætereundum, maximorum virorum plerosque patres ignoratos, matres impudicas fuisse.*[3] "I could recite a great catalogue of them," every kingdom, every province will yield innumerable examples; and why then should baseness of birth be objected to any man? Who thinks worse of Tully for being *Arpinas*, an upstart? Or Agathocles, that Sicilian king, for being a potter's son? Iphicrates and Marius were meanly born. What wise man thinks better of any person for his nobility? as he said in [4] Machiavel, *omnes eodem patre nati*, Adam's sons, conceived all and born in sin, &c. "We are by nature all as one, all alike, if you see us naked; let us wear theirs and they our clothes, and what is the difference?" To speak truth, as [5] Bale did of P. Schalichius, "I more esteem thy worth, learning, honesty, than thy nobility; honour thee more that thou art a writer, a doctor of divinity, than Earl of the Huns, Baron of Skradine, or hast title to such and such provinces," &c. "Thou art more fortunate and great" (so [6] Jovius writes to Cosmo de' Medici, then Duke of Florence) "for thy virtues, than for thy lovely wife, and happy children, friends, fortunes, or great duchy of

[1] Vita Castruccii. Nec præter rationem mirum videri debet, si quis rem considerare velit, omnes eos vel saltem maximam partem, qui in hoc terrarum orbe res præstantiores aggressi sunt, atque inter cæteros ævi sui heroas excelluerunt, aut obscuro, aut abjecto loco editos, et prognatos fuisse abjectis parentibus. Eorum ego Catalogum infinitum recensere possem. [2] Exercit. 265. [3] "It is a thing deserving of our notice, that most great men were born in obscurity, and of unchaste mothers." [4] Flor. hist. l. 3. Quod si nudos nos conspici contingat, omnium una eademque erit facies; nam si ipsi nostras, nos eorum vestes induamus, nos, &c. [5] Ut merito dicam, quod simpliciter sentiam, Paulum Schalichium scriptorem, et doctorem, pluris facio quam comitem Hunnorum, et Baronem Skradinum; Encyclopædiam tuam et orbem disciplinarum omnibus provinciis antefero. Balæus, epist. nuncupat. ad 5 cent. ultimam script. Brit. [6] Præfat. hist. lib. 1, virtute tua major, quam aut Hetrusci imperii fortuna, aut numerosæ et decoræ prolis fælicitate beatior evadis.

Tuscany." So I account thee; and who doth not so indeed? [1] Abdolominus was a gardener, and yet by Alexander for his virtues made king of Syria. How much better is it to be born of mean parentage, and to excel in worth, to be morally noble, which is preferred before that natural nobility, by divines, philosophers, and [2] politicians, to be learned, honest, discreet, well qualified, to be fit for any manner of employment, in country and commonwealth, war and peace, than to be *Degeneres Neoptolemi*, as many brave nobles are, only wise because rich, otherwise idiots, illiterate, unfit for any manner of service? [3] Udalricus, Earl of Cilia, upbraided John Huniades with the baseness of his birth, but he replied, *in te Ciliensis comitatus turpiter extinguitur, in me gloriose Bistricensis exoritur*, thine earldom is consumed with riot, mine begins with honour and renown. Thou hast had so many noble ancestors; what is that to thee? *Vix ea nostra voco*, [4] when thou art a dizzard thyself: *quod prodest, Pontice, longo stemmate censeri?* &c. I conclude, hast thou a sound body, and a good soul, good bringing up? Art thou virtuous, honest, learned, well qualified, religious, are thy conditions good?—thou art a true nobleman, perfectly noble, although born of Thersites—*dum modo tu sis*——*Æacidæ similis, non natus, sed factus*, noble κατ' ἐξοχὴν, [5] "for neither sword, nor fire, nor water, nor sickness, nor outward violence, nor the devil himself can take thy good parts from thee." Be not ashamed of thy birth then, thou art a gentleman all the world over, and shalt be honoured, when as he, strip him of his fine clothes, [6] dispossess him of his wealth, is a funge (which [7] Polynices in his banishment found true by experience, gentry was not esteemed) like a piece of coin in another country, that no man will take, and shall be contemned. Once more, though thou be a barbarian, born at Tontonteac, a villain, a

[1] Curtius. [2] Bodine, de rep. lib. 3, cap. 8. [3] Æneas Sylvius, lib. 2, cap. 29. [4] "If children be proud, haughty, foolish, they defile the nobility of their kindred," Eccl. xxii. 8. [5] Cujus possessio nec furto eripi, nec incendio absumi, nec aquarum voragine absorberi, vel vi morbi destrui potest. [6] Send them both to some strange place naked, ad ignotos, as Aristippus said, you shall see the difference. Bacon's Essays. [7] Familiæ splendor nihil opis attulit, &c.

slave, a Saldanian negro, or a rude Virginian in Dasamonquepec, he a French monsieur, a Spanish don, a seignior of Italy, I care not how descended, of what family, of what order, baron, count, prince, if thou be well qualified, and he not, but a degenerate Neoptolemus, I tell thee in a word, thou art a man, and he is a beast.

Let no *terræ filius*, or upstart, insult at this which I have said, no worthy gentleman take offence. I speak it not to detract from such as are well deserving, truly virtuous and noble; I do much respect and honour true gentry and nobility; I was born of worshipful parents myself, in an ancient family, but I am a younger brother, it concerns me not; or had I been some great heir, richly endowed, so minded as I am, I should not have been elevated at all, but so esteemed of it, as of all other human happiness, honours, &c, they have their period, are brittle and inconstant. As [1] he said of that great river Danube, it riseth from a small fountain, a little brook at first, sometimes broad, sometimes narrow, now slow, then swift, increased at last to an incredible greatness by the confluence of sixty navigable rivers, it vanisheth in conclusion, loseth his name, and is suddenly swallowed up of the Euxine sea: I may say of our greatest families, they were mean at first, augmented by rich marriages, purchases, offices, they continue for some ages, with some little alteration of circumstances, fortunes, places, &c., by some prodigal son, for some default, or for want of issue they are defaced in an instant, and their memory blotted out.

So much in the mean time I do attribute to gentility, that if he be well descended, of worshipful or noble parentage, he will express it in his conditions,

* "nec enim feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbas."

And although the nobility of our times be much like our

[1] Fluvius hic illustris, humanarum rerum imago, quæ parvis ductæ sub initiis, in immensum crescunt, et subito evanescunt. Exilis hic primo fluvius, in admirandam magnitudinem excrescit, tandemque in mari Euxino evanescit. I. Stuckius, pereg. mar. Euxini. * "For fierce eagles do not procreate timid ringdoves."

coins, more in number and value, but less in weight and goodness, with finer stamps, cuts, or outsides than of old; yet if he retain those ancient characters of true gentry, he will be more affable, courteous, gently disposed, of fairer carriage, better temper, or a more magnanimous, heroical, and generous spirit, than that *vulgus hominum*, those ordinary boors and peasants, *qui adeo improbi, agrestes, et inculti plerumque sunt, ne dicam malitiosi, ut nemini ullum humanitatis officium præstent, ne ipsi Deo si advenerit*, as [1] one observes of them, a rude, brutish, uncivil, wild, a currish generation, cruel and malicious incapable of discipline, and such as have scarce common sense. And it may be generally spoken of all, which [2] Lemnius the physician said of his travel into England, the common people were silly, sullen, dogged clowns, *sed mitior nobilitas, ad omne humanitatis officium paratissima*, the gentlemen were courteous and civil. If it so fall out (as often it doth) that such peasants are preferred by reason of their wealth, chance, error, &c., or otherwise, yet as the cat in the fable, when she was turned to a fair maid, would play with mice; a cur will be a cur, a clown will be a clown, he will likely savour of the stock whence he came, and that innate rusticity can hardly be shaken off.

> [3] "Licet superbus ambulet pecuniâ,
> Fortuna non mutat genus."

And though by their education such men may be better qualified, and more refined; yet there be many symptoms by which they may likely be descried, an affected fantastical carriage, a tailor-like spruceness, a peculiar garb in all their proceedings; choicer than ordinary in his diet, and as [4] Hierome well describes such a one to his Nepotian: "An upstart born in a base cottage, that scarce at first had coarse bread to fill his hungry guts, must now feed on kickshaws

[1] Sabinus, in 6 Ovid. Met. fab. 4. [2] Lib. 1, de 4 Complexionibus. [3] Hor. ep. Od. 2. "And although he boast of his wealth, Fortune has not changed his nature." [4] Lib. 2, ep. 15. Natus sordide tuguriolo et paupere domo, qui vix milio rugientem ventrem, &c.

and made dishes, will have all variety of flesh and fish, the best oysters," &c. A beggar's brat will be commonly more scornful, imperious, insulting, insolent, than another man of his rank; "Nothing so intolerable as a fortunate fool," as [1] Tully found out long since out of his experience; *Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum*, set a beggar on horseback, and he will ride a gallop, a gallop, &c.,

> [2] "desævit in omnes
> Dum se posse putat, nec bellua sævior ulla est,
> Quam servi rabies in libera colla furentis;"

he forgets what he was, domineers, &c., and many such other symptoms he hath, by which you may know him from a true gentleman. Many errors and obliquities are on both sides, noble, ignoble, *factis, natis;* yet still in all callings, as some degenerate, some are well deserving, and most worthy of their honours. And as Busbequius said of Solyman the Magnificent, he was *tanto dignus imperio*, worthy of that great empire: Many meanly descended are most worthy of their honour, *politicè nobiles*, and well deserve it. Many of our nobility so born (which one said of Hephæstion, Ptolemeus, Seleucus, Antigonus, &c., and the rest of Alexander's followers, they were all worthy to be monarchs and generals of armies) deserve to be princes. And I am so far forth of [3] Sesellius's mind, that they ought to be preferred (if capable) before others, "as being nobly born, ingenuously brought up, and from their infancy trained to all manner of civility." For learning and virtue in a nobleman is more eminent, and, as a jewel set in gold is more precious, and much to be respected, such a man deserves better than others, and is as great an honour to his family as his noble family to him. In a word, many noblemen are an ornament to their order; many poor men's sons are singularly well endowed, most eminent, and well deserving for their worth, wisdom, learning, virtue, valour, integrity; excellent members and pillars

[1] Nihil fortunato insipiente intolerabilius. [2] Claud. l. 9, in Eutrop. [3] Lib. 1, de Rep. Gal. Quoniam et commodiore utuntur conditione, et honestiore loco nati, jam inde à parvulis ad morum civilitatem educati sunt, et assuefacti.

of a commonwealth. And therefore to conclude that which I first intended, to be base by birth, meanly born, is no such disparagement. *Et sic demonstratur, quod erat demonstrandum.*

MEMB. III.

Against Poverty and Want, with such other Adversities.

One of the greatest miseries that can befall a man, in the world's esteem, is poverty or want, which makes men steal, bear false witness, swear, forswear, contend, murder and rebel, which breaketh sleep, and causeth death itself. *οὐδὲν πενίας βαρύτερόν ἐστι φορτίον,* no burden, (saith [1]Menander) so intolerable as poverty; it makes men desperate, it erects and dejects, *census honores, census amicitias;* money makes, but poverty mars, &c., and all this in the world's esteem; yet if considered aright, it is a great blessing in itself, a happy estate, and yields no cause of discontent, or that men should therefore account themselves vile, hated of God, forsaken, miserable, unfortunate. Christ himself was poor, born in a manger, and had not a house to hide his head in all his life, [2]"lest any man should make poverty a judgment of God, or an odious estate." And as he was himself, so he informed his Apostles and Disciples, they were all poor, Prophets poor, Apostles poor, (Acts iii. "Silver and gold have I none.") "As sorrowing (saith Paul) and yet always rejoicing; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things," 1 Cor. vi. 10. Your great Philosophers have been voluntarily poor, not only Christians, but many others. Crates Thebanus was adored for a god in Athens, [3]"a nobleman by birth, many servants he had, an honourable attendance, much wealth, many manors, fine apparel; but when he saw this, that all the

[1] Nullum paupertate gravius onus.
[2] Ne quis iræ divinæ judicium putaret, aut paupertas exosa foret. Gault. in cap. 2, ver. 18 Lucæ.
[3] Inter proceres Thebanos numeratus. lectum habuit genus, frequens famulitium, domus amplas, &c. Apuleius Florid. l. 4.

wealth of the world was but brittle, uncertain and no whit availing to live well, he flung his burden into the sea, and renounced his estate." Those Curii and Fabricii will be ever renowned for contempt of these fopperies, wherewith the world is so much affected. Amongst Christians I could reckon up many kings and queens, that have forsaken their crowns and fortunes, and wilfully abdicated themselves from these so much esteemed toys; [1] many that have refused honours, titles, and all this vain pomp and happiness, which others so ambitiously seek, and carefully study to compass and attain. Riches I deny not are God's good gifts and blessings; and *honor est in honorante*, honours are from God; both rewards of virtue, and fit to be sought after, sued for, and may well be possessed; yet no such great happiness in having, or misery in wanting of them. *Dantur quidem bonis*, saith Austin, *ne quis mala æstimet: malis autem ne quis nimis bona*, good men have wealth that we should not think it evil; and bad men that they should not rely on or hold it so good; as the rain falls on both sorts, so are riches given to good and bad, *sed bonis in bonum*, but they are good only to the godly. But [2] compare both estates, for natural parts they are not unlike; and a beggar's child, as [3] Cardan well observes, "is no whit inferior to a prince's, most part better;" and for those accidents of fortune, it will easily appear there is no such odds, no such extraordinary happiness in the one, or misery in the other. He is rich, wealthy, fat; what gets he by it? pride, insolency, lust, ambition, cares, fears, suspicion, trouble, anger, emulation, and many filthy diseases of body and mind. He hath indeed variety of dishes, better fare, sweet wine, pleasant sauce, dainty music, gay clothes, lords it bravely out, &c., and all that which Misillus admired in [4] Lucian; but with them he hath the gout, dropsies, apoplexies,

[1] P. Blesensis, ep. 72 et 232. oblatos respui honores ex onere metiens; motus ambitiosos rogatus non ivi, &c. [2] Sudat pauper foras in opere, dives in cogitatione; hic os aperit oscitatione, ille ructatione; gravius ille fastidio, quam hic inedia cruciatur. Ber. ser. [3] In Hysperchen. Natura æqua est. puerosque videmus mendicorum nulla ex parte regum filiis dissimiles, plerumque saniores. [4] Gallo, Tom. 2.

palsies, stone, pox, rheums, catarrhs, crudities, oppilations, [1] melancholy, &c., lust enters in, anger, ambition, according to [2] Chrysostom, "the sequel of riches is pride, riot, intemperance, arrogancy, fury, and all irrational courses."

[8] "turpi fregerunt sæcula luxu
Divitiæ molles,"

with their variety of dishes, many such maladies of body and mind get in, which the poor man knows not of. As Saturn in [4] Lucian answered the discontented commonalty (which, because of their neglected Saturnal feasts in Rome, made a grievous complaint and exclamation against rich men), that they were much mistaken in supposing such happiness in riches; [5] "you see the best (said he) but you know not their several gripings and discontents;" they are like painted walls, fair without, rotten within; diseased, filthy, crazy, full of intemperance's effects; [6] "and who can reckon half? if you but knew their fears, cares, anguish of mind and vexation, to which they are subject, you would hereafter renounce all riches."

[7] "O si pateant pectora divitum,
Quantos intus sublimis agit
Fortuna metus! Brutia Coro
Pulsante fretum mitior unda est."

"O that their breasts were but conspicuous,
How full of fear within, how furious!
The narrow seas are not so boisterous."

Yea, but he hath the world at will that is rich, the good things of the earth: *suave est de magno tollere acervo* (it is sweet to draw from a great heap), he is a happy man, [8] adored like a god, a prince, every man seeks to him, ap-

[1] Et è contubernio fœdi atque olidi ventris mors tandem educit. Seneca, ep. 103. [2] Divitiarum sequela, luxus, intemperies, arrogantia, superbia, furor injustus, omnisque irrationabilis motus. [3] Juven. Sat. 6. "Effeminate riches have destroyed the age by the introduction of shameful luxury." [4] Saturn. Epist. [5] Vos quidem divites putatis felices, sed nescitis eorum miserias. [6] Et quota pars hæc eorum quæ istos discruciant? si nossetis metus et curas, quibus obnoxii sunt, planè fugiendas vobis divitias existimaretis. [7] Seneca in Herc. Œteo. [8] Et diis similes stulta cogitatio facit.

plauds, honours, admires him. He hath honours indeed, abundance of all things; but (as I said) withal [1]"pride, lust, anger, faction, emulation, fears, cares, suspicion enter with his wealth;" for his intemperance he hath aches, crudities, gouts, and as fruits of his idleness, and fulness, lust, surfeiting and drunkenness, all manner of diseases: *pecuniis augetur improbitas*, the wealthier, the more dishonest. [2]"He is exposed to hatred, envy, peril and treason, fear of death, degradation," &c., 'tis *lubrica statio et proxima præcipitio*, and the higher he climbs, the greater is his fall.

> [3]" celsæ graviore casu
> Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos
> Fulgura montes,"

the lightning commonly sets on fire the highest towers; [4] in the more eminent place he is, the more subject to fall.

> "Rumpitur innumeris arbos uberrima pomis,
> Et subitò nimiæ præcipitantur opes."

As a tree that is heavy laden with fruit breaks her own boughs, with their own greatness they ruin themselves; which Joachimus Camerarius hath elegantly expressed in his 13 Emblem, *cent.* 1. *Inopem se copia fecit.* Their means is their misery, though they do apply themselves to the times, to lie, dissemble, collogue and flatter their lieges, obey, second his will and commands, as much as may be, yet too frequently they miscarry, they fat themselves like so many hogs, as [5]Æneas Sylvius observes, that when they are full fed, they may be devoured by their princes, as Seneca by Nero was served, Sejanus by Tiberius, and Haman by Ahasuerus; I resolve with Gregory, *potestas culminis, est tempestas mentis; et quo dignitas altior, casus gravior*, honour is a tempest, the higher they are elevated, the more grievously depressed. For the rest of his prerogatives which wealth affords, as he

[1] Flamma simul libidinis ingreditur; ira, furor et superbia, divitiarum sequela. Chrys. [2] Omnium oculis, odio, insidiis expositus, semper solicitus, fortunæ ludibrium. [3] Hor. 2 l. od. 10. [4] Quid me felicem toties jactastis, amici? Qui cecidit, stabili non fuit ille loco. Boeth. [5] Ut postquam impinguati fuerint, devorentur.

hath more his expenses are the greater. "When goods increase, they are increased that eat them; and what good cometh to the owners, but the beholding thereof with the eyes?" Eccles. iv. 10.

[1] "Millia frumenti tua triverit area centum,
Non tuus hinc capiet venter plus quam meus"

"an evil sickness," Solomon calls it, "and reserved to them for an evil," 12 verse. "They that will be rich fall into many fears and temptations, into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drown men in perdition." 1 Tim. vi. 9. "Gold and silver hath destroyed many," Ecclus. viii. 2, *divitiæ sæculi sunt laquei diaboli:* so writes Bernard; worldly wealth is the devil's bait; and as the Moon when she is fuller of light is still farthest from the Sun, the more wealth they have, the farther they are commonly from God. (If I had said this of myself, rich men would have pulled me to pieces; but hear who saith, and who seconds it, an Apostle) therefore St. James bids them "weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon them; their gold shall rust and canker, and eat their flesh as fire," James v. 1, 2, 3. I may then boldly conclude with [2] Theodoret, *quotiescunque divitiis affluentem*, &c. "As often as you shall see a man abounding in wealth," *qui gemmis bibit et Serrano dormit in ostro*, "and nought withal, I beseech you call him not happy, but esteem him unfortunate, because he hath many occasions offered to live unjustly; on the other side, a poor man is not miserable, if he be good, but therefore happy, that those evil occasions are taken from him."

[3] "Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Recte beatum; rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti,

[1] Hor. "Although a hundred thousand bushels of wheat may have been threshed in your granaries, your stomach will not contain more than mine."
[2] Cap. 6, de curat. græc. affect. cap. de providentia; quotiescunque divitiis affluentem hominem videmus, eumque pessimum, ne quæso hunc beatissimum putemus, sed infelicem censeamus, &c.
[3] Hor. l. 2, Od. 2.

Duramque callet pauperiem pati,
Pejusque letho flagitium timet."

"He is not happy that is rich,
And hath the world at will,
But he that wisely can God's gifts
Possess and use them still:
That suffers and with patience
Abides hard poverty,
And chooseth rather for to die,
Than do such villany."

Wherein now consists his happiness? what privileges hath he more than other men? or rather what miseries, what cares and discontents hath he not more than other men?

[1] "Non enim gazæ, neque consularis
Summovet lictor miseros tumultus
Mentis, et curas laqueata circum
Tecta volantes."

"Nor treasures, nor majors' officers remove
The miserable tumults of the mind:
Or cares that lie about, or fly above
Their high-roofed houses, with huge beams combin'd."

'Tis not his wealth can vindicate him, let him have Job's inventory, *sint Crœsi et Crassi licet, non hos Pactolus aureas undas agens, eripiat unquam è miseriis*, Crœsus or rich Crassus cannot now command health, or get himself a stomach. [2] "His worship," as Apuleius describes him, in all his plenty and great provision, is forbidden to eat, or else hath no appetite (sick in bed, can take no rest, sore grieved with some chronic disease, contracted with full diet and ease, or troubled in mind,) when as, in the mean time, all his household are merry, and the poorest servant that he keeps doth continually feast." 'Tis *Bracteata felicitas*, as [3] Seneca terms it, tinfoiled happiness, *infelix felicitas*, an unhappy kind of happiness, if it be happiness at all. His gold, guard, clattering of harness, and fortifications against outward enemies, cannot free him from inward fears and cares.

[1] Hor. lib. 2. [2] Florid. lib. 4. Dives sua cibo non accipit, cum interea totille cibo interdicitur, et in omni copia tum ejus servitium hilare sit, atque epuletur. [3] Epist. 115.

"Reveraque metus hominum, curæque sequaces
Nec metuunt fremitus armorum, aut ferrea tela,
Audacterque inter reges, regumque potentes
Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro."

"Indeed men still attending fears and cares
Nor armours clashing, nor fierce weapons fear:
With kings converse they boldly, and kings' peers,
Fearing no flashings that from gold appear."

Look how many servants he hath, and so many enemies he suspects; for liberty he entertains ambition; his pleasures are no pleasures; and that which is worst, he cannot be private or enjoy himself as other men do, his state is a servitude. [1] A countryman may travel from kingdom to kingdom, province to province, city to city, and glut his eyes with delightful objects, hawk, hunt, and use those ordinary disports, without any notice taken, all which a prince or a great man cannot do. He keeps in for state, *ne majestatis dignitas evilescat*, as our China kings of Borneo, and Tartarian Chams, those *aurea mancipia*, are said to do, seldom or never seen abroad, *ut major sit hominum erga se observantia*, which the [2] Persian kings so precisely observed of old. A poor man takes more delight in an ordinary meal's meat, which he hath but seldom, than they do with all their exotic dainties and continual viands; *Quippe voluptatem commendat rarior usus*, 'tis the rarity and necessity that makes a thing acceptable and pleasant. Darius, put to flight by Alexander, drank puddle water to quench his thirst, and it was pleasanter, he swore, than any wine or mead. All excess, as [3] Epictetus argues, will cause a dislike; sweet will be sour, which made that temperate Epicurus sometimes voluntarily fast. But they being always accustomed to the same [4] dishes (which are nastily dressed by slovenly cooks, that after their obscenities never wash their bawdy hands), be they fish, flesh, compounded, made dishes, or whatsoever else, are

[1] Hor. et mihi curto Ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum. [2] Brisonius. [3] Si modum excesseris, suavissima sunt molesta. [4] Et in cupediis gulæ, coquus et pueri illotis manibus ab exoneratione ventris omnia tractant, &c. Cardan. l. 8, cap. 46, de rerum varietate.

therefore cloyed; nectar's self grows loathsome to them, they are weary of all their fine palaces, they are to them but as so many prisons. A poor man drinks in a wooden dish, and eats his meat in wooden spoons, wooden platters, earthen vessels, and such homely stuff; the other in gold, silver, and precious stones; but with what success? *in auro bibitur venenum*, fear of poison in the one, security in the other. A poor man is able to write, to speak his mind, to do his own business himself; *locuples mittit parasitum*, saith [1] Philostratus, a rich man employs a parasite, and as the major of the city, speaks by the town-clerk, or by Mr. Recorder, when he cannot express himself. [2] Nonius the senator hath a purple coat as stiff with jewels as his mind is full of vices; rings on his fingers worth 20,000 sesterces, and as [3] Perox the Persian king, an union in his ear worth one hundred pounds weight of gold; [4] Cleopatra hath whole boars and sheep served up to her table at once, drinks jewels dissolved, 40,000 sesterces in value; but to what end?

> [5] "Num tibi cum fauces urit sitis, aurea quæris
> Pocula?"

Doth a man that is adry desire to drink in gold? Doth not a cloth suit become him as well, and keep him as warm, as all their silks, satins, damasks, taffeties and tissues? Is not homespun cloth as great a preservative against cold, as a coat of Tartar lambs'-wool, died in grain, or a gown of giants' beards? Nero, saith [6] Sueton., never put on one garment twice, and thou hast scarce one to put on! what's the difference? one's sick, the other sound; such is the whole tenor of their lives, and that which is the consummation and upshot of all, death itself makes the greatest difference. One like a hen feeds on the dunghill all his days, but is served up at last to his Lord's table; the other as a falcon is fed with partridge and pigeons, and carried on his master's fist,

[1] Epist. [2] Plin. lib. 57, cap. 6. ejus. [5] Hor. Ser. lib. 1. Sat. 2. [6] Cap. [3] Zonaras, 3, annal. [4] Plutarch. vit. 30, nullam vestem bis induit.

but when he dies is flung to the muckhill, and there lies. The rich man lives like Dives jovially here on earth, *temulentus divitiis*, make the best of it; and "boasts himself in the multitude of his riches," Psalm xlix. 6, 11, he thinks his house "called after his own name, shall continue for ever;" "but he perisheth like a beast," verse 20, "his way utters his folly," verse 13, *malè parta malè dilabuntur;* "like sheep they lie in the grave," verse 14, *Puncto descendunt ad infernum*, "they spend their days in wealth, and go suddenly down to hell," Job xxi. 13. For all physicians and medicines enforcing nature, a swooning wife, families' complaints, friends' tears, dirges, masses, *nenias*, funerals, for all orations, counterfeit hired acclamations, eulogiums, epitaphs, hearses, heralds, black mourners, solemnities, obelisks, and Mausoleum tombs, if he have them, at least, [1] he, like a hog, goes to hell with a guilty conscience (*propter hos dilatavit infernus os suum*), and a poor man's curse; his memory stinks like the snuff of a candle when it is put out; scurrilous libels, and infamous obloquies accompany him. When as poor Lazarus is *Dei sacrarium*, the temple of God, lives and dies in true devotion, hath no more attendants but his own innocency, the heaven a tomb, desires to be dissolved, buried in his mother's lap, and hath a company of [2] Angels ready to convey his soul into Abraham's bosom, he leaves an everlasting and a sweet memory behind him. Crassus and Sylla are indeed still recorded, but not so much for their wealth as for their victories; Crœsus for his end, Solomon for his wisdom. In a word, [3] "to get wealth is a great trouble, anxiety to keep, grief to lose it."

[4] "Quid dignum stolidis mentibus imprecer?
Opes, honores ambiant:
Et cum falsa gravi mole paraverint,
Tum vera cognoscant bona."

[1] Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci descendunt reges, et sicca morte tyranni. [2] "God shall deliver his soul from the power of the grave," Psal. xlix. 15. [3] Contempl. Idiot. Cap. 37, divitiarum acquisitio magni laboris, possessio magni timoris, amissio magni doloris. [4] Boethius, de consol. phil. l. 3. "How contemptible stoiid minds! They covet riches and titles, and when they have obtained these commodities of false weight and measures, then, and not before, they un-

But consider all those other unknown, concealed happinesses, which a poor man hath (I call them unknown, because they be not acknowledged in the world's esteem, or so taken), *O fortunatos nimium bona si sua nôrint:* happy they are in the mean time if they would take notice of it, make use, or apply it to themselves. "A poor man wise is better than a foolish king," Eccles. ii. 13. [1] "Poverty is the way to heaven, [2] the mistress of philosophy, [3] the mother of religion, virtue, sobriety, sister of innocency, and an upright mind." How many such encomiums might I add out of the fathers, philosophers, orators? It troubles many that are poor, they account of it as a great plague, curse, a sign of God's hatred, *ipsum scelus*, damned villany itself, a disgrace, shame and reproach; but to whom, or why? [4] "If fortune hath envied me wealth, thieves have robbed me, my father hath not left me such revenues as others have, that I am a younger brother, basely born,——*cui sine luce genus, surdumque parentum ——nomen*, of mean parentage, a dirt-dauber's son, am I therefore to be blamed? an eagle, a bull, a lion is not rejected for his poverty, and why should a man?" 'Tis [5] *fortunæ telum, non culpæ*, fortune's fault, not mine. "Good Sir, I am a servant (to use [6] Seneca's words), howsoever your poor friend; a servant, and yet your chamber-fellow, and if you consider better of it, your fellow-servant." I am thy drudge in the world's eyes, yet in God's sight peradventure thy better, my soul is more precious, and I dearer unto him. *Etiam servi diis curæ sunt*, as Evangelus at large proves in Macrobius, the meanest servant is most precious in his sight. Thou art an epicure, I am a good Christian; thou art many parasangs before me in means, favour, wealth, honour, Claudius's Narcissus, Nero's Massa, Domitian's Parthenius, a favourite, a golden slave; thou coverest thy floors with mar-

derstand what is truly valuable." [1] Austin in Ps. lxxvi. omnis Philosophiæ magistra, ad cœlum via. [2] Bonæ mentis soror paupertas. [3] Pædagoga pietatis sobria, pia mater, cultu simplex, habitu secura, consilio benesuada. Apul. [4] Cardan. Opprobrium non est paupertas: quod latro eripit, aut pater non reliquit, cur mihi vitio daretur, si fortuna divitias invidit? non aquilæ, non, &c. [5] Tully. [6] Epist. 74, servus, summe homo; servus sum, immo contubernalis, servus sum, at humilis amicus, immo conservus si cogitaveris.

ble, thy roofs with gold, thy walls with statues, fine pictures, curious hangings, &c., what of all this? *calcas opes*, &c., what's all this to true happiness? I live and breathe under that glorious heaven, that august capitol of nature, enjoy the brightness of stars, that clear light of sun and moon, those infinite creatures, plants, birds, beasts, fishes, herbs, all that sea and land afford, far surpassing all that art and *opulentia* can give. I am free, and which [1] Seneca said of Rome, *culmen liberos texit, sub marmore et auro postea servitus habitavit*, thou hast *Amaltheæ cornu*, plenty, pleasure, the world at will, I am despicable and poor; but a world overshot, a blow in choler, a game at tables, a loss at sea, a sudden fire, the prince's dislike, a little sickness, &c., may make us equal in an instant; howsoever take thy time, triumph and insult awhile, *cinis æquat*, as [2] Alphonsus said, death will equalize us all at last. I live sparingly, in the mean time, am clad homely, fare hardly; is this a reproach? am I the worse for it? am I contemptible for it? am I to be reprehended? A learned man in [3] Nevisanus was taken down for sitting amongst gentlemen, but he replied, "my nobility is about the head, yours declines to the tail," and they were silent. Let them mock, scoff, and revile, 'tis not thy scorn, but his that made thee so; "he that mocketh the poor, reproacheth him that made him," Prov. xi. 5, "and he that rejoiceth at affliction, shall not be unpunished." For the rest, the poorer thou art, the happier thou art, *ditior est, at non melior*, saith [4] Epictetus, he is richer, not better than thou art, not so free from lust, envy, hatred, ambition.

> "Beatus ille qui procul negotiis
> Paterna rura bobus exercet suis."

Happy he, in that he is [5] freed from the tumults of the world,

[1] Epist. 66 et 90. [2] Panormitan. rebus gestis Alph. [3] Lib. 4, num. 218, quidam deprehensus quod sederet loco nobilium, mea nobilitas, ait, est circa caput, vestra declinat ad caudam. [4] Tanto beatior es, quanto collectior. [5] Non amoribus inservit, non appetit honores, et qualitercunque relictus satis habet, hominem se esse meminit, invidet nemini, neminem despicit, neminem miratur, sermonibus malignis non attendit aut alitur. Plinius.

he seeks no honours, gapes after no preferment, flatters not, envies not, temporizeth not, but lives privately, and well contented with his estate;

> "Nec spes corde avidas, nec curam pascit inanem
> Securus quò fata cadant."

He is not troubled with state matters, whether kingdoms thrive better by succession or election; whether monarchies should be mixed, temperate, or absolute; the house of Ottomon's and Austria is all one to him; he inquires not after colonies or new discoveries; whether Peter were at Rome, or Constantine's donation be of force; what comets or new stars signify, whether the earth stand or move, there be a new world in the moon, or infinite worlds, &c. He is not touched with fear of invasions, factions or emulations;

> [1] "Fœlix ille animi, divisque simillimus ipsis,
> Quem non mordaci resplendens gloria fuco
> Solicitat, non fastosi mala gaudia luxus,
> Sed tacitos sinit ire dies, et paupere cultu
> [2] Exigit innocuæ tranquilla silentia vitæ."
>
> "A happy soul, and like to God himself,
> Whom not vain glory macerates or strife,
> Or wicked joys of that proud swelling pelf,
> But leads a still, poor, and contented life."

A secure, quiet, blissful state he hath, if he could acknowledge it. But here is the misery, that he will not take notice of it; he repines at rich men's wealth, brave hangings, dainty fare, as [3] Simonides objecteth to Hiero, he hath all the pleasures of the world, [4] *in lectis eburneis dormit, vinum phialis bibit, optimis unguentis delibuitur*, "he knows not the affliction of Joseph, stretching himself on ivory beds, and singing to the sound of the viol." And it troubles him that he hath not the like; there is a difference (he grumbles) between Laplolly and Pheasants, to tumble i' th' straw and lie in a down bed, betwixt wine and water, a cottage and a palace.

[1] Politianus in rustico. [2] Gyges, regno Lydiæ inflatus, sciscitatum misit Apollinem, an quis mortalium se felicior esset. Aglaium Arcadum pauperrimum Apollo prætulit, qui terminos agri sui nunquam excesserat, rure suo contentus. Val. lib. 1, c. 7. [3] Hor. hæc est Vita solutorum misera ambitione, gravique. [4] Amos vi.

"He hates nature (as [1] Pliny characterizeth him) that she hath made him lower than a god, and is angry with the gods that any man goes before him;" and although he hath received much, yet (as [2] Seneca follows it) "he thinks it an injury that he hath no more, and is so far from giving thanks for his tribuneship, that he complains he is not prætor, neither doth that please him, except he may be consul." Why is he not a prince, why not a monarch, why not an emperor? Why should one man have so much more than his fellows, one have all, another nothing? Why should one man be a slave or drudge to another? One surfeit, another starve, one live at ease, another labour, without any hope of better fortune? Thus they grumble, mutter, and repine; not considering that inconstancy of human affairs, judicially conferring one condition with another, or well weighing their own present estate. What they are now, thou mayest shortly be; and what thou art they shall likely be. Expect a little, compare future and times past with the present, see the event, and comfort thyself with it. It is as well to be discerned in commonwealths, cities, families, as in private men's estates. Italy was once lord of the world, Rome the queen of cities, vaunted herself of two [3] myriads of inhabitants; now that all-commanding country is possessed by petty princes, [4] Rome a small village in respect. Greece of old the seat of civility, mother of sciences and humanity; now forlorn, the nurse of barbarism, a den of thieves. Germany then, saith Tacitus, was incult and horrid, now full of magnificent cities; Athens, Corinth, Carthage, how flourishing cities, now buried in their own ruins! *Corvorum, ferarum, aprorum et bestiarum lustra*, like so many wildernesses, a receptacle of wild beasts. Venice, a poor fisher-town; Paris, London, small cottages in Cæsar's time, now most noble emporiums. Valois, Plantagenet, and Scaliger, how fortunate families, how likely to

[1] Præfat. lib. 7. Odit naturam quod infra deos sit; irascitur diis quod quis illi antecedat. [2] De ira, cap. 31, lib. 3. Et si multum acceperit, injuriam putat plura non accepisse; non agit pro tribunatu gratias, sed queritur quod non sit ad prætoram perductus; neque hæc grata, si desit consulatus. [3] Lips. admir. [4] Of some 90,000 inhabitants now.

continue! now quite extinguished and rooted out. He stands aloft to-day, full of favour, wealth, honour, and prosperity, in the top of fortune's wheel; to-morrow in prison, worse than nothing, his son's a beggar. Thou art a poor servile drudge, *Fæx populi*, a very slave, thy son may come to be a prince, with Maximinus, Agathocles, &c., a senator, a general of an army; thou standest bare to him now, workest for him, drudgest for him and his, takest an alms of him; stay but a little, and his next heir peradventure shall consume all with riot, be degraded, thou exalted, and he shall beg of thee. Thou shalt be his most honourable patron, he thy devout servant, his posterity shall run, ride, and do as much for thine, as it was with [1] Frisgobald and Cromwell, it may be for thee. Citizens devour country gentlemen, and settle in their seats; after two or three descents, they consume all in riot, it returns to the city again.

[2] "Novus incola venit;
Nam propriæ telluris herum natura, neque illum,
Nec me, nec quenquam statuit; nos expulit ille:
Illum aut nequities, aut vafri inscitia juris."

"have we liv'd at a more frugal rate
Since this new stranger seiz'd on our estate?
Nature will no perpetual heir assign,
Or make the farm his property or mine.
He turn'd us out; but follies all his own,
Or lawsuits and their knaveries yet unknown,
Or, all his follies and his lawsuits past,
Some long-lived heir shall turn him out at last."

A lawyer buys out his poor client, after awhile his client's posterity buy out him and his; so things go round, ebb and flow.

"Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
Dictus erat, nulli proprius, sed cedit in usum
Nunc mihi, nunc aliis;"

"The farm, once mine, now bears Umbrenus' name;
The use alone, not property, we claim;
Then be not with your present lot deprest,
And meet the future with undaunted breast;"

[1] Read the story at large in John Fox, his Acts and Monuments. [2] Hor. Sat. 2, ser. lib. 2.

as he said then, *ager cujus, quot habes Dominos?* So say I of land, houses, movables and money, mine to-day, his anon, whose to-morrow? In fine (as [1] Machiavel observes), "virtue and prosperity beget rest; rest idleness; idleness riot; riot destruction; from which we come again to good laws; good laws engender virtuous actions; virtue, glory and prosperity; and 'tis no dishonour then (as Guicciardine adds) for a flourishing man, city, or state to come to ruin,[2] nor infelicity to be subject to the law of nature." *Ergo terrena calcanda, sitienda cœlestia*, therefore (I say) scorn this transitory state, look up to heaven, think not what others are, but what thou art: [3] *Quâ parte locatus es in re;* and what thou shalt be, what thou mayest be. Do (I say) as Christ himself did, when he lived here on earth, imitate him as much as in thee lies. How many great Cæsars, mighty monarchs, tetrarchs, dynasties, princes lived in his days, in what plenty, what delicacy, how bravely attended, what a deal of gold and silver, what treasure, how many sumptuous palaces had they, what provinces and cities, ample territories, fields, rivers, fountains, parks, forests, lawns, woods, cells, &c.? Yet Christ had none of all this, he would have none of this, he voluntarily rejected all this, he could not be ignorant, he could not err in his choice, he contemned all this, he chose that which was safer, better, and more certain, and less to be repented, a mean estate, even poverty itself; and why dost thou then doubt to follow him, to imitate him, and his apostles, to imitate all good men; so do thou tread in his divine steps, and thou shalt not err eternally, as too many worldlings do, that run on in their own dissolute courses, to their confusion and ruin, thou shalt not do amiss. Whatsoever thy fortune is, be contented with it, trust in him, rely on him, refer thyself wholly to him. For know this, in conclusion, *Non est volentis nec currentis, sed miserentis Dei*, 'tis not as men, but as God will. "The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich, bringeth low, and

[1] 5 Florent. hist. virtus quietem parat, quies otium, otium porro luxum generat, luxus interitum, à quo iterum ad salu-berrimas, &c. [2] Guicciard. in Hiponest.; nulla infelicitas subjectum esse legi naturæ, &c. [3] Persius.

exalteth (1 Sam. ii. ver. 7, 8), he lifteth the poor from the dust, and raiseth the beggar from the dunghill, to set them amongst princes, and make them inherit the seat of glory;" 'tis all as he pleaseth, how, and when, and whom; he that appoints the end (though to us unknown) appoints the means likewise subordinate to the end.

Yea, but their present estate crucifies and torments most mortal men, they have no such forecast, to see what may be, what shall likely be, but what is, though not wherefore, or from whom; *hoc angit*, their present misfortunes grind their souls, and an envious eye which they cast upon other men's prosperities, *Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet*, how rich, how fortunate, how happy is he? But in the mean time he doth not consider the other's miseries, his infirmities of body and mind, that accompany his estate, but still reflects upon his own false conceived woes and wants, whereas if the matter were duly examined [1] he is in no distress at all, he hath no cause to complain.

[2] "tolle querelas,
Pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus,"

"Then cease complaining, friend, and learn to live.
He is not poor to whom kind fortune grants,
Even with a frugal hand, what Nature wants,"

he is not poor, he is not in need. "[3] Nature is content with bread and water; and he that can rest satisfied with that, may contend with Jupiter himself for happiness." In that golden age, [4] *somnos dedit umbra salubres, potum quoque, lubricus amnis*, the tree gave wholesome shade to sleep under, and the clear rivers drink. The Israelites drank water in the wilderness; Samson, David, Saul, Abraham's servant when he went for Isaac's wife, the Samaritan woman, and how many besides might I reckon up, Egypt, Palestine, whole countries in the [5] Indies, that drank pure water all

[1] Omnes divites qui cœlo et terra frui possunt. [2] Hor. lib. 1, epist. 12. [3] Seneca, epist. 15, panem et aquam natura desiderat, et hæc qui habet, ipso cum Jove de felicitate contendat. Cibus simplex famem sedat, vestis tenuis frigus arcet. Senec. epist. 8. [4] Boethius. [5] Muffæus et alii.

their lives. [1] The Persian kings themselves drank no other drink than the water of Chaospis, that runs by Susa, which was carried in bottles after them, whithersoever they went. Jacob desired no more of God, but bread to eat, and clothes to put on in his journey: Gen. xxviii. 20. *Bene est cui Deus obtulit Parca quod satis est manu;* bread is enough [2] "to strengthen the heart." And if you study philosophy aright, saith [3] Maudarensis, "whatsoever is beyond this moderation, is not useful, but troublesome." [4] Agellius, out of Euripides, accounts bread and water enough to satisfy nature, "of which there is no surfeit, the rest is not a feast, but a riot." [5] S. Hierome esteems him rich "that hath bread to eat, and a potent man that is not compelled to be a slave: hunger is not ambitious, so that it hath to eat, and thirst doth not prefer a cup of gold." It was no epicurean speech of an epicure, he that is not satisfied with a little will never have enough; and very good counsel of him in the [6] poet, "O my son, mediocrity of means agrees best with men; too much is pernicious."

> "Divitiæ grandes homini sunt vivere parcè,
> Æquo animo."

And if thou canst be content, thou hast abundance, *nihil est, nihil deest*, thou hast little, thou wantest nothing. 'Tis all one to be hanged in a chain of gold, or in a rope; to be filled with dainties or coarser meat.

> [7] "Si ventri bene, si lateri, pedibusque tuis, nil
> Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus."
>
> "If belly, sides, and feet be well at ease,
> A prince's treasure can thee no more please."

Socrates in a fair, seeing so many things bought and sold, such a multitude of people convented to that purpose, exclaimed forthwith, "O ye gods, what a sight of things do not I want? 'Tis thy want alone that keeps thee in health of

[1] Brissonius. [2] Psal. lxxxiv [3] Si recte philosophemini, quicquid aptam moderationem supergreditur, oneri potius quàm usui est. [4] Lib. 7, 16. Cereris munus et aquæ poculum mortales quærunt habere, et quorum saties nunquam est, luxus autem, sunt cætera, non epulæ. [5] Satis est dives qui pane non indiget; nimium potens qui servire non cogitur. Ambitiosa non est fames, &c. [6] Euripides, Menalip. O fili, mediocres divitiæ hominibus conveniunt, nimia vero moles perniciosa. [7] Hor.

body and mind, and that which thou persecutest and abhorrest as a feral plague is thy physician and [1] chiefest friend, which makes thee a good man, a healthful, a sound, a virtuous, an honest and happy man." For when Virtue came from heaven (as the poet feigns), rich men kicked her up, wicked men abhorred her, courtiers scoffed at her, citizens hated her, [2] and that she was thrust out of doors in every place, she came at last to her sister Poverty, where she had found good entertainment. Poverty and Virtue dwell together.

> [3] "O vitæ tuta facultas
> Pauperis, angustique lares, ô munera nondum
> Intellecta deûm."

How happy art thou if thou couldst be content. "Godliness is a great gain, if a man can be content with that which he hath," 1 Tim. vi. 6. And all true happiness is in a mean estate. I have a little wealth, as he said, [4] *sed quas animus magnas facit*, a kingdom in conceit:

> [5] "nil amplius opto
> Maiâ nate, nisi ut propria hæc mihi munera faxis;"

I have enough and desire no more.

> [6] "Dii bene fecerunt inopis me quodque pusilli
> Fecerunt animi"

'tis very well, and to my content. [7] *Vestem et fortunam concinnam potius quam laxam probo*, let my fortune and my garments be both alike fit for me. And which [8] Sebastian Foscarinus, sometime Duke of Venice, caused to be engraven on his tomb in St. Mark's Church, "Hear, O ye Venetians, and I will tell you which is the best thing in the world: to contemn it." I will engrave it in my heart, it shall be my

[1] O noctes cœnæque deûm. [2] Per mille fraudes doctosque dolos ejicitur, apud sociam paupertatem ejusque cultores divertens, in eorum sinu et tutela deliciatur. [3] Lucan. "O protecting quality of a poor man's life, frugal means, gifts scarce yet understood by the gods themselves." [4] Lip. miscell. ep. 40. [5] Sat. 6, lib. 2. [6] Hor. Sat. 4. [7] Apuleius. [8] Chytræus, in Europæ deliciis. Accipite, cives Veneti, quod est optimum in rebus humanis, res humanas contemnere.

whole study to contemn it. Let them take wealth, *Stercora stercus amet*, so that I may have security: *bene qui latuit, bene vixit;* though I live obscure, [1] yet I live clean and honest; and when as the lofty oak is blown down, the silly reed may stand. Let them take glory, for that's their misery; let them take honour, so that I may have heart's-ease. *Duc me, O Jupiter, et tu fatum,* [2] &c. Lead me, O God, whither thou wilt, I am ready to follow; command, I will obey. I do not envy at their wealth, titles, offices;

> "Stet quicunque volet potens
> Aulæ culmine lubrico,
> Me dulcis saturet quies," [3]

let me live quiet and at ease. [4] *Erimus fortasse* (as he comforted himself) *quando illi non erunt*, when they are dead and gone, and all their pomp vanished, our memory may flourish:

> [5] "dant perennes
> Stemmata non peritura Musæ."

Let him be my lord, patron, baron, earl, and possess so many goodly castles, 'tis well for me [6] that I have a poor house, and a little wood, and a well by it, &c.

> "His me consolor victurum suavius, ac si
> Quæstor avus pater atque meus, patruusque fuissent."
>
> "With which I feel myself more truly blest
> Than if my sires the quæstor's power possessed."

I live, I thank God, as merrily as he, and triumph as much in this my mean estate, as if my father and uncle had been lord treasurer, or my lord mayor. He feeds of many dishes, I of one: [7] *qui Christum curat, non multum curat quam de preciosis cibis stercus conficiat*, what care I of what stuff my

[1] Vah, vivere etiam nunc lubet, as Demea said, Adelph. Act. 4. Quam multis non egeo, quam multa non desidero, ut Socrates in pompa, ille in nundinis. [2] Epictetus, 77 cap. quo sum destinatus, et sequar alacriter. [3] "Let whosoever covets it occupy the highest pinnacle of fame, sweet tranquillity shall satisfy me." [4] Puteanus, ep. 62. [5] Marullus. "The immortal Muses confer imperishable pride of origin." [6] Hoc erit in votis, modus agri non ita parvus, Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons, et paulum sylvæ, &c. Hor. Sat. 6, lib. 2, Ser. [7] Hieronym.

excrements be made? [1] "He that lives according to nature cannot be poor, and he that exceeds can never have enough," *totus non sufficit orbis*, the whole world cannot give him content. "A small thing that the righteous hath, is better than the riches of the ungodly," Psal. xxxvii. 16; "and better is a poor morsel with quietness, than abundance with strife," Prov. xvii. 1.

Be content then, enjoy thyself, and as [2] Chrysostom adviseth, "be not angry for what thou hast not, but give God hearty thanks for what thou hast received.

> [3] "Si dat oluscula
> Mensa minuscula
> pace referta,
> Ne pete grandia,
> Lautaque prandia
> lite repleta."

But what wantest thou, to expostulate the matter? or what hast thou not better than a rich man? [4] "health, competent wealth, children, security, sleep, friends, liberty, diet, apparel, and what not," or at least mayest have (the means being so obvious, easy, and well known), for as he inculcated to himself,

> [5] "Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem,
> Jucundissime Martialis, hæc sunt;
> Res non parta labore, sed relicta,
> Lis numquam," &c.

I say again thou hast, or at least mayest have it, if thou wilt thyself, and that which I am sure he wants, a merry heart. "Passing by a village in the territory of Milan," saith [6] St. Austin, "I saw a poor beggar that had got belike his bellyful of meat, jesting and merry; I sighed, and said to some of my

[1] Seneca, consil. ad Albinum, c. 11, qui continet se intra naturæ limites, paupertatem non sentit; qui excedit, eum in opibus paupertas sequitur. [2] Hom. 12. Pro his quæ accepisti gratias age, noli indignare pro his quæ non accepisti. [3] Nat. Chytræus, deliciis Europ. Gustonii in ædibus Hubianis in cœnaculo è regione mensæ. "If your table afford frugal fare with peace, seek not, in strife, to load it lavishly." [4] Quid non habet melius pauper quam dives? vitam, valetudinem, cibum, somnum, libertatem, &c. Card. [5] Martial. l. 10, epig. 47, read it out thyself in the author. [6] Confess. lib. 6. Transiens per vicum quendam Mediolanensem, animadverti pauperem quendam mendicum, jam credo saturum, jocantem atque ridentem, et ingemui et locutus sum

friends that were then with me, What a deal of trouble, madness, pain, and grief do we sustain and exaggerate unto ourselves, to get that secure happiness which this poor beggar hath prevented us of, and which we peradventure shall never have? For that which he hath now attained with the begging of some small pieces of silver, a temporal happiness, and present heart's-ease, I cannot compass with all my careful windings, and running in and out. [1] And surely the beggar was very merry, but I was heavy; he was secure, but I timorous. And if any man should ask me now, whether I had rather be merry, or still so solicitous and sad, I should say, merry. If he should ask me again, whether I had rather be as I am, or as this beggar was, I should sure choose to be as I am, tortured still with cares and fears; but out of peevishness, and not out of truth." That which St. Austin said of himself here in this place, I may truly say to thee, thou discontented wretch, thou covetous niggard, thou churl, thou ambitious and swelling toad, 'tis not want but peevishness which is the cause of thy woes; settle thine affection, thou hast enough.

> [2] "Denique sit finis quærendi, quoque habeas plus,
> Pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem
> Incipias; parto, quod avebas, utere."

Make an end of scraping, purchasing this manor, this field, that house, for this and that child; thou hast enough for thyself and them:

> [3] "quod petis hic est,
> Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit æquus,"

'Tis at hand, at home already, which thou so earnestly seekest. But

> "O si angulus ille
> Proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum,"

cum amicis qui mecum erant. &c. [1] Et certe ille lætabatur, ego anxius; securus ille, ego trepidus. Et si percontaretur me quispiam an exultare mallem, an metuere, responderem, exultare: et si rursus interrogaret an ego talis essem, an qualis nunc sum, me ipsis curis confectum eligerem; sed perversitate, non veritate. [2] Hor. [3] Hor. ep. lib. 1.

O that I had but that one nook of ground, that field there, that pasture, *O si venam argenti fors quis mihi monstret*—— O that I could but find a pot of money now, to purchase, &c., to build me a new house, to marry my daughter, place my son! &c. [1] "O if I might but live awhile longer to see all things settled, some two or three years, I would pay my debts," make all my reckonings even! but they are come and past, and thou hast more business than before. "O madness, to think to settle that in thine old age when thou hast more, which in thy youth thou canst not now compose having but a little." [2] Pyrrhus would first conquer Africa, and then Asia, *et tum suaviter agere*, and then live merrily and take his ease; but when Cyneas the orator told him he might do that already, *id jam posse fieri*, rested satisfied, condemning his own folly. *Si parva licet componere magnis*, thou mayest do the like, and therefore be composed in thy fortune. Thou hast enough; he that is wet in a bath, can be no more wet if he be flung into Tiber, or into the ocean itself; and if thou hadst all the world, or a solid mass of gold as big as the world, thou canst not have more than enough; enjoy thyself at length, and that which thou hast; the mind is all; be content, thou art not poor, but rich, and so much the richer, as [3] Censorinus well writ to Cerellius, *quanto pauciora optas, non quo plura possides*, in wishing less, not having more. I say then, *Non adjice opes, sed minue cupiditates* ('tis [4] Epicurus's advice), add no more wealth, but diminish thy desires; and as [5] Chrysostom well seconds him, *Si vis ditari, contemne divitias;* that's true plenty, not to have, but not to want riches, *non habere, sed non indigere, vera abundantia;* 'tis more glory to contemn, than to possess; *et nihil egere, est deorum*, "and to want nothing is divine." How many deaf,

[1] O si nunc morerer, inquit, quanta et qualia mihi imperfecta manerent: sed si mensibus decem vel octo supervixero, omnia redigam ad libellum, ab omni debito creditoque me explicabo; prætereunt interim menses decem, et octo, et cum illis anni, et adhuc restant plura quam prius; quid igitur speras, O insane, finem quem rebus tuis non inveneras in juventa, in senecta impositurum? O dementiam, quum ob curas et negotia tuo judicio sis infelix, quid putas futurum quum plura supererint? Cardan. lib. 8, cap. 40, de rer. var. [2] Plutarch. [3] Lib. de natali. cap. 1. [4] Apud Stobæum, ser. 17. [5] Hom. 12, in 2 Cor. 6.

dumb, halt, lame, blind, miserable persons could I reckon up that are poor, and withal distressed, in imprisonment, banishment, galley-slaves, condemned to the mines, quarries, to gyves, in dungeons, perpetual thraldom, than all which thou art richer, thou art more happy, to whom thou art able to give an alms, a lord, in respect, a petty prince! [1] be contented then I say, repine and mutter no more, "for thou art not poor indeed but in opinion."

Yea, but this is very good counsel, and rightly applied to such as have it, and will not use it, that have a competency, that are able to work and get their living by the sweat of their brows, by their trade, that have something yet; he that hath birds, may catch birds; but what shall we do that are slaves by nature, impotent, and unable to help ourselves, mere beggars, that languish and pine away, that have no means at all, no hope of means, no trust of delivery, or of better success? as those old Britons complained to their lords and masters the Romans, oppressed by the Picts, *mare ad barbaros, barbari ad mare*, the barbarians drove them to the sea, the sea drove them back to the barbarians: our present misery compels us to cry out and howl, to make our moan to rich men; they turn us back with a scornful answer to our misfortune again, and will take no pity of us; they commonly overlook their poor friends in adversity; if they chance to meet them, they voluntarily forget and will take no notice of them; they will not, they cannot help us. Instead of comfort they threaten us, miscall, scoff at us, to aggravate our misery, give us bad language, or if they do give good words, what's that to relieve us? According to that of Thales, *Facile est alios monere;* who cannot give good counsel? 'tis cheap, it costs them nothing. It is an easy matter when one's belly is full to declaim against fasting, *Qui satur est pleno laudat jejunia ventre;* "Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass, or loweth the ox when he hath fodder?" Job. vi. 5.

[1] Non in paupertate, sed in paupere (Senec.), non re, sed opinione labores.

[1]*Neque enim populo Romano quidquam potest esse lætius*, no man living so jocund, so merry as the people of Rome when they had plenty; but when they came to want, to be hunger-starved, "neither shame, nor laws, nor arms, nor magistrates, could keep them in obedience." Seneca pleadeth hard for poverty, and so did those lazy philosophers; but in the mean time [2]he was rich, they had wherewithal to maintain themselves; but doth any poor man extol it? There "are those (saith [3]Bernard), that approve of a mean estate, but on that condition they never want themselves; and some again are meek so long as they may say or do what they list; but if occasion be offered, how far are they from all patience?" I would to God (as he said), [4]"No man should commend poverty, but he that is poor," or he that so much admires it, would relieve, help, or ease others.

> [5]"Nunc si nos audis, atque es divinus Apollo,
> Dic mihi, qui nummos non habet, unde petat;"
>
> "Now if thou hear'st us, and art a good man,
> Tell him that wants, to get means, if you can."

But no man hears us, we are most miserably dejected, the scum of the world. [6]*Vix habet in nobis jam nova plaga locum.* We can get no relief, no comfort, no succour, [7]*Et nihil inveni quod mihi ferret opem.* We have tried all means, yet find no remedy; no man living can express the anguish and bitterness of our souls, but we that endure it; we are distressed, forsaken, in torture of body and mind, in another hell; and what shall we do? When [8]Crassus the Roman consul warred against the Parthians, after an unlucky battle fought, he fled away in the night, and left four thousand men, sore, sick, and wounded in his tents, to the fury of the enemy, which when the poor men perceived, *clamoribus et*

[1] Vopiscus, Aureliano, sed si populus famelicus inedià laboret, nec arma, leges, pudor, magistratus, coercere valent. [2] One of the richest men in Rome. [3] Serm. Quidam sunt qui pauperes esse volunt ita ut nihil illis desit, sic commendant ut nullam patiantur inopiam; sunt et alii mites, quamdiu dicitur et agitur ad eorum arbitrium, &c. [4] Nemo paupertatem commendaret nisi pauper. [5] Petronius, Catalec. [6] Ovid. "There is no space left on our bodies for a fresh stripe." [7] Ovid, [8] Plutarch. vit. Crassi.

ululatibus omnia complêrunt, they made lamentable moan, and roared downright, as loud as Homer's Mars when he was hurt, which the noise of 10,000 men could not drown, and all for fear of present death. But our estate is far more tragical and miserable, much more to be deplored, and far greater cause have we to lament; the devil and the world persecutes us all, good fortune hath forsaken us, we are left to the rage of beggary, cold, hunger, thirst, nastiness, sickness, irksomeness, to continue all torment, labour and pain, to derision, and contempt, bitter enemies all, and far worse than any death; death alone we desire, death we seek, yet cannot have it, and what shall we do? *Quod malè fers, assuesce; feres bene*——accustom thyself to it, and it will be tolerable at last. Yea, but I may not, I cannot, *In me consumpsit vires fortuna nocendo*, I am in the extremity of human adversity; and as a shadow leaves the body when the sun is gone, I am now left and lost, and quite forsaken of the world. *Qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadat;* comfort thyself with this yet, thou art at the worst, and before it be long it will either overcome thee or thou it. If it be violent, it cannot endure, *aut solvetur, aut solvet;* let the devil himself and all the plagues of Egypt come upon thee at once, *Ne tu cede malis, sed contra audentior ito*, be of good courage; misery is virtue's whetstone.

[1] "Serpens, sitis, ardor, arenæ,
Dulcia virtuti,"

as Cato told his soldiers marching in the deserts of Lybia, "Thirst, heat, sands, serpents, were pleasant to a valiant man;" honourable enterprises are accompanied with dangers and damages, as experience evinceth; they will make the rest of thy life relish the better. But put case they continue; thou art not so poor as thou wast born, and as some hold, much better to be pitied than envied. But be it so thou hast lost all, poor thou art, dejected, in pain of body, grief of mind, thine enemies insult over thee, thou art as bad as Job;

[1] Lucan. lib. 9.

yet tell me (saith Chrysostom), "was Job or the devil the greater conqueror? surely Job; the [1] devil had his goods, he sat on the muckhill and kept his good name; he lost his children, health, friends, but he kept his innocency; he lost his money, but he kept his confidence in God, which was better than any treasure." Do thou then as Job did, triumph as Job did, [2] and be not molested as every fool is. *Sed quâ ratione potero?* How shall this be done? Chrysostom answers, *facilè si cœlum cogitaveris*, with great facility, if thou shalt but meditate on heaven. [3] Hannah wept sore, and troubled in mind, could not eat; "but why weepest thou," said Elkanah her husband, "and why eatest thou not? why is thine heart troubled? am not I better to thee than ten sons?" and she was quiet. Thou art here [4] vexed in this world; but say to thyself, "Why art thou troubled, O my soul?" Is not God better to thee than all temporalities, and momentary pleasures of the world? be then pacified. And thou beest now peradventure in extreme want, [5] it may be 'tis for thy further good, to try thy patience, as it did Job's, and exercise thee in this life; trust in God, and rely upon him, and thou shalt be [6] crowned in the end. What's this life to eternity? The world hath forsaken thee, thy friends and fortunes all are gone; yet know this, that the very hairs of thine head are numbered, that God is a spectator of all thy miseries, he sees thy wrongs, woes, and wants. [7] "'Tis his good-will and pleasure it should be so, and he knows better what is for thy good than thou thyself. His providence is over all, at all times; he hath set a guard of angels over us, and keeps us as the apple of his eye," Ps. xvii. 8. Some he doth exalt, prefer, bless with worldly riches, honours, offices, and preferments, as so many glistening stars he makes to shine above the rest;

[1] An quum super fimo sedit Job, an cum omnia abstulit diabolus, &c., pecuniis privatus fiduciam deo habuit, omni thesauro preciosiorem. [2] Hæc videntes sponte philosophemini, nec insipientum affectibus agitemur. [3] 1 Sam. i. 8. [4] James i. 2. "My brethren, count it an exceeding joy, when you fall into divers temptations." [5] Afflictio dat intellectum; quos Deus diligit, castigat. Deus optimum quemque aut mala valetudine aut luctu afficit. Seneca. [6] Quam sordet mihi terra quum cœlum intueor. [7] Senec. de providentia, cap. 2. Diis ita visum, dii melius nôrunt quid sit in commodum meum.

some he doth miraculously protect from thieves, incursions, sword, fire, and all violent mischances, and as the [1] poet feigns of that Lycian Pandarus, Lycaon's son, when he shot at Menelaus the Grecian with a strong arm and deadly arrow, Pallas, as a good mother keeps flies from her child's face asleep, turned by the shaft, and made it hit on the buckle of his girdle: so some he solicitously defends, others he exposeth to danger, poverty, sickness, want, misery, he chastiseth and corrects, as to him seems best, in his deep, unsearchable and secret judgment, and all for our good. "The tyrant took the city (saith [2] Chrysostom), God did not hinder it; led them away captives, so God would have it; he bound them, God yielded to it; flung them into the furnace, God permitted it; heat the oven hotter, it was granted; and when the tyrant had done his worst, God showed his power, and the children's patience; he freed them;" so can he thee, and can [3] help in an instant, when it seems to him good. [4] "Rejoice not against me, O my enemy; for though I fall, I shall rise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall lighten me." Remember all those martyrs what they have endured, the utmost that human rage and fury could invent, with what [5] patience they have borne, with what willingness embraced it. "Though he kill me," saith Job, "I will trust in him." *Justus* [6] *inexpugnabilis*, as Chrysostom holds, a just man is impregnable, and not to be overcome. The gout may hurt his hands, lameness his feet, convulsions may torture his joints, but not *rectam mentem*, his soul is free.

> [7] "nempe, pecus, rem,
> Lectos, argentum tollas licet; in manicis, et
> Compedibus sævo teneas custode."
>
> "Perhaps you mean
> My cattle, money, movables, or land;

[1] Hom. Iliad. 4. [2] Hom. 9. Voluit urbem tyrannus evertere, et Deus non prohibuit; voluit captivos ducere, non impedivit; voluit ligare, concessit, &c. [3] Psal. cxiii. De terra inopem, de stercore erigit pauperem. [4] Micah vii. 8. [5] Preme, preme, ego cum Pindaro, ἀβάπτιστος εἰμὶ, ὡς φελλὸς ὑπ' ἅλμᾳ, immersabilis sum sicut suber super maris septum. Lipsius. [6] Hic ure, hic seca, ut in æternum parcas, Austin. Diis fruitur iratis, superat et crescit malis. Mutium ignis, Fabricium paupertas, Regulum tormenta, Socratem venenum superare non potuit. [7] Hor. epist. 16, lib. 1.

Then take them all. But, slave, if I command,
A cruel jailer shall thy freedom seize."

[1] "Take away his money, his treasure is in heaven; banish him his country, he is an inhabitant of that heavenly Jerusalem; cast him into bands, his conscience is free; kill his body, it shall rise again; he fights with a shadow that contends with an upright man;" he will not be moved.

"si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

Though heaven itself should fall on his head, he will not be offended. He is impenetrable, as an anvil hard, as constant as Job.

[2] "Ipse deus simul atque volet me solvet, opinor."
"A god shall set me free whene'er I please."

Be thou such a one; let thy misery be what it will, what it can, with patience endure it; thou mayest be restored as he was. *Terris proscriptus, ad cœlum propera; ab hominibus desertus, ad Deum fuge.* "The poor shall not always be forgotten, the patient abiding of the meek shall not perish for ever," Psal. ix. 18; ver. 9, "The Lord will be a refuge of the oppressed, and a defence in the time of trouble."

"Servus Epictetus mutilati corporis, Irus
Pauper: at hæc inter charus erat superis."

"Lame was Epictetus, and poor Irus,
Yet to them both God was propitious."

Lodovicus Vertomannus, that famous traveller, endured much misery, yet surely, saith Scaliger, he was *vir deo charus*, in that he did escape so many dangers, "God especially protected him, he was dear unto him;" *Modo in egestate, tribulatione, convalle deplorationis*, &c. "Thou art now in the vale of misery, in poverty, in agony, [3] in temptation; rest,

[1] Hom. 5. Auferet pecunias? at habet in cœlis: patriâ dejiciet, at in cœlestem civitatem mittet: vincula injiciet? at habet solutam conscientiam: corpus interficiet, at iterum resurget; cum umbra pugnat qui cum justo pugnat. [2] Leonides. [3] Modo in pressura, in tentationibus, erit postea bonum tuum re-

eternity, happiness, immortality, shall be thy reward," as Chrysostom pleads, "If thou trust in God, and keep thine innocency." *Non, si malè nunc et olim, sic erit semper;* a good hour may come upon a sudden; [1] expect a little.

Yea, but this expectation is it which tortures me in the mean time; [2] *futura expectans præsentibus angor*, whilst the grass grows the horse starves; [3] despair not, but hope well,

> [4] "Spera, Batte, tibi melius lux Crastina ducet:
> Dum spiras spera"

Cheer up, I say, be not dismayed; *Spes alit agricolas;* "he that sows in tears, shall reap in joy," Psal. cxxvi, 5.

> "Si fortune me tormente,
> Esperance me contente."

Hope refresheth, as much as misery depresseth; hard beginnings have many times prosperous events, and that may happen at last which never was yet. "A desire accomplished delights the soul," Prov. xiii. 19.

> [5] "Grata superveniet quæ non sperabitur hora:"
>
> "Which makes m' enjoy my joys long wish'd at last,
> Welcome that hour shall come when hope is past:"

a lowering morning may turn to a fair afternoon, [6] *Nube solet pulsâ candidus ire dies.* "The hope that is deferred, is the fainting of the heart, but when the desire cometh, it is a tree of life," Prov. xiii. 12, [7] *suavissimum est voti compos fieri.* Many men are both wretched and miserable at first, but afterwards most happy; and oftentimes it so falls out, as [8] Machiavel relates of Cosmo de' Medici, that fortunate and renowned citizen of Europe, "that all his youth was full of perplexity, danger, and misery, till forty years were past,

quies, æternitas, immortalitas. [1] Dabit Deus his quoque finem. [2] Seneca. [3] Nemo desperet meliora lapsus. [4] Theocritus. "Hope on, Battus, to-morrow may bring better luck; while there's life there's hope." [5] Ovid. [6] Ovid. [7] Thales. [8] Lib 7, Flor. hist. Omnium felicissimus, et locupletissimus, &c., incarceratus sæpe adoloscentiam periculo mortis habuit, solicitudinis et discriminis plenam, &c.

and then upon a sudden the sun of his honour broke out as through a cloud." Hunniades was fetched out of prison, and Henry the Third of Portugal out of a poor monastery, to be crowned kings.

> "Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra,"
>
> "Many things happen between the cup and the lip,"

beyond all hope and expectation many things fall out, and who knows what may happen? *Nondum omnium dierum Soles occiderunt*, as Philippus said, all the suns are not yet set, a day may come to make amends for all. "Though my father and mother forsake me, yet the Lord will gather me up," Psal. xxvii. 10. "Wait patiently on the Lord, and hope in him," Psal. xxxvii. 7. "Be strong, hope and trust in the Lord, and he will comfort thee, and give thee thine heart's desire," Psal. xxvii. 14.

> "Sperate et vosmet rebus servate secundis."
>
> "Hope, and reserve yourself for prosperity."

Fret not thyself because thou art poor, contemned, or not so well for the present as thou wouldest be, not respected as thou oughtest to be, by birth, place, worth; or that which is a double corrosive, thou hast been happy, honourable, and rich, art now distressed and poor, a scorn of men, a burden to the world, irksome to thyself and others, thou hast lost all: *Miserum est fuisse felicem*, and as Boethius calls it, *Infelicissimum genus infortunii;* this made Timon half mad with melancholy, to think of his former fortunes and present misfortunes; this alone makes many miserable wretches discontent. I confess it is a great misery to have been happy, the quintessence of infelicity, to have been honourable and rich, but yet easily to be endured; [1] security succeeds, and to a judicious man a far better estate. The loss of thy goods and money is no loss; [2] "thou hast lost them, they

[1] Lætior successit securitas quæ simul cum divitiis cohabitare nescit. Camden.

[2] Pecuniam perdidisti, fortassis illa te perderet manens. Seneca.

would otherwise have lost thee." If thy money be gone, [1] "thou art so much the lighter," and as Saint Hierome persuades Rusticus the monk, to forsake all and follow Christ: "Gold and silver are too heavy metals for him to carry that seeks heaven."

> [2] "Vel nos in mare proximum,
> Gemmas et lapides, aurum et inutile,
> Summi materiam mali
> Mittamus, scelerum si bene pœnitet."

Zeno the philosopher lost all his goods by shipwreck, [3] he might like of it, fortune had done him a good turn: *Opes à me, animum auferre non potest:* she can take away my means, but not my mind. He set her at defiance ever after, for she could not rob him that had nought to lose; for he was able to contemn more than they could possess or desire. Alexander sent a hundred talents of gold to Phocion of Athens for a present, because he heard he was a good man; but Phocion returned his talents back again with a *permitte me in posterum virum bonum esse* to be a good man still; let me be as I am: *Non mî aurum posco, nec mî pretium* [4]—— That Theban Crates flung of his own accord his money into the sea, *abite, nummi, ego vos mergam ne mergar à vobis,* I had rather drown you, than you should drown me. Can stoics and epicures thus contemn wealth, and shall not we that are Christians? It was *mascula vox et præclara,* a generous speech of Cotta in [5] Sallust, "Many miseries have happened unto me at home, and in the wars abroad, of which by the help of God some I have endured, some I have repelled, and by mine own valour overcome; courage was never wanting to my designs, nor industry to my intents; prosperity nor adversity could never alter my disposition." "A

[1] Expeditior es ob pecuniarum jacturam. Fortuna opes auferre, non animum potest. Seneca. [2] Hor. "Let us cast our jewels and gems, and useless gold, the cause of all vice, into the sea, since we truly repent of our sins." [3] Jubet me posthac fortuna expeditius Philosophari. [4] "I do not desire riches, nor that a price should be set upon me." [5] In frag. Quirites, multa mihi periculà domi, militiæ multa adversa fuere, quorum alia toleravi, alia deorum auxilio repuli et virtute mea; nunquam animus negotio defuit, nec decretis labor; nullæ res nec prosperæ nec adversæ ingenium mutabant.

wise man's mind," as Seneca holds, [1] " is like the state of the world above the moon, ever serene." Come then what can come, befall what may befall, *infractum invictumque* [2] *animum opponas: Rebus angustis animosus atque fortis appare.* (*Hor. Od.* 11, *lib.* 2.) Hope and patience are two sovereign remedies for all, the surest reposals, the softest cushions to lean on in adversity:

[3] " Durum, sed levius fit patientiâ,
Quicquid corrigere est nefas."

" What can't be cured must be endured."

If it cannot be helped, or amended, [4] make the best of it; [5] *necessitati qui se accommodat, sapit*, he is wise that suits himself to the time. As at a game at tables, so do by all such inevitable accidents.

[6] " Ita vita est hominum, quasi cum ludas tesseris,
Si illud quod est maxime opus jactu non cadit,
Illud quod cecidit fortè, id arte ut corrigas;"

If thou canst not fling what thou wouldst, play thy cast as well as thou canst. Everything, saith [7] Epictetus, hath two handles, the one to be held by, the other not; 'tis in our choice to take and leave whether we will (all which Simplicius's commentator hath illustrated by many examples), and 'tis in our power, as they say, to make or mar ourselves. Conform thyself then to thy present fortune, and cut thy coat according to thy cloth, [8] *Ut quimus* (*quod aiunt*) *quando quod volumus non licet*, " Be contented with thy loss, state, and calling, whatsoever it is, and rest as well satisfied with thy present condition in this life."

" Esto quod es; quod sunt alii, sine quemlibet esse;
Quod non es, nolis; quod potes esse, velis."

[1] Qualis mundi status supra lunam, semper serenus. [2] Bona mens nullum tristioris fortunæ recipit incursum, Val. lib. 4, c. 1. Qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil. [3] Hor. [4] Æquam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem, lib. 2, Od. 3. [5] Epict. c. 18. [6] Ter. Adelph. act. 4, sc. 7. [7] Unaquæque res duas habet ansas, alteram quæ teneri, alteram quæ non potest; in manu nostra quam volumus accipere. [8] Ter. And. Act. 4, sc. 6.

"Be as thou art; and as they are, so let
Others be still; what is and may be covet."

And as he that is [1] invited to a feast eats what is set before him, and looks for no other, enjoy that thou hast, and ask no more of God than what he thinks fit to bestow upon thee. *Non cuivis contingit adire Corinthum*, we may not be all gentlemen, all Catos, or Lælii, as Tully telleth us, all honourable, illustrious, and serene, all rich; but because mortal men want many things, [2] "therefore," saith Theodoret, "hath God diversely distributed his gifts, wealth to one, skill to another, that rich men might encourage and set poor men at work, poor men might learn several trades to the common good." As a piece of arras is composed of several parcels, some wrought of silk, some of gold, silver, crewel of divers colours, all to serve for the exoneration of the whole; music is made of divers discords and keys, a total sum of many small numbers, so is a commonwealth of several unequal trades and callings. [3] If all should be Crœsi and Darii, all idle, all in fortunes equal, who should till the land? As [4] Menenius Agrippa well satisfied the tumultuous rout of Rome, in his elegant apologue of the belly and the rest of the members. Who should build houses, make our several stuffs for raiments? We should all be starved for company, as Poverty declared at large in Aristophanes's Plutus, and sue at last to be as we were at first. And therefore God hath appointed this inequality of states, orders, and degrees, a subordination, as in all other things. The earth yields nourishment to vegetables, sensible creatures feed on vegetables, both are substitutes to reasonable souls, and men are subject amongst themselves, and all to higher powers, so God would have it. All things then being rightly examined and duly considered as they ought, there is no such cause of so

[1] Epictetus. Invitatus ad convivium, quæ apponuntur comedis, non quæris ultra; in mundo multa rogitas quæ dii negant. [2] Cap. 6, de providentia. Mortales cum sint rerum omnium indigi, ideo deus aliis divitias, aliis paupertatem distribuit, ut qui opibus pollent, materiam subministrent; qui vero inopes, exercitatas artibus manus admoveant. [3] Si sint omnes equales, necesse est ut omnes fame pereant; quis aratro terram sulcaret, quis sementem faceret, quis plantas sereret, quis vinum exprimeret? [4] Liv. lib. 1.

general discontent, 'tis not in the matter itself, but in our mind, as we moderate our passions and esteem of things. *Nihil aliud necessarium ut sis miser* (saith [1] Cardan), *quam ut te miserum credas*, let thy fortune be what it will, 'tis thy mind alone that makes thee poor or rich, miserable or happy. *Vidi ego* (saith divine Seneca), *in villâ hilari et amœnâ mœstos, et mediâ solitudine occupatos; non locus sed animus facit ad tranquillitatem.* I have seen men miserably dejected in a pleasant village, and some again well occupied and at good ease in a solitary desert. 'Tis the mind not the place that causeth tranquillity, and that gives true content. I will yet add a word or two for a corollary. Many rich men, I dare boldly say it, that lie on down beds, with delicacies pampered every day, in their well-furnished houses, live at less heart's-ease, with more anguish, more bodily pain, and through their intemperance, more bitter hours, than many a prisoner or galley-slave: [2] *Mœcenas in plumâ æquè vigilat ac Regulus in dolio:* those poor starved Hollanders, whom [3] Bartison their captain left in Nova Zembla, anno 1596, or those [4] eight miserable Englishmen that were lately left behind, to winter in a stove in Greenland, in 77 deg. of lat. 1630, so pitifully forsaken, and forced to shift for themselves in a vast, dark, and desert place, to strive and struggle with hunger, cold, desperation, and death itself. 'Tis a patient and quiet mind (I say it again and again), gives true peace and content. So for all other things, they are, as old [5] Chremes told us, as we use them.

> "Parentes, patriam, amicos, genus, cognatos, divitias,
> Hæc perinde sunt ac illius animus qui ea possidet;
> Qui uti scit, ei bona; qui utitur non recte, mala."

"Parents, friends, fortunes, country, birth, alliance, &c., ebb and flow with our conceit; please or displease, as we accept and construe them, or apply them to ourselves." *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*, and in some sort I may truly say, prosper-

[1] Lib. 3, de cons. [2] Seneca. [3] Vide Isaacum Pontanum, descript. Amsterdam. lib 2, c. 22. [4] Vide Ed. Pelham's book, edit. 1630. [5] Heautontim. Act. 1, sc. 2.

ity and adversity are in our own hands. *Nemo læditur nisi a seipso*, and which Seneca confirms out of his judgment and experience. [1] "Every man's mind is stronger than fortune, and leads him to what side he will; a cause to himself each one is of his good or bad life." But will we, or nill we, make the worst of it, and suppose a man in the greatest extremity, 'tis a fortune which some indefinitely prefer before prosperity; of two extremes it is the best. *Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis*, men in [2] prosperity forget God and themselves, they are besotted with their wealth, as birds with henbane; [3] miserable if fortune forsake them, but more miserable if she tarry and overwhelm them; for when they come to be in great place, rich, they that were most temperate, sober, and discreet in their private fortunes, as Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Heliogabalus (*optimi imperatores nisi imperâssent*), degenerate on a sudden into brute beasts, so prodigious in lust, such tyrannical oppressors, &c., they cannot moderate themselves, they become monsters, odious, harpies, what not? *Cum triumphos, opes, honores adepti sunt, ad voluptatem et otium deinceps se convertunt:* 'twas [4] Cato's note, "they cannot contain." For that cause belike,

> [5] "Eutrapelus cuicunque nocere volebat,
> Vestimenta dabat pretiosa; beatus enim jam,
> Cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes,
> Dormiet in lucem scorto, postponet honestum
> Officium."
>
> "Eutrapelus when he would hurt a knave,
> Gave him gay clothes and wealth to make him brave:
> Because now rich he would quite change his mind,
> Keep whores, fly out, set honesty behind."

On the other side, in adversity many mutter and repine, despair, &c., both bad, I confess.

> [6] "ut calceus olim
> Si pede major erit, subvertet: si minor, uret."

[1] Epist. 98. Omni fortuna valentior ipse animus, in utramque partem res suas ducit, beatæque ac miseræ vitæ sibi causa est. [2] Fortuna quem nimium fovet stultum facit. Pub. Mimus. [3] Seneca, de beat. vit. cap. 14, miseri si deserantur ab ea, miseriores si obruantur. [4] Plutarch. vit. ejus. [5] Hor. epist. lib. 1, ep. 18. [6] Hor.

"As a shoe too big or too little, one pincheth, the other sets the foot awry," *sed è malis minimum.* If adversity hath killed his thousand, prosperity hath killed his ten thousand; therefore adversity is to be preferred; [1]*hæc fræno indiget, illa solatio: illa fallit, hæc instruit;* the one deceives, the other instructs; the one miserably happy, the other happily miserable; and therefore many philosophers have voluntarily sought adversity, and so much commend it in their precepts. Demetrius, in Seneca, esteemed it a great infelicity, that in his lifetime he had no misfortune, *miserum cui nihil unquam accidisset adversi.* Adversity then is not so heavily to be taken, and we ought not in such cases so much to macerate ourselves; there is no such odds in poverty and riches. To conclude in [2] Hierom's words, "I will ask our magnificos that build with marble, and bestow a whole manor on a thread, what difference between them and Paul the Eremite, that bare old man? They drink in jewels, he in his hand; he is poor and goes to heaven, they are rich and go to hell."

MEMB. IV.

Against Servitude, Loss of Liberty, Imprisonment, Banishment.

Servitude, loss of liberty, imprisonment, are no such miseries as they are held to be; we are slaves and servants the best of us all; as we do reverence our masters, so do our masters their superiors; gentlemen serve nobles, and nobles subordinate to kings, *omne sub regno graviore regnum,* princes themselves are God's servants, *reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis.* They are subject to their own laws, and as the kings of China endure more than slavish imprisonment, to

[1] Boeth. 2. [2] Epist. lib. 3. vit. Paul. Eremit. Libet eos nunc interrogare qui domus marmoribus vestiunt, qui uno filo villarum ponunt precia, huic seni modo quid unquam defuit? vos gemmâ bibitis, ille concavis manibus naturæ satisfecit; ille pauper paradisum capit, vos avaros gehenna suscipiet.

maintain their state and greatness, they never come abroad. Alexander was a slave to fear, Cæsar of pride, Vespasian to his money (*nihil enim refert rerum sis servus an hominum*[1]), Heliogabalus to his gut, and so of the rest. Lovers are slaves to their mistresses, rich men to their gold, courtiers generally to lust and ambition, and all slaves to our affections, as Evangelus well discourseth in [2] Macrobius, and [3] Seneca the philosopher, *assiduam servitutem extremam et ineluctabilem* he calls it, a continual slavery, to be so captivated by vices; and who is free? Why then dost thou repine? *Satis est potens*, Hierom saith, *qui servire non cogitur.* Thou carriest no burdens, thou art no prisoner, no drudge, and thousands want that liberty, those pleasures which thou hast. Thou art not sick, and what wouldst thou have? But *nitimur in vetitum*, we must all eat of the forbidden fruit. Were we enjoined to go to such and such places, we would not willingly go; but being barred of our liberty, this alone torments our wandering soul that we may not go. A citizen of ours, saith [4] Cardan, was sixty years of age, and had never been forth of the walls of the city of Milan; the prince hearing of it, commanded him not to stir out; being now forbidden that which all his life he had neglected, he earnestly desired, and being denied, *dolore confectus mortem obiit*, he died for grief.

What I have said of servitude, I again say of imprisonment, we are all prisoners. [5] What is our life but a prison? We are all imprisoned in an island. The world itself to some men is a prison, our narrow seas as so many ditches, and when they have compassed the globe of the earth, they would fain go see what is done in the moon. In [6] Muscovy, and many other northern parts, all over Scandia, they are imprisoned half the year in stoves, they dare not peep out for cold. At [7] Aden in Arabia, they are penned in all day long

[1] "It matters little whether we are enslaved by men or things." [2] Satur. l. 1. Alius libidini servit, alius ambitioni, omnes spei, omnes timori. [3] Nat. lib. 3. [4] Consol. l. 5. [5] O generose, quid est vita nisi carcer animi! [6] Herberstein. [7] Vertomannus, navig. l. 2, c. 4. Commercia in nundinis noctu horâ

with that other extreme of heat, and keep their markets in the night. What is a ship but a prison? And so many cities are but as so many hives of bees, ant-hills; but that which thou abhorrest, many seek: women keep in all winter, and most part of summer, to preserve their beauties; some for love of study; Demosthenes shaved his beard because he would cut off all occasions from going abroad; how many monks and friars, anchorites, abandon the world! *Monachus in urbe, piscis in arido.* Art in prison? Make right use of it, and mortify thyself; [1] "Where may a man contemplate better than in solitariness," or study more than in quietness? Many worthy men have been imprisoned all their lives, and it hath been occasion of great honour and glory to them, much public good by their excellent meditation. [2] Ptolemeus, king of Egypt, *cum viribus attenuatis infirma valetudine laboraret, miro discendi studio affectus*, &c., now being taken with a grievous infirmity of body that he could not stir abroad, became Strato's scholar, fell hard to his book, and gave himself wholly to contemplation, and upon that occasion (as mine author adds), *pulcherrimum regiæ opulentiæ monumentum*, &c., to his great honour built that renowned library at Alexandria, wherein were 400,000 volumes. Severinus Boethius never writ so elegantly as in prison, Paul so devoutly, for most of his epistles were dictated in his bands; "Joseph," saith [3]Austin, "got more credit in prison, than when he distributed corn, and was lord of Pharoah's house." It brings many a lewd riotous fellow home, many wandering rogues it settles, that would otherwise have been like raving tigers, ruined themselves and others.

Banishment is no grievance at all, *Omne solum forti patria*, &c., *et patria est ubicunque bene est*, that's a man's country where he is well at ease. Many travel for pleasure to that city, saith Seneca, to which thou art banished, and what a

secunda, ob nimios qui sæviunt interdiu æstus, exercent. [1] Ubi verior contemplatio quam in solitudine? ubi studium solidius quam in quiete? [2] Alex. ab Alex. gen. dier. lib. 1, cap. 2. [3] In Ps. lxxvi. non ita laudatur Joseph cum frumenta distribueret, ac quum carcerem habitaret.

part of the citizens are strangers born in other places! [1] *Incolentibus patria*, 'tis their country that are born in it, and they would think themselves banished to go to the place which thou leavest, and from which thou art so loath to depart. 'Tis no disparagement to be a stranger, or so irksome to be an exile. [2] "The rain is a stranger to the earth, rivers to the sea, Jupiter in Egypt, the sun to us all. The soul is an alien to the body, a nightingale to the air, a swallow in a house, and Ganymede in heaven, an elephant at Rome, a phœnix in India;" and such things commonly please us best, which are most strange and come the farthest off. Those old Hebrews esteemed the whole world Gentiles; the Greeks held all barbarians but themselves; our modern Italians account of us as dull Transalpines by way of reproach, they scorn thee and thy country which thou so much admirest. 'Tis a childish humour to hone after home, to be discontent at that which others seek; to prefer, as base islanders and Norwegians do, their own ragged island before Italy or Greece, the gardens of the world. There is a base nation in the north, saith [3] Pliny, called Chauci, that live amongst rocks and sands by the seaside, feed on fish, drink water; and yet these base people account themselves slaves in respect, when they come to Rome. *Ita est profectò* (as he concludes), *multis fortuna parcit in pœnam*, so it is, fortune favours some to live at home, to their further punishment; 'tis want of judgment. All places are distant from heaven alike, the sun shines happily as warm in one city as in another, and to a wise man there is no difference of climes; friends are everywhere to him that behaves himself well, and a prophet is not esteemed in his own country. Alexander, Cæsar, Trajan, Adrian, were as so many land-leapers, now in the east, now in the west, little at home, and Polus Venetus, Lod. Vertomannus, Pinzonus, Cadamustus, Columbus, Americus Ves-

[1] Boethius. [2] Philostratus, in deliciis. Peregrini sunt imbres in terra et fluvii in mari, Jupiter apud Ægyptos, sol apud omnes; hospes anima in corpore, luscinia in aëre, hirundo in domo, Ganymedes cœlo, &c. [3] Lib. 16, cap. 1 Nullam frugem habent, potus ex imbre: Et hæ gentes si vincantur, &c.

pucius, Vascus Gama, Drake, Candish, Oliver Anort, Schoutien, got all their honour by voluntary expeditions. But you say such men's travel is voluntary; we are compelled, and as malefactors must depart; yet know this of [1] Plato to be true, *ultori Deo summa cura peregrinus est*, God hath an especial care of strangers, "and when he wants friends and allies, he shall deserve better and find more favour with God and men." Besides the pleasure of peregrination, variety of objects will make amends; and so many nobles, Tully, Aristides, Themistocles, Theseus, Codrus, &c., as have been banished, will give sufficient credit unto it. Read Pet. Alcionius his two books of this subject.

MEMB. V.

Against Sorrow for Death of Friends or otherwise, vain Fear, &c.

Death and departure of friends are things generally grievous, [2] *Omnium quæ in humanâ vitâ contingunt, luctus atque mors sunt acerbissima*, the most austere and bitter accidents that can happen to a man in this life, *in æternum valedicere*, to part forever, to forsake the world and all our friends, 'tis *ultimum terribilium*, the last and the greatest terror, most irksome and troublesome unto us, [3] *Homo toties moritur, quoties amittit suos.* And though we hope for a better life, eternal happiness, after these painful and miserable days, yet we cannot compose ourselves willingly to die; the remembrance of it is most grievous unto us, especially to such who are fortunate and rich; they start at the name of death, as a horse at a rotten post. Say what you can of that other world, [4] Montezuma that Indian prince, *Bonum est esse hic*, they had rather be here. Nay, many generous spirits, and

[1] Lib. 5, de legibus. Cumque cognatis careat et amicis, majorem apud deos et apud homines misericordiam meretur. [2] Cardan. de consol. lib. 2. [3] Seneca. [4] Benzo.

grave staid men otherwise, are so tender in this, that at the loss of a dear friend they will cry out, roar, and tear their hair, lamenting some months after, howling "O Hone," as those Irish women and [1] Greeks at their graves, commit many indecent actions, and almost go beside themselves. My dear father, my sweet husband, mine only brother's dead, to whom shall I make my moan? *O me miserum! Quis dabit in lachrymas fontem*, &c. What shall I do?

> [2] "Sed totum hoc studium luctu fraterna mihi mors
> Abstulit, hei misero frater adempte mihi!"
>
> "My brother's death my study hath undone,
> Woe's me, alas, my brother he is gone!"

Mezentius would not live after his son:

> [3] "Nunc vivo, nec adhuc homines lucemque relinquo,
> Sed linquam"

And Pompey's wife cried out at the news of her husband's death,

> [4] "Turpe mori post te solo non posse dolore,
> Violenta luctu et nescia tolerandi,"

as [5] Tacitus of Agrippina, not able to moderate her passions. So when she heard her son was slain, she abruptly broke off her work, changed countenance and colour, tore her hair, and fell a roaring downright.

> "subitus miseræ color ossa reliquit,
> Excussi manibus radii, revolutaque pensa:
> Evolat infelix et fœmineo ululatu
> Scissa comam" [6]

Another would needs run upon the sword's point after Euryalus's departure,

[1] Summo mane ululatum oriuntur, pectora percutientes, &c., miserabile spectaculum exhibentes. Ortelius, in Græcia. [2] Catullus. [3] Virgil. "I live now, nor as yet relinquish society and life, but I shall resign them." [4] Lucan. "Overcome by grief, and unable to endure it, she exclaimed, 'Not to be able to die through sorrow for thee were base.'" [5] 3 Annal. [6] "The colour suddenly fled her cheek, the distaff forsook her hand, the reel revolved, and with dishevelled locks she broke away, wailing as a woman."

[1] "Figite me, siqua est pietas, in me omnia tela
Conjicite, ô Rutili;"

O let me die, some good man or other make an end of me. How did Achilles take on for Patroclus's departure! A black cloud of sorrows overshadowed him, saith Homer. Jacob rent his clothes, put sackcloth about his loins, sorrowed for his son a long season, and could not be comforted, but would needs go down into the grave unto his son, Gen. xxxvii. 37. Many years after, the remembrance of such friends, of such accidents, is most grievous unto us, to see or hear of it, though it concern not ourselves but others. Scaliger saith of himself, that he never read Socrates's death, in Plato's Phædon, but he wept; [2] Austin shed tears when he read the destruction of Troy. But howsoever this passion of sorrow be violent, bitter, and seizeth familiarly on wise, valiant, discreet men, yet it may surely be withstood, it may be diverted. For what is there in this life, that it should be so dear unto us? or that we should so much deplore the departure of a friend? The greatest pleasures are common society, to enjoy one another's presence, feasting, hawking, hunting, brooks, woods, hills, music, dancing, &c., all this is but vanity and loss of time, as I have sufficiently declared.

[*] "dum bibimus, dum serta, unguenta, puellas
Poscimus, obrepit non intellecta senectus."

"Whilst we drink, prank ourselves, with wenches dally,
Old age upon's at unawares doth sally."

As alchemists spend that small modicum they have to get gold, and never find it, we lose and neglect eternity for a little momentary pleasure which we cannot enjoy, nor shall ever attain to in this life. We abhor death, pain, and grief, all, yet we will do nothing of that which should vindicate us from, but rather voluntarily thrust ourselves upon it. [3] "The lascivious prefers his whore before his life, or good estate; an

[1] Virg. Æn. 10. "Transfix me, O Rutuli, if you have any piety; pierce me with your thousand arrows." [2] Confess. l. 1. [*] Juvenalis. [3] Amator scortum vitæ præponit, iracundus vindictam, parasitus gulam, ambitiosus honores, avarus opes, miles rapinam, fur prædam; morbos odimus et accersimus. Card.

angry man his revenge; a parasite his gut; ambitious, honours; covetous, wealth; a thief his booty; a soldier his spoil; we abhor diseases, and yet we pull them upon us." We are never better or freer from cares than when we sleep, and yet, which we so much avoid and lament, death is but a perpetual sleep; and why should it, as [1] Epicurus argues, so much affright us? "When we are, death is not; but when death is, then we are not;" our life is tedious and troublesome unto him that lives best; [2] "'tis a misery to be born, a pain to live, a trouble to die;" death makes an end of our miseries, and yet we cannot consider of it; a little before [3] Socrates drank his portion of cicuta, he bid the citizens of Athens cheerfully farewell, and concluded his speech with this short sentence: "My time is now come to be gone. I to my death, you to live on; but which of these is best, God alone knows." For there is no pleasure here but sorrow is annexed to it, repentance follows it. [4] "If I feed liberally I am likely sick or surfeit; if I live sparingly, my hunger and thirst is not allayed; I am well neither full nor fasting; if I live honest, I burn in lust; if I take my pleasure, I tire and starve myself, and do injury to my body and soul." [5] "Of so small a quantity of mirth, how much sorrow! after so little pleasure, how great misery!" 'Tis both ways troublesome to me, to rise and go to bed, to eat and provide my meat; cares and contentions attend me all day long, fears and suspicions all my life. I am discontented, and why should I desire so much to live? But a happy death will make an end of all our woes and miseries; *omnibus una meis certa medela malis;* why shouldst not thou then say with old Simeon, since thou art so well affected, "Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace;" or with Paul, "I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ?" *Beata mors quæ ad beatam*

[1] Seneca; quum nos sumus, mors non adest; cum vero mors adest, tum nos non sumus. [2] Bernard. c. 3, med. Nasci miserum, vivere pœna, angustia mori. [3] Plato, Apol. Socratis. Sed jam hora est hinc abire, &c. [4] Comedi ad satietatem, gravitas me offendit; parcius edi, non est expletum desiderium; venereas delicias sequor, hinc morbus, lassitudo, &c. [5] Bern. c. 3, med. De tantilla lætitia, quanta tristitia; post tantam voluptatem quam gravis miseria!

vitam aditum aperit, 'tis a blessed hour that leads us to a [1] blessed life, and blessed are they that die in the Lord. But life is sweet, and death is not so terrible in itself as the concomitants of it, a loathsome disease, pain, horror, &c., and many times the manner of it, to be hanged, to be broken on the wheel, to be burned alive. [2] Servetus the heretic, that suffered in Geneva, when he was brought to the stake, and saw the executioner come with fire in his hand, *homo viso igne tam horrendum exclamavit, ut universum populum perterrefecerit*, roared so loud, that he terrified the people. An old stoic would have scorned this. It troubles some to be unburied, or so:

"non te optima mater
Condet humi, patriove onerabit membra sepulchro;
Alitibus linguere feris, et gurgite mersum
Unda feret, piscesque impasti vulnera lambent."

"Thy gentle parents shall not bury thee,
Amongst thine ancestors entomb'd to be,
But feral fowl thy carcass shall devour,
Or drowned corpse hungry fish maws shall scour."

As Socrates told Crito, it concerns me not what is done with me when I am dead; *Facilis jactura sepulchri;* I care not so long as I feel it not; let them set mine head on the pike of Teneriffe, and my quarters in the four parts of the world, ———*pascam licet in cruce corvos*, let wolves or bears devour me;———[3] *Cœlo tegitur qui non habet urnam*, the canopy of heaven covers him that hath no tomb. So likewise for our friends, why should their departure so much trouble us? They are better, as we hope, and for what then dost thou lament, as those do whom Paul taxed in his time, 1 Thes. iv. 13, "that have no hope?" 'Tis fit there should be some solemnity.

[4] "Sed sepelire decet defunctum, pectore forti,
Constantes, unumque diem fletui indulgentes."

[1] Est enim mors piorum felix transitus de labore ad refrigerium, de expectatione ad præmium, de agone ad bravium. [2] Vaticanus, vita ejus. [3] Luc. [4] Il. 9, Homer. "It is proper that, having indulged in becoming grief for one whole day, you should commit the dead to the sepulchre."

Job's friends said not a word to him the first seven days, but let sorrow and discontent take their course, themselves sitting sad and silent by him. When Jupiter himself wept for Sarpedon, what else did the poet insinuate, but that some sorrow is good?

[1] "Quis matrem, nisi mentis inops, in funere nati,
Flere vetat?"

who can blame a tender mother if she weep for her children? Beside, as [2] Plutarch holds, 'tis not in our power not to lament, *Indolentia non cuivis contingit*, it takes away mercy and pity, not to be sad; 'tis a natural passion to weep for our friends, an irresistible passion to lament and grieve. "I know not how (saith Seneca), but sometimes 'tis good to be miserable in misery; and for the most part all grief evacuates itself by tears,"

[3] "est quædam flere voluptas,
Expletur lachrymis egeriturque dolor:"

"yet after a day's mourning or two, comfort thyself for thy heaviness," Ecclus. xxxviii. 17. [4] *Non decet defunctum ignavo quæstu prosequi;* 'twas Germanicus's advice of old, that we should not dwell too long upon our passions, to be desperately sad, immoderate grievers, to let them tyrannize, there's *indolentiæ ars*, a medium to be kept; we do not (saith [5] Austin) forbid men to grieve, but to grieve overmuch. "I forbid not a man to be angry, but I ask for what cause he is so? Not to be sad, but why is he sad? Not to fear, but wherefore is he afraid?" I require a moderation as well as a just reason. [6] The Romans and most civil commonwealths have set a time to such solemnities; they must not mourn after a set day, "or if in a family a child be born, a daughter or son married, some state or honour be conferred, a brother be redeemed from his bands, a friend from his enemies," or the like, they

[1] Ovid. [2] Consol. ad Apollon. non est libertate nostra positum non dolere, misericordiam abolet, &c. [3] Ovid. 4 Trist. [4] Tacitus, lib 4. [5] Lib. 9, cap. 9, de civitate Dei. Non quæro cum irascatur sed cur, non utrum sit tristis sed unde, non utrum timeat sed quid timeat. [6] Festus verbo minuitur. Luctui dies indicebatur cum liberi nascantur, cum frater abit, amicus ab hospite captivus domum redeat, puella desponsetur.

must lament no more. And 'tis fit it should be so; to what end is all their funeral pomp, complaints, and tears? When Socrates was dying, his friends Apollodorus and Crito, with some others, were weeping by him, which he perceiving, asked them what they meant; [1] "for that very cause he put all the women out of the room, upon which words of his they were abashed, and ceased from their tears." Lodovicus Cortesius, a rich lawyer of Padua (as [2] Bernardinus Scardeonius relates), commanded by his last will, and a great mulct if otherwise to his heir, that no funeral should be kept for him, no man should lament; but as at a wedding, music and minstrels to be provided; and instead of black mourners, he took order, [3] "that twelve virgins clad in green should carry him to the church." His will and testament was accordingly performed, and he buried in St. Sophia's church. [4] Tully was much grieved for his daughter Tulliola's death at first, until such time that he had confirmed his mind with some philosophical precepts, [5] "then he began to triumph over fortune and grief, and for her reception into heaven to be much more joyed than before he was troubled for her loss." If a heathen man could so fortify himself from philosophy, what shall a Christian from divinity? Why dost thou so macerate thyself? 'Tis an inevitable chance, the first statute in *Magna Charta*, an everlasting Act of Parliament, all must [6] die.

> [7] "Constat æternâ positumque lege est,
> Ut constet genitum nihil."

It cannot be revoked, we are all mortal, and these all-commanding gods and princes "die like men:" [8]——*involvit humile pariter et celsum caput, æquatque summis infima.* "O weak condition of human estate," Sylvius exclaims:

[1] Ob hanc causam mulieres ablegâram ne talia facerent; nos hæc audientes erubuimus et destitimus a lachrymis. [2] Lib. 1. class. 8, de claris. Jurisconsultis Patavinis. [3] 12 Innuptæ puellæ amictæ viridibus pannis, &c. [4] Lib. de consol. [5] Præceptis philosophiæ confirmatus adversus omnem fortunæ vim, et te consecratâ in cœlumque receptâ, tantâ affectus lætitiâ sum ac voluptate, quantam animo capere possum, ac exultare plane mihi videor, victorque de omni dolore et fortunâ triumphare. [6] Ut lignum uri natum, arista secari, sic homines mori. [7] Boeth. lib. 2, met. 3 [8] Boeth.

[1] Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, eighteen years of age, in the flower of his youth, so potent, rich, fortunate and happy, in the midst of all his friends, amongst so many [2] physicians, now ready to be [3] married, in thirty-six hours sickened and died. We must so be gone sooner or later all, and as Calliopeius in the comedy took his leave of his spectators and auditors. *Vos valete et plaudite, Calliopeius recensui*, must we bid the world farewell (*Exit* Calliopeius), and having now played our parts, forever be gone. Tombs and monuments have the like fate, *data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris*, kingdoms, provinces, towns, and cities, have their periods, and are consumed. In those flourishing times of Troy, Mycenæ was the fairest city in Greece, *Græciæ cunctæ imperitabat*, but it, alas, and that [4] "Assyrian Nineveh are quite overthrown;" the like fate hath that Egyptian and Bœotian Thebes, Delos, *commune Græciæ conciliabulum*, the common council-house of Greece, [5] and Babylon, the greatest city that ever the sun shone on, hath now nothing but walls and rubbish left. [6] "*Quid Pandioniæ restat nisi nomen Athenæ?*" Thus [7] Pausanias complained in his times. And where is Troy itself now, Persepolis, Carthage, Cizicum, Sparta, Argos, and all those Grecian cities? Syracuse and Agrigentum, the fairest towns in Sicily, which had sometimes seven hundred thousand inhabitants, are now decayed; the names of Hiero, Empedocles, &c., of those mighty numbers of people, only left. One Anacharsis is remembered amongst the Scythians; the world itself must have an end; and every part of it. *Cæteræ igitur urbes sunt mortales*, as Peter [8] Gillius concludes of Constantinople, *hæc sane quamdiu erunt homines, futura mihi videtur immortalis;* but 'tis not so; nor site, nor strength, nor sea, nor land, can vindicate a city, but it and all must vanish at last. And as to a traveller great mountains seem plains afar off, at last are not discerned at all:

[1] Nic. Heusel. Breslagr. fol. 47. [2] Twenty then present. [3] To Magdalen, the daughter of Charles the Seventh of France. Obeunt noctesque diesque, &c. [4] Assyriorum regio funditus deleta. [5] Omnium quot unquam Sol aspexit urbium maxima. [6] Ovid. "What of ancient Athens but the name remains?" [7] Arcad. lib. 8. [8] Præfat. Topogr. Constantinop.

cities, men, monuments decay,———*nec solidis prodest sua machina terris*,* the names are only left, those at length forgotten, and are involved in perpetual night.

[1] "Returning out of Asia, when I sailed from Ægina towards Megara, I began (saith Servius Sulpicius, in a consolatory epistle of his to Tully) to view the country round about. Ægina was behind me, Megara before, Piræus on the right hand, Corinth on the left, what flourishing towns heretofore, now prostrate and overwhelmed before mine eyes, I began to think with myself, alas, why are we men so much disquieted with the departure of a friend, whose life is much shorter, [2] when so many goodly cities lie buried before us? Remember, O Servius, thou art a man; and with that I was much confirmed, and corrected myself." Correct then likewise, and comfort thyself in this, that we must necessarily die, and all die, that we shall rise again; as Tully held; *Jucundiorque multò congressus noster futurus, quam insuavis et acerbus digressus*, our second meeting shall be much more pleasant than our departure was grievous.

Ay, but he was my most dear and loving friend, my sole friend,

> [3] "Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
> Tam chari capitis?"
>
> "And who can blame my woe?"

Thou mayest be ashamed, I say with [4] Seneca, to confess it, "in such a [5] tempest as this to have but one anchor," go seek another; and for his part thou dost him great injury to desire his longer life. [6] "Wilt thou have him crazed and sickly still," like a tired traveller that comes weary to his inn, begin his journey afresh, "or to be freed from his miseries; thou hast more need rejoice that he is gone." Another complains of a most sweet wife, a young wife, *Nondum sustulerat flavum Proserpina crinem*, such a wife as no mortal man ever had,

* "Nor can its own structure preserve the solid globe." [1] Epist. Tull. lib. 3. [2] Quum tot oppidorum cadavera ante oculos projecta jacent. [3] Hor. lib. 1, Od. 24. [4] De remed. fortuit. [5] Erubesce tanta tempestate quod ad unam anchoram stabas. [6] Vis ægrum, et morbidum, sitibundum—gaude potius quod his malis liberatus sit.

so good a wife, but she is now dead and gone, *lethæoque jacet condita sarcophago.* I reply to him in Seneca's words, if such a woman at least ever was to be had, [1] "He did either so find or make her; if he found her, he may as happily find another; if he made her," as Critobulus in Xenophon did by his, he may as good cheap inform another, *et bona tam sequitur, quam bona prima fuit;* "he need not despair, so long as the same master is to be had." But was she good? Had she been so tried peradventure as that Ephesian widow in Petronius, by some swaggering soldier, she might not have held out. Many a man would have been willingly rid of his; before thou wast bound, now thou art free; [2] "and 'tis but a folly to love thy fetters though they be of gold." Come into a third place, you shall have an aged father sighing for a son, a pretty child;

> [3] "Impube pectus quale vel impia
> Molliret Thracum pectora."
>
> "He now lies asleep,
> Would make an impious Thracian weep."

Or some fine daughter that died young. *Nondum experta novi gaudia prima tori.* Or a forlorn son for his deceased father. But why? *Prior exiit, prior intravit,* he came first, and he must go first. [4] *Tu frustra pius, heu,* &c. What, wouldst thou have the laws of nature altered, and him to live always? Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Alcibiades, Galen, Aristotle, lost their fathers young. And why on the other side shouldst thou so heavily take the death of thy little son?

> [5] "Num quia nec fato, meritâ nec morte peribat,
> Sed miser ante diem"

he died before his time, perhaps, not yet come to the solstice of his age, yet was he not mortal? Hear that divine [6] Epic-

[1] Uxorem bonam aut invenisti, aut sic fecisti; si inveneris, aliam habere te posse ex hoc intelligamus: si feceris, bene speres, salvus est artifex. [2] Stulti est compedes licet aureas amare. [3] Hor. [4] Hor. lib. 1. Od. 24. [5] Virg. 4 Æn. [6] Cap. 19. Si id studes ut uxor, amici, liberi perpetuo vivant, stultus es.

tetus, "If thou covet thy wife, friends, children, should live always, thou art a fool." He was a fine child indeed, *dignus Apollineis lachrymis*, a sweet, a loving, a fair, a witty child, of great hope, another Eteoneus, whom Pindarus the poet and Aristides the rhetorician so much lament; but who can tell whether he would have been an honest man? He might have proved a thief, a rogue, a spendthrift, a disobedient son, vexed and galled thee more than all the world beside; he might have wrangled with thee and disagreed, or with his brothers, as Eteocles and Polynices, and broke thy heart; he is now gone to eternity, as another Ganymede, in the [1] flower of his youth, "as if he had risen," saith [2] Plutarch, "from the midst of a feast," before he was drunk, "the longer he had lived, the worse he would have been," *et quo vita longior* (Ambrose thinks), *culpa numerosior*, more sinful, more to answer he would have had. If he was naught, thou mayest be glad he is gone; if good, be glad thou hadst such a son. Or art thou sure he was good? It may be he was an hypocrite, as many are, and howsoever he spake thee fair, peradventure he prayed, amongst the rest that Icaro Menippus heard at Jupiter's whispering-place in Lucian, for his father's death, because he now kept him short, he was to inherit much goods, and many fair manors after his decease. Or put case he was very good, suppose the best, may not thy dead son expostulate with thee, as he did in the same [3] Lucian, "why dost thou lament my death, or call me miserable that am much more happy than thyself? what misfortune is befallen me? Is it because I am not so bald, crooked, old, rotten, as thou art? What have I lost, some of your good cheer, gay clothes, music, singing, dancing, kissing, merrymeetings, *thalami lu-*

[1] Deus quos diligit juvenes rapit, Menan. [2] Consol. ad Apol. Apollonius filius tuus in flore decessit, ante nos ad æternitatem digressus, tanquam e convivio abiens, priusquam in errorem aliquem e temulentiâ incideret, quales in longâ senectâ accidere solent. [3] Tom. 1, Tract. de luctu. Quid me mortuum miserum vocas, qui te sum multo felicior? aut quid acerbi mihi putas contigisse? an quia non sum malus senex, ut tu facie rugosus, incurvus, &c. O demens, quid tibi videtur in vita boni? nimirum amicitias, cœnas, &c. Longe melius non esurire quam edere; non sitire, &c. Gaude potius quod morbos et febres effugerim, angorem animi, &c. Ejulatus quid prodest, quid lachrymæ, &c.

bentias, &c., is that it? Is it not much better not to hunger at all than to eat; not to thirst than to drink to satisfy thirst; not to be cold than to put on clothes to drive away cold? You had more need rejoice that I am freed from diseases, agues, cares, anxieties, livor, love, covetousness, hatred, envy, malice, that I fear no more thieves, tyrants, enemies, as you do." [1]*Id cinerem et manes credis curare sepultos?* "Do they concern us at all, think you, when we are once dead?" Condole not others then overmuch, "wish not or fear thy death." [2]*Summum nec optes diem nec metuas;* 'tis to no purpose.

> "Excessi e vitæ ærumnis facilisque lubensque
> Ne pejora ipsâ morte dehinc videam."
>
> "I left this irksome life with all mine heart,
> Lest worse than death should happen to my part."

[3] Cardinal Brundusinus caused this epitaph in Rome to be inscribed on his tomb, to show his willingness to die, and tax those that were so loath to depart. Weep and howl no more then, 'tis to small purpose; and as Tully adviseth us in the like case, *Non quos amisimus, sed quantum lugere par sit cogitemus:* think what we do, not whom we have lost. So David did, 2 Sam. xxii., "While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept; but being now dead, why should I fast? Can I bring him again? I shall go to him, but he cannot return to me." He that doth otherwise is an intemperate, a weak, a silly, and indiscreet man. Though Aristotle deny any part of intemperance to be conversant about sorrow, I am of [4] Seneca's mind, "he that is wise is temperate, and he that is temperate is constant, free from passion, and he that is such a one, is without sorrow," as all wise men should be. The [5] Thracians wept still when a child was born, feasted and made mirth when any man was buried; and so should we rather be glad for such as die well, that they are so happily freed from the miseries of this life. When Eteoneus,

[1] Virgil. [2] Hor. [3] Chytræus, delicils Europæ. [4] Epist. 85. [5] Sardus, de mor. gen.

that noble young Greek, was so generally lamented by his friends, Pindarus the poet feigns some god saying, *Silete, homines, non enim miser est*, &c., be quiet good folks, this young man is not so miserable as you think; he is neither gone to Styx nor Acheron, *sed gloriosus et senii expers heros*, he lives forever in the Elysian fields. He now enjoys that happiness which your great kings so earnestly seek, and wears that garland for which ye contend. If our present weakness is such, we cannot moderate our passions in this behalf, we must divert them by all means, by doing something else, thinking of another subject. The Italians most part sleep away care and grief, if it unseasonably seize upon them, Danes, Dutchmen, Polanders and Bohemians drink it down, our countrymen go to plays; do something or other, let it not transpose thee, or by [1] "premeditation make such accidents familiar," as Ulysses that wept for his dog, but not for his wife, *quòd paratus esset animo obfirmato*, (Plut. *de anim. tranq.*) "accustom thyself, and harden beforehand by seeing other men's calamities, and applying them to thy present estate;" *Prævisum est levius quod fuit ante malum.* I will conclude with [2] Epictetus, "If thou lovest a pot, remember 'tis but a pot thou lovest, and thou wilt not be troubled when 'tis broken; if thou lovest a son or wife, remember they were mortal, and thou wilt not be so impatient." And for false fears and all other fortuitous inconveniences, mischances, calamities, to resist and prepare ourselves, not to faint is best: [3] *Stultum est timere quod vitari non potest*, 'tis a folly to fear that which cannot be avoided, or to be discouraged at all.

> [4] "Nam quisquis trepidus pavet vel optat,
> Abjecit clypeum, locoque motus
> Nectit quâ valeat trahi catenam.

"For he that so faints or fears, and yields to his passion,

[1] Præmeditatione facilem reddere quemque casum. Plutarchus, consolatione ad Apollonium. Assuefacere non casibus debemus. Tull. lib. 3, Tusculan. quæst. [2] Cap. 8. Si ollam diligas, memento te ollam diligere, non perturbaberis eâ confractâ; si filium aut uxorem, memento hominem a te diligi, &c. [3] Seneca. [4] Boeth. lib. 1, pros. 4.

flings away his own weapons, makes a cord to bind himself, and pulls a beam upon his own head."

MEMB. VI.

Against Envy, Livor, Emulation, Hatred, Ambition, Self-love, and all other Affections.

Against those other [1] passions and affections, there is no better remedy than as mariners when they go to sea provide all things necessary to resist a tempest: to furnish ourselves with philosophical and Divine precepts, other men's examples, [2]*Periculum ex aliis facere, sibi quod ex usu siet;* To balance our hearts with love, charity, meekness, patience, and counterpoise those irregular motions of envy, livor, spleen, hatred, with their opposite virtues, as we bend a crooked staff another way, to oppose [3] "sufferance to labour, patience to reproach," bounty to covetousness, fortitude to pusillanimity, meekness to anger, humility to pride, to examine ourselves for what cause we are so much disquieted, on what ground, what occasion is it just or feigned? And then either to pacify ourselves by reason, to divert by some other object, contrary passion, or premeditation. [4]*Meditari secum oportet quo pacto adversam ærumnam ferat, Perîcla, damna, exilia peregrè rediens semper cogitet, aut filii peccatum, aut uxoris mortem, aut morbum filiæ, communia esse hæc: fieri posse, ut ne quid animo sit novum.* To make them familiar, even all kind of calamities, that when they happen they may be less troublesome unto us. *In secundis meditare, quo pacto feras adversa;* or out of mature judgment to avoid the effect, or disannul the cause, as they do that are troubled with toothache, pull them quite out.

[1] Qui invidiam ferre non potest, ferre contemptum cogitur. [2] Ter. Heautont. [3] Epictetus, c. 14. Si labor objectus fuerit tolerantiæ, convicium patientiæ, &c., si ita consueveris, vitiis non obtemperabis. [4] Ter. Phor.

[1] "Ut vivat castor, sibi testes amputat ipse;
Tu quoque si qua nocent, abjice, tutus eris."

"The *beaver* bites off 's stones to save the rest:
Do thou the like with that thou art opprest."

Or as they that play at wasters, exercise themselves by a few cudgels how to avoid an enemy's blows: let us arm ourselves against all such violent incursions, which may invade our minds. A little experience and practice will inure us to it; *vetula vulpes*, as the proverb saith, *laqueo haud capitur*, an old fox is not so easily taken in a snare; an old soldier in the world methinks should not be disquieted, but ready to receive all fortunes, encounters, and with that resolute captain, come what may come, to make answer,

[2] "non ulla laborum
O virgo nova mî facies inopinaque surgit,
Omnia percepi atque animo mecum ante peregi."

"No labour comes at unawares to me,
For I have long before cast what may be."

"non hoc primum mea pectora vulnus
Senserunt, graviora tuli [3]

The commonwealth of [4]Venice in their armoury have this inscription, "Happy is that city which, in time of peace, thinks of war," a fit motto for every man's private house; happy is the man that provides for a future assault. But many times we complain, repine, and mutter without a cause, we give way to passions we may resist, and will not. Socrates was bad by nature, envious, as he confessed to Zopirus the physiognomer, accusing him of it, froward and lascivious; but as he was Socrates, he did correct and amend himself. Thou art malicious, envious, covetous, impatient, no doubt, and lascivious, yet as thou art a Christian, correct and moderate thyself. 'Tis something, I confess, and able to move any man, to see himself contemned, obscure, neglected, disgraced, undervalued, [5]"left behind;" some cannot endure

[1] Alciat. Embl. [2] Virg. Æn. [3] "My breast was not conscious of this first wound, for I have endured still greater." [4] Nat. Chytræus, deliciis Europæ, Felix civitas quæ tempore pacis de bello cogitat. [5] Occupet extremum

it, no, not constant Lipsius, a man discreet otherwise, yet too weak and passionate in this, as his words express, [1] *collegas olim, quos ego sine fremitu non intueor, nuper terræ filios, nunc Mæcenates et Agrippas habeo,—summo jam monte potitos.* But he was much to blame for it; to a wise staid man this is nothing, we cannot all be honoured and rich, all Cæsars; if we will be content, our present state is good; and in some men's opinion to be preferred. Let them go on, get wealth, offices, titles, honours, preferments, and what they will themselves, by chance, fraud, imposture, simony, and indirect means, as too many do, by bribery, flattery, and parasitical insinuation, by impudence and timeserving, let them climb up to advancement in despite of virtue, let them "go before, cross me on every side," [2] *me non offendunt modo non in oculos incurrant*, as he said, correcting his former error, they do not offend me so long as they run not into mine eyes. I am inglorious and poor, *compositâ paupertate*, but I live secure and quiet; they are dignified, have great means, pomp, and state, they are glorious; but what have they with it? [3] "Envy, trouble, anxiety, as much labour to maintain their place with credit, as to get it at first." I am contented with my fortunes, *spectator e longinquo*, and love *Neptunum procul a terrâ spectare furentem;* he is ambitious, and not satisfied with his; "but what [4] gets he by it? to have all his life laid open, his reproaches seen; not one of a thousand but he hath done more worthy of dispraise and animadversion than commendation; no better means to help this than to be private." Let them run, ride, strive as so many fishes for a crumb, scrape, climb, catch, snatch, cozen, collogue, temporize and fleer, take all amongst them, wealth, honour, [5] and get what they can, it offends me not:

> [6] "me mea tellus
> Lare secreto tutoque tegat,"

scabies; mihi turpe relinqui est. Hor.
[1] Lipsius, epist. quæst. l. 1, ep. 7.
[2] Lipsius, epist. lib. 1, epist. 7. [3] Gloria comitem habet invidiam, pari onere premitur retinendo ac acquirendo.
[4] Quid aliud ambitiosus sibi parat quam ut probra ejus pateant? nemo vivens qui non habet in vitâ plura vituperatione quam laude digna; his malis non melius occurritur, quam si bene latueris. [5] Et omnes fama per urbes garrula laudet.
[6] Sen. Her. Fur.

"I am well pleased with my fortunes," [1] *Vivo et regno simul ista relinquens.*

I have learned "in what state soever I am, therewith to be contented," Philip. iv. 11. Come what can come, I am prepared. *Nave ferar magnâ an parvâ, ferar unus et idem.* I am the same. I was once so mad to bustle abroad, and seek about for preferment, tire myself, and trouble all my friends, *sed nihil labor tantus profecit; nam dum alios amicorum mors avocat, aliis ignotus sum, his invisus, alii largè promittunt, intercedunt illi mecum soliciti, hi vanâ spe lactant; dum alios ambio, hos capto, illis innotesco, ætas perit, anni defluunt, amici fatigantur, ego deferor, et jam, mundi tædus, humanæque satur infidelitatis, acquiesco.* [2] And so I say still; although I may not deny, but that I have had some [3] bountiful patrons and noble benefactors, *ne sim interim ingratus*, and I do thankfully acknowledge it, I have received some kindness, *quod Deus illis beneficium rependat, si non pro votis, fortasse pro meritis*, more peradventure than I deserve, though not to my desire, more of them than I did expect, yet not of others to my desert; neither am I ambitious or covetous, for this while, or a Suffenus to myself; what I have said, without prejudice or alteration shall stand. And now as a mired horse that struggles at first with all his might and main to get out, but when he sees no remedy, that his beating will not serve, lies still, I have laboured in vain, rest satisfied, and if I may usurp that of [4] Prudentius,

> "Inveni portum; spes et fortuna valete,
> Nil mihi vobiscum, ludite nunc alios."
>
> "Mine haven's found, fortune and hope adieu,
> Mock others now, for I have done with you."

[1] Hor. "I live like a king without any of these acquisitions." [2] "But all my labour was unprofitable; for while death took off some of my friends, to others I remain unknown, or little liked, and these deceive me with false promises. Whilst I am canvassing one party, captivating another, making myself known to a third, my age increases, years glide away, I am put off, and now tired of the world, and surfeited with human worthlessness, I rest content." [3] The right honourable Lady Frances, Countess Dowager of Exeter. The Lord Berkeley. [4] Distichon ejus in militem Christianum e Græco. Engraven on the tomb of Fr. Puccius the Florentine in Rome. Chytræus, in deliciis.

MEMB. VII.

Against Repulse, Abuses, Injuries, Contempts, Disgraces, Contumelies, Slanders, Scoffs, &c.

Repulse.] I MAY not yet conclude, think to appease passions, or quiet the mind, till such time as I have likewise removed some other of their more eminent and ordinary causes, which produce so grievous tortures and discontents; to divert all, I cannot hope; to point alone at some few of the chiefest, is that which I aim at.

Repulse and disgrace are two main causes of discontent, but to an understanding man not so hardly to be taken. Cæsar himself hath been denied, [1] and when two stand equal in fortune, birth, and all other qualities alike, one of necessity must lose. Why shouldst thou take it so grievously? It hath been a familiar thing for thee thyself to deny others. If every man might have what he would, we should all be deified, emperors, kings, princes; if whatsoever vain hope suggests, insatiable appetite affects, our preposterous judgment thinks fit were granted, we should have another chaos in an instant, a mere confusion. It is some satisfaction to him that is repelled, that dignities, honours, offices, are not always given by desert or worth, but for love, affinity, friendship, affection, [2] great men's letters, or as commonly they are bought and sold. [3] "Honours in court are bestowed not according to men's virtues and good conditions (as an old courtier observes), but as every man hath means, or more potent friends, so he is preferred." With us in France ([4] for so their own countryman relates) "most part the matter is carried by favour and grace; he that can get a great man to be his me-

[1] Pæderatus in 300 Lacedæmoniorum numerum non electus risit, gratulari se dicens civitatem habere 300 cives se meliores. [2] Kissing goes by favour. [3] Æneas Syl. de miser. curial. Dantur honores in curiis non secundum honores et virtutes, sed ut quisque ditior est atque potentior, eò magis honoratur. [4] Sesellius, lib. 2, de repub. Gallorum. Favore apud nos et gratia plerumque res agitur; et qui commodum aliquem nacti sunt intercessorem, aditum fere habent ad omnes præfecturas.

diator, runs away with all the preferment." *Indignissimus plerumque præfertur, Vatinius Catoni, illaudatus laudatissimo;*

" Servi dominantur; aselli
Ornantur phaleris, dephalerantur equi." [1]

An illiterate fool sits in a man's seat, and the common people hold him learned, grave and wise. " One professeth ([2] Cardan well notes) for a thousand crowns, but he deserves not ten, when as he that deserves a thousand cannot get ten." *Salarium non dat multis salem.* As good horses draw in carts as coaches. And oftentimes, which Machiavel seconds, [3] *Principes non sunt qui ob insignem virtutem principatu digni sunt*, he that is most worthy wants employment; he that hath skill to be a pilot wants a ship, and he that could govern a commonwealth, a world itself, a king in conceit, wants means to exercise his worth, hath not a poor office to manage, and yet all this while he is a better man that is fit to reign, *etsi careat regno*, though he want a kingdom, [4] " than he that hath one, and knows not how to rule it;" a lion serves not always his keeper, but oftentimes the keeper the lion, and as [5] Polydore Virgil hath it, *multi reges ut pupilli ob inscitiam non regunt sed reguntur.* Hiero of Syracuse was a brave king, but wanted a kingdom; Perseus of Macedon had nothing of a king, but the bare name and title, for he could not govern it; so great places are often ill bestowed, worthy persons unrespected. Many times too, the servants have more means than the masters whom they serve, which [6] Epictetus counts an eyesore and inconvenient. But who can help it? It is an ordinary thing in these days to see a base impudent ass, illiterate, unworthy, insufficient, to be preferred before his betters, because he can put himself forward, because he looks big, can bustle in the world, hath a fair out-

[1] " Slaves govern; asses are decked with trappings; horses are deprived of them." [2] Imperitus periti munus occupat, et sic apud vulgus habetur. Ille profitetur mille coronatis, cum nec decem mereatur; alius e diverso mille dignus, vix decem consequi potest. [3] Epist. dedic. disput. Zeubbeo Boudemontio, et Cosmo Rucelaio. [4] Quum is qui regnat, et regnandi sit imperitus. [5] Lib. 22, hist. [6] Ministri locupletiores sunt iis quibus ministratur.

side, can temporize, collogue, insinuate, or hath good store of friends or money; whereas a more discreet, modest, and better deserving man shall lie hid or have a repulse. 'Twas so of old, and ever will be, and which Tiresias adviseth Ulysses in the [1] poet,——"*Accipe quâ ratione queas ditescere*," &c., is still in use; lie, flatter and dissemble; if not, as he concludes,——"*Ergo pauper eris*," then go like a beggar as thou art. Erasmus, Melancthon, Lipsius, Budæus, Cardan, lived and died poor. Gesner was a silly old man, *baculo innixus*, amongst all those huffing cardinals, swelling bishops that flourished in his time, and rode on footcloths. It is not honesty, learning, worth, wisdom, that prefers men, "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong," but as the wise man said. [2] Chance, and sometimes a ridiculous chance. [3] *Casus plerumque ridiculus multos elevavit.* 'Tis fortune's doings as they say, which made Brutus now dying exclaim, *O misera virtus, ergo nihil quàm verba eras, atqui ego te tanquam rem exercebam, sed tu serviebas fortunæ.*[4] Believe it hereafter, O my friends! virtue serves fortune. Yet be not discouraged (O my well deserving spirits) with this which I have said, it may be otherwise, though seldom I confess, yet sometimes it is. But to your farther content, I'll tell you a [5] tale. In Moronia pia, or Moronia felix, I know not whether, nor how long since, nor in what cathedral church, a fat prebend fell void. The carcass scarce cold, many suitors were up in an instant. The first had rich friends, a good purse, and he was resolved to outbid any man before he would lose it, every man supposed he should carry it. The second was my lord Bishop's chaplain (in whose gift it was), and he thought it his due to have it. The third was nobly born, and he meant to get it by his great parents, patrons, and allies. The fourth stood upon his worth, he had newly found out strange mysteries in chemistry, and other

[1] Hor. lib. 2, Sat. 5. "Learn how to grow rich." [2] Solomon, Eccles. ix. 11. [3] Sat. Menip. [4] "O wretched virtue! you are therefore nothing but words, and I have all this time been looking upon you as a reality, while you are yourself the slave of fortune." [5] Tale quid est apud Valent. Andream, Apolog. manip. 5, apol. 39.

rare inventions, which he would detect to the public good. The fifth was a painful preacher, and he was commended by the whole parish where he dwelt, he had all their hands to his certificate. The sixth was the prebendary's son lately deceased, his father died in debt (for it, as they say), left a wife and many poor children. The seventh stood upon fair promises, which to him and his noble friends had been formerly made for the next place in his lordship's gift. The eighth pretended great losses, and what he had suffered for the church, what pains he had taken at home and abroad, and besides he brought noblemen's letters. The ninth had married a kinswoman, and he sent his wife to sue for him. The tenth was a foreign doctor, a late convert, and wanted means. The eleventh would exchange for another, he did not like the former's site, could not agree with his neighbours and fellows upon any terms, he would be gone. The twelfth and last was (a suitor in conceit) a right honest, civil, sober man, an excellent scholar, and such a one as lived private in the university, but he had neither means nor money to compass it; besides he hated all such courses, he could not speak for himself, neither had he any friends to solicit his cause, and therefore made no suit, could not expect, neither did he hope for, or look after it. The good bishop, amongst a jury of competitors thus perplexed, and not yet resolved what to do, or on whom to bestow it, at the last, of his own accord, mere motion and bountiful nature, gave it freely to the university student, altogether unknown to him but by fame; and to be brief, the academical scholar had the prebend sent him for a present. The news was no sooner published abroad, but all good students rejoiced, and were much cheered up with it, though some would not believe it; others, as men amazed, said it was a miracle; but one amongst the rest thanked God for it, and said *Nunc juvat tandem studiosum esse, et Deo integro corde servire.* You have heard my tale; but alas it is but a tale, a mere fiction, 'twas never so, never like to be, and so let it rest. Well, be it so then, they have wealth and

honour, fortune and preferment, every man (there's no remedy) must scramble as he may, and shift as he can; yet Cardan comforted himself with this, [1] "the star Fomahant would make him immortal," and that [2] after his decease his books should be found in ladies' studies: [3] *Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.* But why shouldest thou take thy neglect, thy canvass so to heart? It may be thou art not fit; but as a [4] child that puts on his father's shoes, hat, headpiece, breastplate, breeches, or holds his spear, but is neither able to wield the one, or wear the other: so wouldest thou do by such an office, place, or magistracy; thou art unfit; "And what is dignity to an unworthy man, but" (as [5] Salvianus holds), "a gold ring in a swine's snout?" Thou art a brute. Like a bad actor (so [6] Plutarch compares such men in a tragedy), *diadema fert, at vox non auditur:* Thou wouldest play a king's part, but actest a clown, speakest like an ass. [7] *Magna petis, Phaëton, et quæ non viribus istis*, &c., as James and John the sons of Zebedee did ask they knew not what: *nescis, temerarie, nescis;* thou dost, as another Suffenus, overween thyself; thou art wise in thine own conceit, but in other more mature judgment altogether unfit to manage such a business. Or be it thou art more deserving than any of thy rank, God in his providence hath reserved thee for some other fortunes, *sic superis visum.* Thou art humble as thou art, it may be; hadst thou been preferred, thou wouldest have forgotten God and thyself, insulted over others, contemned thy friends, [8] been a block, a tyrant, or a demi-god, *sequiturque superbia formam*: * "Therefore," saith Chrysostom, "good men do not always find grace and favour, lest they should be puffed up with turgent titles, grow insolent and proud."

Injuries, abuses, are very offensive, and so much the more in that they think *veterem ferendo invitant novam*, "by taking

[1] Stella Fomahant immortalitatem dabit. [2] Lib de lib. proprüis. [3] Hor. "The muse forbids the praiseworthy man to die." [4] Qui induit thoracem aut galeam, &c. [5] Lib. 4 de guber. Dei. Quid est dignitas indigno nisi circulus aureus in naribus suis? [6] In Lysandro. [7] Ovid. Met. [8] Magistratus virum indicat. * Ideo boni viri aliquando gratiam non accipiunt, ne in superbiam eleventur ventositate jactantiæ, ne altitudo muneris negligentiores efficiat.

one they provoke another;" but it is an erroneous opinion, for if that were true, there would be no end of abusing each other; *lis litem generat;* 'tis much better with patience to bear, or quietly to put it up. If an ass kick me, saith Socrates, shall I strike him again? And when [1]his wife Xantippe struck and misused him, to some friends that would have had him strike her again, he replied, that he would not make them sport, or that they should stand by and say, *Eia Socrates, eia Xantippe,* as we do when dogs fight, animate them the more by clapping of hands. Many men spend themselves, their goods, friends, fortunes, upon small quarrels, and sometimes at other men's procurements, with much vexation of spirit and anguish of mind, all which with good advice, or mediation of friends, might have been happily composed, or if patience had taken place. Patience in such cases is a most sovereign remedy, to put up, conceal, or dissemble it, to [2]forget and forgive, [3]"not seven, but seventy-seven times, as often as he repents forgive him;" Luke xvii. 3, as our Saviour enjoins us, stricken, "to turn the other side;" as our [4]Apostle persuades us, "to recompense no man evil for evil, but as much as is possible to have peace with all men; not to avenge ourselves, and we shall heap burning coals upon our adversary's head." "For [5]if you put up wrong (as Chrysostom comments), you get the victory; he that loseth his money, loseth not the conquest in this our philosophy." If he contend with thee, submit thyself unto him first, yield to him. *Durum et durum non faciunt murum,* as the diverb is, two refractory spirits will never agree, the only means to overcome is to relent, *obsequio vinces.* Euclid in Plutarch, when his brother had angered him, swore he would be revenged; but he gently replied, [6]"Let me not live if I do not make thee to love me again," upon which meek answer he was pacified,

[1] Ælian. [2] Injuriarum remedium est oblivio. [3] Mat. xviii. 22, Mat. v. 39. [4] Rom. xii. 17. [5] Si toleras injuriam, victor evadis; qui enim pecuniis privatus est, non est privatus victoriâ in hac philosophiâ. [6] Dispeream nisi te ultus fuero: dispeream nisi ut me deinceps ames effecero.

[1] "Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus,
Frangis si vires experiare tuas."

"A branch if easily bended yields to thee,
Pull hard it breaks; the difference you see."

The noble family of the Colonni in Rome, when they were expelled the city by that furious Alexander the Sixth, gave the bending branch therefore as an impress, with this motto, *Flecti potest, frangi non potest*, to signify that he might break them by force, but so never make them stoop, for they fled in the midst of their hard usage to the kingdom of Naples, and were honourably entertained by Frederick the king, according to their callings. Gentleness in this case might have done much more, and let thine adversary be never so perverse, it may be by that means thou mayest win him; [2] *favore et benevolentiâ etiam immanis animus mansuescit*, soft words pacify wrath, and the fiercest spirits are so soonest overcome; [3] a generous lion will not hurt a beast that lies prostrate, nor an elephant an innocuous creature, but is *infestus infestis*, a terror and scourge alone to such as are stubborn, and make resistance. It was the symbol of Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and he was not mistaken in it, for

[4] "Quo quisque est major, magis est placabilis iræ,
Et faciles motus mens generosa capit."

"A greater man is soonest pacified,
A noble spirit quickly satisfied."

It is reported by [5] Gualter Mapes, an old historiographer of ours (who lived four hundred years since), that King Edward, senior, and Llewellyn, prince of Wales, being at an interview near Aust, upon Severn, in Gloucestershire, and the prince sent for, refused to come to the king; he would needs go over to him; which Llewellyn perceiving, [6] "went up to the

[1] Joach. Camerarius, Embl. 21, cent. 1. [2] Heliodorus. [3] Reipsa reperi nihil esse homini melius facilitate et clementiâ. Ter. Adelph. [4] Ovid. [5] Camden in Glouc. [6] Usque ad pectus ingressus est aquam, &c., cymbam amplectens, sapientissime rex, ait, tua humilitas meam vicit superbiam, et sapientia triumphavit ineptiam; collum ascende quod contra te fatuus erexi, intrabis terram quam hodie fecit tuam benignitas, &c.

arms in water, and embracing his boat, would have carried him out upon his shoulders, adding that his humility and wisdom had triumphed over his pride and folly; and thereupon was reconciled unto him and did his homage." If thou canst not so win him, put it up, if thou beest a true Christian, a good divine, an imitator of Christ, ([1] "for he was reviled and put it up, whipped and sought no revenge,") thou wilt pray for thine enemies, [2] "and bless them that persecute thee;" be patient, meek, humble, &c. An honest man will not offer thee injury, *probus non vult;* if he were a brangling knave, 'tis his fashion so to do; where is least heart is most tongue; *quò quisque stultior, eò magis insolescit*, the more sottish he is, still the more insolent; [3] "Do not answer a fool according to his folly." If he be thy superior, [4] bear it by all means, grieve not at it, let him take his course; Annitus and Melitus [5] "may kill me, they cannot hurt me;" as that generous Socrates made answer in like case. *Mens immota manet*, though the body be torn in pieces with wild horses, broken on the wheel, pinched with fiery tongs, the soul cannot be distracted. 'Tis an ordinary thing for great men to vilify and insult, oppress, injure, tyrannize, to take what liberty they list, and who dare speak against? *Miserum est ab eo lædi, a quo non possis queri*, a miserable thing 'tis to be injured of him, from whom is no appeal; [6] and not safe to write against him that can proscribe and punish a man at his pleasure, which Asinius Pollio was aware of, when Octavianus provoked him. 'Tis hard I confess to be so injured; one of Chilo's three difficult things: [7] "To keep counsel; spend his time well; put up injuries;" but be thou patient, and [8] leave revenge unto the Lord. [9] "Vengeance is mine and I will repay, saith the Lord."—"I know the Lord," saith [10] David, "will avenge the afflicted and judge the poor."—"No man

[1] Chrysostom. contumeliis affectus est et eas pertulit; opprobriis, nec ultus est; verberibus cæsus, nec vicem reddidit. [2] Rom. xii. 14. [3] Prov. [4] Contend not with a greater man, Prov. [5] Occidere possunt. [6] Non facile aut tutum in eum scribere qui potest proscribere. [7] Arcana tacere, otium recte collocare, injuriam posse ferre, difficillimum. [8] Psal. xlv. [9] Rom. xii. [10] Psal. xiii. 12.

(as [1] Plato farther adds) can so severely punish his adversary, as God will such as oppress miserable men."

> [2] "Iterum ille rem judicatam judicat,
> Majoreque mulctâ mulctat."

If there be any religion, any God, and that God be just, it shall be so; if thou believest the one, believe the other; *Erit, erit*, it shall be so. *Nemesis* comes after, *serò sed seriò*, stay but a little and thou shalt see God's just judgment overtake him.

> [3] "Raro antecedentem scelestum
> Deseruit pede pœna claudo."
>
> "Yet with sure steps, though lame and slow,
> Vengeance o'ertakes the trembling villain's speed."

Thou shalt perceive that verified of Samuel to Agag, 1 Sam. xv. 33. "Thy sword hath made many women childless, so shall thy mother be childless amongst other women." It shall be done to them as they have done to others. Conradinus, that brave Suevian prince, came with a well prepared army into the kingdom of Naples, was taken prisoner by King Charles, and put to death in the flower of his youth; a little after (*ultionem Conradini mortis*, Pandulphus Collinutius, *Hist. Neap. lib.* 5, calls it), King Charles's own son, with two hundred nobles, was so taken prisoner, and beheaded in like sort. Not in this only, but in all other offences, *quo quisque peccat in eo punietur*, [4] they shall be punished in the same kind, in the same part, like nature, eye with or in the eye, head with or in the head, persecution with persecution, lust with effects of lust; let them march on with ensigns displayed, let drums beat on, trumpets sound taratantarra, let them sack cities, take the spoil of countries, murder infants, deflower virgins, destroy, burn, persecute, and tyrannize, they shall be fully rewarded at last in the same measure, they and theirs, and that to their desert.

[1] Nullus tam severè inimicum suum ulcisci potest, quam Deus solet miserorum oppressores. [2] Arcturus in Plaut. [3] Hor. 3, od. 2. [4] Wisd. xi. 6.

"He adjudicates judgment again, and punishes with a still greater penalty."

[1] "Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci
Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni."

"Few tyrants in their beds do die,
But stabb'd or maim'd to hell they hie."

Oftentimes too a base contemptible fellow is the instrument of God's justice to punish, to torture, and vex them, as an ichneumon doth a crocodile. They shall be recompensed according to the works of their hands, as Haman was hanged on the gallows he provided for Mordecai; "They shall have sorrow of heart, and be destroyed from under the heaven," Thren. iii. 64, 65, 66. Only be thou patient: [2]*vincit qui patitur;* and in the end thou shalt be crowned. Yea, but 'tis a hard matter to do this, flesh and blood may not abide it; 'tis *grave, grave!* no (Chrysostom replies), *non est grave, ô homo!* 'tis not so grievous, [3] "neither had God commanded it, if it had been so difficult." But how shall it be done? "Easily," as he follows it, "if thou shalt look to heaven, behold the beauty of it, and what God hath promised to such as put up injuries." But if thou resist and go about *vim vi repellere*, as the custom of the world is, to right thyself, or hast given just cause of offence, 'tis no injury then, but a condign punishment; thou hast deserved as much: *A te principium, in te recidit crimen quod a te fuit; peccâsti, quiesce*, as Ambrose expostulates with Cain, *lib.* 3, *de Abel et Cain.* [4] Dionysius of Syracuse, in his exile, was made to stand without door, *patientèr ferendum, fortasse nos tale quid fecimus, quum in honore essemus*, he wisely put it up, and laid the fault where it was, on his own pride and scorn, which in his prosperity he had formerly showed others. 'Tis [5] Tully's axiom, *ferre ea molestissimè homines non debent, quæ ipsorum culpâ contracta sunt*, self do, self have, as the saying is, they may thank themselves. For he that doth wrong must look to be wronged again; *habet et musca splenem, et*

[1] Juvenal. [2] Apud Christianos non qui patitur, sed qui facit injuriam miser est. Leo, ser. [3] Neque præcepisset Deus si grave fuisset; sed qua ratione potero? facilè si cœlum suspexeris; et ejus pulchritudinem, et quod pollicetur Deus, &c. [4] Valer. lib. 4, cap. 1. [5] Ep. Q. frat.

formicæ sua bilis inest. The least fly hath a spleen, and a little bee a sting. [1] An ass overwhelmed a thistlewarp's nest, the little bird pecked his galled back in revenge; and the humblebee in the fable flung down the eagle's eggs out of Jupiter's lap. Bracides, in Plutarch, put his hand into a mouse's nest and hurt her young ones, she bit him by the finger; [2] I see now (saith he) there is no creature so contemptible, that will not be revenged. 'Tis *lex talionis*, and the nature of all things so to do; if thou wilt live quietly thyself, [3] do no wrong to others; if any be done thee, put it up, with patience endure it, for [4] "this is thankworthy," saith our apostle, "if any man for conscience towards God endure grief, and suffer wrong undeserved; for what praise is it if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye take it patiently? But if when you do well, ye suffer wrong and take it patiently, there is thanks with God; for hereunto verily we are called." *Qui mala non fert, ipse sibi testis est per impatientiam quòd bonus non est*, "he that cannot bear injuries, witnesseth against himself that he is no good man," as Gregory holds. [5] "'Tis the nature of wicked men to do injuries, as it is the property of all honest men patiently to bear them." *Improbitas nullo flectitur obsequio.* The wolf in the [6] emblem sucked the goat (so the shepherd would have it), but he kept nevertheless a wolf's nature; [7] a knave will be a knave. Injury is on the other side a good man's footboy, his *fidus Achates*, and as a lackey follows him wheresoever he goes. Besides, *misera est fortuna quæ caret inimico*, he is in a miserable estate that wants enemies; [8] it is a thing not to be avoided, and therefore with more patience to be endured. Cato Censorius, that upright Cato of whom Paterculus gives that honourable eulogium, *benè fecit quod aliter facere non potuit*, was [9] fifty times indicted and accused by his fellow-

[1] Camerarius, Emb. 75, cent. 2. [2] Papæ, inquit: nullum animal tam pusillum quod non cupiat ulcisci. [3] Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. [4] 1 Pet. ii. [5] Siquidem malorum proprium est inferre damna, et bonorum pedissequa est injuria. [6] Alciat. emb. [7] Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurret. [8] By many indignities we come to dignities. Tibi subjicito quæ fiunt aliis, furtum, convitia, &c. Et in iis in te admissis non excandesces. Epictetus. [9] Plutarch. quinquagies Catoni dies dicta ab inimicis.

citizens, and as [1]Ammianus well hath it, *Quis erit innocens si clam vel palam accusâsse sufficiat?* if it be sufficient to accuse a man openly or in private, who shall be free? If there were no other respect than that of Christianity, religion and the like, to induce men to be long-suffering and patient, yet methinks the nature of injury itself is sufficient to keep them quiet, the tumults, uproars, miseries, discontents, anguish, loss, dangers that attend upon it might restrain the calamities of contention; for as it is with ordinary gamesters, the games go to the box, so falls it out to such as contend; the lawyers get all; and therefore if they would consider of it, *aliena pericula cautos*, other men's misfortunes in this kind, and common experience might detain them. * The more they contend, the more they are involved in a labyrinth of woes, and the catastrophe is to consume one another, like the elephant and dragon's conflict in Pliny;[2] the dragon got under the elephant's belly, and sucked his blood so long, till he fell down dead upon the dragon, and killed him with the fall, so both were ruined. 'Tis a hydra's head, contention; the more they strive, the more they may; and as Praxiteles did by his glass, when he saw a scurvy face in it, brake it in pieces; but for that one he saw many more as bad in a moment: for one injury done they provoke another *cum fœnore*, and twenty enemies for one. *Noli irritare crabrones*, oppose not thyself to a multitude; but if thou hast received a wrong, wisely consider of it, and if thou canst possibly, compose thyself with patience to bear it. This is the safest course, and thou shalt find greatest ease to be quiet.

[3]I say the same of scoffs, slanders, contumelies, obloquies, defamations, detractions, pasquilling libels, and the like, which may tend any way to our disgrace; 'tis but opinion; if we could neglect, contemn, or with patience digest them, they would reflect on them that offered them at first. A wise

[1] Lib. 18. * Hoc scio pro certo quod si cum stercore certo, vinco seu vincor, semper ego maculor. [2] Lib. 8, cap. 2. [3] Obloquutus est, probrumque tibi intulit quispiam, sive vera is dixerit, sive falsa, maximam tibi coronam texueris si mansuetè convitium tuleris. Chrys. in 6 cap. ad Rom. ser. 10.

citizen, I know not whence, had a scold to his wife; when she brawled, he played on his drum, and by that means madded her more, because she saw that he would not be moved. Diogenes in a crowd when one called him back, and told him how the boys laughed him to scorn, *Ego, inquit, non rideor,* took no notice of it. Socrates was brought upon the stage by Aristophanes, and misused to his face, but he laughed as if it concerned him not; and as Ælian relates of him, whatsoever good or bad accident or fortune befell him, going in or coming out, Socrates still kept the same countenance; even so should a Christian do, as Hierom describes him, *per infamiam et bonam famam grassari ad immortalitatem,* march on through good and bad reports to immortality, [1] not to be moved; for honesty is a sufficient reward, *probitas sibi præmium;* and in our times the sole recompense to do well, is, to do well; but naughtiness will punish itself at last, [2] *Improbis ipsa nequitia supplicium.* As the diverb is,

> " Qui benè fecerunt, illi sua facta sequentur;
> Qui malè fecerunt, facta sequentur eos: "
>
> " They that do well, shall have reward at last;
> But they that ill, shall suffer for that's past."

Yea, but I am ashamed, disgraced, dishonoured, degraded, exploded; my notorious crimes and villanies are come to light (*deprendi miserum est*), my filthy lust, abominable oppression and avarice lies open, my good name's lost, my fortune's gone. I have been stigmatized, whipt at post, arraigned and condemned, I am a common obloquy, I have lost my ears, odious, execrable, abhorred of God and men. Be content, 'tis but a nine days' wonder, and as one sorrow drives out another, one passion another, one cloud another, one rumour is expelled by another; every day almost come new news unto our ears, as how the sun was eclipsed, meteors seen in the air, monsters born, prodigies, how the

[1] Tullius, epist. Dolabella, tu forti sis animo; et tua moderatio, constantia, eorum infamet injuriam. [2] Boethius, consol. lib. 4, pros. 3.

Turks were overthrown in Persia, an earthquake in Helvetia, Calabria, Japan, or China, an inundation in Holland, a great plague in Constantinople, a fire at Prague, a dearth in Germany, such a man is made a lord, a bishop, another hanged, deposed, pressed to death, for some murder, treason, rape, theft, oppression, all which we do hear at first with a kind of admiration, detestation, consternation, but by and by they are buried in silence; thy father's dead, thy brother robbed, wife runs mad, neighbour hath killed himself; 'tis heavy, ghastly, fearful news at first, in every man's mouth, table-talk; but after a while who speaks or thinks of it? It will be so with thee and thine offence, it will be forgotten in an instant, be it theft, rape, sodomy, murder, incest, treason, &c., thou art not the first offender, nor shalt not be the last, 'tis no wonder, every hour such malefactors are called in question, nothing so common, *Quocunque in populo, quocunque sub axe.*[1] Comfort thyself, thou art not the sole man. If he that were guiltless himself should fling the first stone at thee, and he alone should accuse thee that were faultless, how many executioners, how many accusers wouldst thou have? If every man's sins were written in his forehead, and secret faults known, how many thousands would parallel, if not exceed thine offence? It may be the judge that gave sentence, the jury that condemned thee, the spectators that gazed on thee, deserved much more, and were far more guilty than thou thyself. But it is thine infelicity to be taken, to be made a public example of justice, to be a terror to the rest; yet should every man have his desert, thou wouldest peradventure be a saint in comparison; *vexat censura columbas*, poor souls are punished; the great ones do twenty thousand times worse, and are not so much as spoken of.

2 "Non rete accipitri tenditur neque milvio,
Qui male faciunt nobis; illis qui nil faciunt tenditur."

"The net's not laid for kites or birds of prey,
But for the harmless still our gins we lay."

1 "Amongst people in every climate." 2 Ter. Phor.

Be not dismayed then, *humanum est errare*, we are all sinners, daily and hourly subject to temptations, the best of us is a hypocrite, a grievous offender in God's sight, Noah, Lot, David, Peter, &c., how many mortal sins do we commit? Shall I say, be penitent, ask forgiveness, and make amends by the sequel of thy life, for that foul offence thou hast committed? recover thy credit by some noble exploit, as Themistocles did, for he was a most debauched and vicious youth, *sed juventæ maculas præclaris factis delevit*, but made the world amends by brave exploits; at last become a new man, and seek to be reformed. He that runs away in a battle, as Demosthenes said, may fight again; and he that hath a fall may stand as upright as ever he did before. *Nemo desperet meliora lapsus*, a wicked liver may be reclaimed, and prove an honest man; he that is odious in present, hissed out, an exile, may be received again with all men's favours, and singular applause; so Tully was in Rome, Alcibiades in Athens. Let thy disgrace then be what it will, *quod fit, infectum non potest esse*, that which is past cannot be recalled; trouble not thyself, vex and grieve thyself no more, be it obloquy, disgrace, &c. No better way, than to neglect, contemn, or seem not to regard it, to make no reckoning of it, *Deesse robur arguit dicacitas;* if thou be guiltless it concerns thee not:—

> [1] "Irrita vaniloquæ quid curas spicula linguæ,
> Latrantem curatne alta Diana canem?"

Doth the moon care for the barking of a dog? They detract, scoff and rail, saith one,[2] and bark at me on every side; but I, like that Albanian dog sometimes given to Alexander for a present, *vindico me ab illis solo contemptu*, I lie still and sleep, vindicate myself by contempt alone. [3] *Expers terroris Achilles armatus;* as a tortoise in his shell,

[1] Camerar. Emb. 61, cent. 3. "Why should you regard the harmless shafts of a vain-speaking tongue—does the exalted Diana care for the barking of a dog?" [2] Lipsius, elect. lib. 3, ult. Latrant me, jaceo, ac taceo, &c. [3] Catullus.

[1] *virtute meâ me involvo*, or an urchin round, *nil moror ictus*, [2] a lizard in camomile, I decline their fury and am safe.

> "Integritas virtusque suo munimine tuta,
> Non patet adversæ morsibus invidiæ:"
>
> "Virtue and integrity are their own fence,
> Care not for envy or what comes from thence."

Let them rail then, scoff, and slander, *sapiens contumeliâ non afficitur*, a wise man, Seneca thinks, is not moved because he knows, *contra Sycophantæ morsum non est remedium*, there is no remedy for it; kings and princes, wise, grave, prudent, holy, good men, divine, all are so served alike. [3] *O Jane a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit*, Antevorta and Postvorta, Jupiter's guardians, may not help in this case, they cannot protect; Moses had a Dathan, a Corath, David a Shimei, God himself is blasphemed; *nondum felix es si te nondum turba deridet.* It is an ordinary thing so to be misused. [4] *Regium est cum benè feceris malè audire*, the chiefest men and most understanding are so vilified; let him take his [5] course. And as that lusty courser in Æsop, that contemned the poor ass, came by and by after with his bowels burst, a pack on his back, and was derided of the same ass: *contemnentur ab iis quos ipsi priùs contempsere, et irridebuntur ab iis quos ipsi priùs irrisere*, they shall be contemned and laughed to scorn of those whom they have formerly derided. Let them contemn, defame, or undervalue, insult, oppress, scoff, slander, abuse, wrong, curse and swear, feign and lie, do thou comfort thyself with a good conscience, *in sinu gaudeas*, when they have all done, [6] "a good conscience is a continual feast," innocency will vindicate itself; and which the poet gave out of Hercules, *diis fruitur iratis*, enjoy thyself, though all the world be set against thee, con-

[1] The symbol of I. Kevenheder, a Carinthian baron, saith Sambucus. [2] The symbol of Gonzaga, duke of Mantua. [3] Pers. Sat. 1. [4] Magni animi est injurias despicere, Seneca de Ira, cap. 31. [5] Quid turpius quam sapientis vitam ex insipientis sermone pendere? Tullius. 2, de finibus. [6] Tua te conscientia salvare, in cubiculum ingredere, ubi secure requiescas. Minuit se quodammodo proba bonitas conscientiæ secretum, Boethius, l. 1, pros. 4.

temn and say with him, *Elogium mihi præ foribus*, my posy is, "not to be moved, that [1] my palladium, my breastplate, my buckler, with which I ward all injuries, offences, lies, slanders; I lean upon that stake of modesty, so receive and break asunder all that foolish force of liver and spleen." And whosoever he is that shall observe these short instructions, without all question he shall much ease and benefit himself.

In fine, if princes would do justice, judges be upright, clergymen truly devout, and so live as they teach, if great men would not be so insolent, if soldiers would quietly defend us, the poor would be patient, rich men would be liberal and humble, citizens honest, magistrates meek, superiors would give good example, subjects peaceable, young men would stand in awe; if parents would be kind to their children, and they again obedient to their parents, brethren agree amongst themselves, enemies be reconciled, servants trusty to their masters, virgins chaste, wives modest, husbands would be loving and less jealous; if we could imitate Christ and his apostles, live after God's laws, these mischiefs would not so frequently happen amongst us; but being most part so irreconcilable as we are, perverse, proud, insolent, factious, and malicious, prone to contention, anger and revenge, of such fiery spirits, so captious, impious, irreligious, so opposite to virtue, void of grace, how should it otherwise be? Many men are very testy by nature, apt to mistake, apt to quarrel, apt to provoke and misinterpret to the worst, everything that is said or done, and thereupon heap unto themselves a great deal of trouble, and disquietness to others, smatterers in other men's matters, talebearers, whisperers, liars, they cannot speak in season, or hold their tongues when they should, [2] *Et suam partem itidem tacere, cum aliena est oratio;* they will speak more than comes to their shares, in all companies, and by those bad courses accumulate much evil to their own souls

[1] Ringantur licet et maledicant; Palladium illud pectori oppono, non moveri: consisto modestiæ veluti sudi innitens, excipio et frango stultissimum impetum livoris. Putean. lib. 2, epist. 58. [2] Mil. glor. Act. 3, Plautus.

(*qui contendit, sibi convicium facit*), their life is a perpetual brawl, they snarl like so many dogs, with their wives, children, servants, neighbours, and all the rest of their friends, they can agree with nobody. But to such as are judicious, meek, submissive, and quiet, these matters are easily remedied; they will forbear upon all such occasions, neglect, contemn, or take no notice of them, dissemble, or wisely turn it off. If it be a natural impediment, as a red nose, squint eyes, crooked legs, or any such imperfection, infirmity, disgrace, reproach, the best way is to speak of it first thyself, [1] and so thou shalt surely take away all occasions from others to jest at, or contemn, that they may perceive thee to be careless of it. Vatinius was wont to scoff at his own deformed feet, to prevent his enemies' obloquies and sarcasms in that kind; or else by prevention, as Cotys, king of Thrace, that brake a company of fine glasses presented to him, with his own hands, lest he should be overmuch moved when they were broken by chance. And sometimes again, so that it be discreetly and moderately done, it shall not be amiss to make resistance, to take down such a saucy companion, no better means to vindicate himself to purchase final peace; for he that suffers himself to be ridden, or through pusillanimity or sottishness will let every man baffle him, shall be a common laughing-stock to flout at. As a cur that goes through a village, if he clap his tail between his legs, and run away, every cur will insult over him; but if he bristle up himself, and stand to it, give but a countersnarl, there's not a dog dares meddle with him: much is in a man's courage and discreet carriage of himself.

Many other grievances there are, which happen to mortals in this life, from friends, wives, children, servants, masters, companions, neighbours, our own defaults, ignorance, errors, intemperance, indiscretion, infirmities, &c., and many good remedies to mitigate and oppose them, many divine precepts

[1] Bion said his father was a rogue, his mother a whore, to prevent obloquy, and to show that nought belonged to him but goods of the mind.

to counterpoise our hearts, special antidotes both in Scripture and human authors, which, whoso will observe, shall purchase much ease and quietness unto himself; I will point out a few. Those prophetical, apostolical admonitions are well known to all; what Solomon, Siracides, our Saviour Christ himself hath said tending to this purpose, as "Fear God; obey the prince; be sober and watch; pray continually; be angry but sin not; remember thy last; fashion not yourselves to this world, &c.; apply yourselves to the times; strive not with a mighty man; recompense good for evil; let nothing be done through contention or vainglory, but with meekness of mind, every man esteeming of others better than himself; love one another;" or that epitome of the law and the prophets, which our Saviour inculcates, "love God above all, thy neighbour as thyself;" and "whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, so do unto them;" which Alexander Severus writ in letters of gold, and used as a motto, [1] Hierom commends to Celantia as an excellent way, amongst so many enticements and worldly provocations, to rectify her life. Out of human authors take these few cautions, [2] "Know thyself. [3] Be contented with thy lot. [4] Trust not wealth, beauty, nor parasites, they will bring thee to destruction. [5] Have peace with all men, war with vice. [6] Be not idle. [7] Look before you leap. [8] Beware of, Had I wist. [9] Honour thy parents, speak well of friends. Be temperate in four things, *lingua*, *loculis*, *oculis*, *et poculis*. Watch thine eye. [10] Moderate thine expenses. Hear much, speak little, [11] *sustine et abstine*. If thou seest aught amiss in another, mend it in thyself. Keep thine own counsel, reveal not thy secrets, be silent in thine intentions. [12] Give not ear to taletellers, babblers, be not scurrilous in conversation: [13] jest without bitterness; give no man cause

[1] Lib. 2, ep. 25. [2] Nosce teipsum. [3] Contentus abi. [4] Ne fidas opibus, neque parasitis, trahunt in præcipitium. [5] Pacem cum hominibus habe, bellum cum vitiis. Othon. 2, imperat. symb. [6] Dæmon te nunquam otiosum inveniat. Hieron. [7] Diu deliberandum quod statuendum est semel. [8] Insipientis est dicere non putâram. [9] Ames parentem, si æquum; aliter, feras; præstes parentibus pietatem, amicis dilectionem. [10] Comprime linguam. Quid de quoque viro et cui dicas sæpe caveto. Libentius audias quàm loquaris; vive ut vivas. [11] Epictetus: optime feceris si ea fugeris quæ in alio reprehendis. Nemini dixeris quæ nolis efferri. [12] Fuge susurrones. Percontatorem fugito, &c. [13] Sint

of offence; set thine house in order; [1] take heed of suretyship. [2] *Fide et diffide*, as a fox on the ice, take heed whom you trust. [3] Live not beyond thy means. [4] Give cheerfully. Pay thy dues willingly. Be not a slave to thy money; [5] omit not occasion, embrace opportunity, lose no time. Be humble to thy superiors, respective to thine equals, affable to all, [6] but not familiar. Flatter no man. [7] Lie not, dissemble not. Keep thy word and promise, be constant in a good resolution. Speak truth. Be not opiniative, maintain no factions. Lay no wagers, make no comparisons. [8] Find no faults, meddle not with other men's matters. Admire not thyself. [9] Be not proud or popular. Insult not. *Fortunam reverenter habe.* [10] Fear not that which cannot be avoided. [11] Grieve not for that which cannot be recalled. [12] Undervalue not thyself. [13] Accuse no man, commend no man rashly. Go not to law without great cause. Strive not with a greater man. Cast not off an old friend, take heed of a reconciled enemy. [14] If thou come as a guest stay not too long. Be not unthankful. Be meek, merciful, and patient. Do good to all. Be not fond of fair words. [15] Be not a neuter in a faction; moderate thy passions. [16] Think no place without a witness. [17] Admonish thy friend in secret, commend him in public. Keep good company. [18] Love others to be beloved thyself. *Ama tanquam osurus. Amicus tardo fias.* Provide for a tempest. *Noli irritare crabrones.* Do not prostitute thy soul for gain. Make not a fool of thyself to make others merry. Marry not an old crony or a fool for money. Be not oversolicitous or curious. Seek that which may be found. Seem not greater than thou art. Take thy pleasure soberly.

sales sine vilitate. Sen. [1] Sponde, præsto noxa. [2] Camerar. emb. 55, cent. 2, cave cui credas, vel nemini fidas, Epicharmus. [3] Tecum habita. [4] Bis dat qui cito dat. [5] Post est occasio calva. [6] Nimia familiaritas parit contemptum. [7] Mendacium servile vitium. [8] Arcanum neque inscrutaberis ullius unquam, commissumque teges, Hor. lib. 1, ep. 19. Nec tua laudabis studia aut aliena reprendes. Hor. ep. lib. 18. [9] Ne te quæsiveris extra. [10] Stultum est timere, quod vitari non potest. [11] De re amissa irreparabili ne doleas. [12] Tanti eris aliis quanti tibi fueris. [13] Neminem cito laudes vel accuses. [14] Nullius hospitis grata est mora longa. [15] Solonis lex apud Aristotelem; Gellius, lib. 2, cap. 12. [16] Nullum locum putes sine teste, semper adesse Deum cogita. [17] Secretò amicos admone, lauda palam. [18] Ut ameris, amabilis esto. Eros et Anteros gemelli Veneris, amatio et redamatio. Plat.

Ocymum ne terito. [1] Live merrily as thou canst. [2] Take heed by other men's examples. Go as thou wouldest be met, sit as thou wouldest be found, [3] yield to the time, follow the stream. Wilt thou live free from fears and cares? [4] Live innocently, keep thyself upright, thou needest no other keeper," &c. Look for more in Isocrates, Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, &c., and for defect, consult with cheese trenchers and painted cloths.

MEMB. VIII.

Against Melancholy itself.

"EVERY man," saith [5] Seneca, "thinks his own burden the heaviest," and a melancholy man above all others complains most; weariness of life, abhorring all company and light, fear, sorrow, suspicion, anguish of mind, bashfulness, and those other dread symptoms of body and mind, must needs aggravate this misery; yet compared to other maladies, they are not so heinous as they be taken. For first this disease is either in habit or disposition, curable or incurable. If new and in disposition, 'tis commonly pleasant, and it may be helped. If inveterate, or a habit, yet they have *lucida intervalla*, sometimes well, and sometimes ill; or if more continuate, as the [6] Vegentes were to the Romans, 'tis *hostis magis assiduus quàm gravis*, a more durable enemy than dangerous; and amongst many inconveniences, some comforts are annexed to it. First it is not catching, and as Erasmus comforted himself, when he was grievously sick of the stone, though it was most troublesome, and an intolerable pain to him, yet it was no whit offensive to others, not loathsome to the spectators, ghastly, fulsome, terrible, as plagues,

[1] Dum fata sinunt vivite læti, Seneca. [2] Id apprime in vita utile, ex aliis observare sibi quod ex usu siet. Ter. [3] Dum furor in cursu currenti cede furori. Cretizandum cum Crete. Temporibus servi, nec contra flamina flato. [4] Nulla certior custodia innocentiâ: inexpugnabile munimentum munimento non egere. [5] Unicuique suum onus intolerabile videtur. [6] Livius.

apoplexies, leprosies, wounds, sores, tetters, pox, pestilent agues are, which either admit of no company, terrify or offend those that are present. In this malady, that which is, is wholly to themselves; and those symptoms not so dreadful, if they be compared to the opposite extremes. They are most part bashful, suspicious, solitary, &c., therefore no such ambitious, impudent intruders as some are, no sharkers, no cony-catchers, no prowlers, no smellfeasts, praters, panders, parasites, bawds, drunkards, whoremasters; necessity and defect compel them to be honest; as Mitio told Demea in the [1] comedy,

> "Hæc si neque ego neque tu fecimus,
> Non sinit egestas facere nos."

"If we be honest 'twas poverty made us so;" if we melancholy men be not as bad as he that is worst, 'tis our dame melancholy kept us so: *Non deerat voluntas sed facultas.*[2]

Besides they are freed in this from many other infirmities, solitariness makes them more apt to contemplate, suspicion wary, which is a necessary humour in these times, [3] *Nam pol qui maximè cavet, is sæpe cautor captus est*, "he that takes most heed, is often circumvented and overtaken." Fear and sorrow keep them temperate and sober, and free them from any dissolute acts, which jollity and boldness thrust men upon; they are therefore no *sicarii*, roaring boys, thieves or assassins. As they are soon dejected, so they are as soon, by soft words and good persuasions, reared. Wearisomeness of life makes them they are not so besotted on the transitory vain pleasures of the world. If they dote in one thing, they are wise and well understanding in most other. If it be inveterate, they are *insensati*, most part doting, or quite mad, insensible of any wrongs, ridiculous to others, but most happy and secure to themselves. Dotage is a state which many much magnify and commend; so is simplicity and folly, as he said, [4] *hic furor, ô superi, sit mihi perpetuus.* Some think

[1] Ter. Scen. 2, Adelphus. [2] "'Twas not the will but the way was wanting."
[3] Plautus. [4] Petronius Catul.

fools and dizzards live the merriest lives, as Ajax in Sophocles, *Nihil scire vita jucundissima*, "'tis the pleasantest life to know nothing; *iners malorum remedium ignorantia*, "ignorance is a downright remedy of evils." These curious arts and laborious sciences, Galen's, Tully's, Aristotle's, Justinian's, do but trouble the world some think; we might live better with that illiterate Virginian simplicity, and gross ignorance; entire idiots do best, they are not macerated with cares, tormented with fears and anxiety, as other wise men are; for as [1]he said, if folly were a pain, you should hear them howl, roar, and cry out in every house, as you go by in the street, but they are most free, jocund, and merry, and in some [2]countries, as amongst the Turks, honoured for saints, and abundantly maintained out of the common stock.[3] They are no dissemblers, liars, hypocrites, for fools and madmen tell commonly truth. In a word, as they are distressed, so are they pitied, which some hold better than to be envied, better to be sad than merry, better to be foolish and quiet, *quàm sapere et ringi*, to be wise and still vexed; better to be miserable than happy; of two extremes it is the best.

SECT. IV. MEMB. I.

Subsect. I.—*Of Physic which cureth with Medicines.*

After a long and tedious discourse of these six non-natural things and their several rectifications, all which are comprehended in diet, I am come now at last to *Pharmaceutice*, or that kind of physic which cureth by medicines, which apothecaries most part make, mingle, or sell in their shops. Many cavil at this kind of physic, and hold it unnecessary, unprofitable to this or any other disease, because those countries which use it least, live longest, and are best in health,

[1] Parmeno Cælestinæ, Act. 8. Si stultitia dolor esset, in nulla non domo ejulatus audires. [2] Busbequius. Sands, lib. 1, fol. 89. [3] Quis hodie beatior, quam cui licet stultum esse, et eorundem immunitatibus frui. Sat. Menip.

as [1] Hector Boethius relates of the isles of Orcades, the people are still sound of body and mind, without any use of physic, they live commonly 120 years, and Ortelius in his itinerary of the inhabitants of the Forest of Arden, [2] "they are very painful, longlived, sound," &c. [3] Martianus Capella, speaking of the Indians of his time, saith, they were (much like our western Indians now) "bigger than ordinary men, bred coarsely, very longlived, insomuch, that he that died at a hundred years of age, went before his time," &c. Damianus A-Goes, Saxo-Grammaticus, Aubanus Bohemus, say the like of them that live in Norway, Lapland, Finmark, Biarmia, Corelia, all over Scandia, and those northern countries, they are most healthful, and very longlived, in which places there is no use at all of physic, the name of it is not once heard. Dithmarus Bleskenius in his accurate description of Iceland, 1607, makes mention, amongst other matters, of the inhabitants, and their manner of living, [4] "which is dried fish instead of bread, butter, cheese, and salt meats, most part they drink water and whey, and yet without physic or physician, they live many of them 250 years." I find the same relation by Lerius, and some other writers, of Indians in America. Paulus Jovius in his description of Britain, and Levinus Lemnius, observe as much of this our island, that there was of old no use of [5] physic amongst us, and but little at this day, except it be for a few nice idle citizens, surfeiting courtiers, and stall-fed gentlemen lubbers. The country people use kitchen physic, and common experience tells us, that they live freest from all manner of infirmities, that make least use of apothecaries' physic. Many are overthrown by preposterous use of it, and thereby get their bane, that might otherwise have escaped; [6] some think physicians kill as many as they save, and who can tell, [7] "*Quot Themison ægros au-*

[1] Lib. Hist. [2] Parvo viventes, laboriosi, longævi, suo contenti, ad centum annos vivunt. [3] Lib. 6 de Nup. Philol. Ultra humanam fragilitatem prolixi, ut immaturè pereat qui centenarius moriatur, &c. [4] Victus eorum caseo et lacte consistit, potus aqua et serum; pisces loco panis habent; ita multos annos sæpe 250 absque medico et medicinâ vivunt. [5] Lib. de 4 complex. [6] Per mortes agunt experimenta et animas nostras negotiantur; et quod aliis exitiale hominem occidere, iis impunitas summa. Plinius. [7] Juven.

tumno occiderit uno?" "How many murders they make in a year," *quibus impunè licet hominem occidere*, "that may freely kill folks," and have a reward for it, and according to the Dutch proverb, a new physician must have a new churchyard; and who daily observes it not? Many that did ill under physicians' hands, have happily escaped, when they have been given over by them, left to God and nature and themselves; 'twas Pliny's dilemma of old, [1] "every disease is either curable or incurable, a man recovers of it or is killed by it; both ways physic is to be rejected. If it be deadly it cannot be cured; if it may be helped, it requires no physician, nature will expel it of itself." Plato made it a great sign of an intemperate and corrupt commonwealth, where lawyers and physicians did abound; and the Romans distasted them so much that they were often banished out of their city, as Pliny and Celsus relate, for 600 years not admitted. It is no art at all, as some hold, no not worthy the name of a liberal science (nor law neither), as [2] Pet. And. Canonherius, a patrician of Rome and a great doctor himself, "one of their own tribe," proves by sixteen arguments, because it is mercenary as now used, base, and as fiddlers play for a reward. *Juridicis, medicis, fisco fas vivere rapto*, 'tis a corrupt trade, no science, art, no profession; the beginning, practice, and progress of it, all is nought, full of imposture, uncertainty, and doth generally more harm than good. The devil himself was the first inventor of it: *Inventum est medicina meum*, said Apollo, and what was Apollo, but the devil? The Greeks first made an art of it, and they were all deluded by Apollo's sons, priests, oracles. If we may believe Varro, Pliny, Columella, most of their best medicines were derived from his oracles. Æsculapius his son had his temples erected to his deity, and did many famous cures; but, as Lactantius holds, he was a magician, a mere imposter, and as his succes-

[1] Omnis morbus lethalis aut curabilis, in vitam desinit aut in mortem. Utroque igitur modo medicina inutilis; si lethalis, curari non potest; si curabilis, non requirit medicum: natura expellet.
[2] In interpretationes politico-morales in 7 Aphorism. Hippoc. libros.

sors, Phaon, Podalirius, Melampius, Menecrates (another god), by charms, spells, and ministry of bad spirits, performed most of their cures. The first that ever wrote in physic to any purpose, was Hippocrates, and his disciple and commentator Galen, whom Scaliger calls *Fimbriam Hippocratis;* but as [1] Cardan censures them, both immethodical and obscure, as all those old ones are, their precepts confused, their medicines obsolete, and now most part rejected. Those cures which they did, Paracelsus holds, were rather done out of their patients' confidence, [2] and good opinion they had of them, than out of any skill of theirs, which was very small, he saith, they themselves idiots and infants, as are all their academical followers. The Arabians received it from the Greeks, and so the Latins, adding new precepts and medicines of their own, but so imperfect still, that through ignorance of professors, impostors, mountebanks, empirics, disagreeing of sectaries (which are as many almost as there be diseases), envy, covetousness, and the like, they do much harm amongst us. They are so different in their consultations, prescriptions, mistaking many times the parties' constitution, [3] disease, and causes of it, they give quite contrary physic; [4] "one saith this, another that," out of singularity or opposition, as he said of Adrian, *multitudo medicorum principem interfecit*, "a multitude of physicians hath killed the emperor;" *plus a medico quam a morbo periculi*, "more danger there is from the physician, than from the disease." Besides, there is much imposture and malice amongst them. "All arts (saith [5] Cardan) admit of cozening, physic, amongst the rest, doth appropriate it to herself;" and tells a story of one Curtius, a physician in Venice; because he was a stranger, and practised amongst them, the rest of the physicians did still cross him in all his precepts. If he prescribed hot medicines they would prescribe cold, *miscentes pro calidis*

[1] Præfat. de contrad. med. [2] Opinio facit medicos: a fair gown, a velvet cap, the name of a doctor is all in all. [3] Morbus alius pro alio curatur; aliud remedium pro alio. [4] Contrarias proferunt sententias. Card. [5] Lib. 3 de sap. Omnes artes fraudem admittunt, sola medicina sponte eam accersit.

frigida, pro frigidis humida, pro purgantibus astringentia, binders for purgatives, *omnia perturbabant.* If the party miscarried, *Curtium damnabant,* Curtius killed him, that disagreed from them; if he recovered, then [1] they cured him themselves. Much emulation, imposture, malice, there is amongst them: if they be honest and mean well, yet a knave apothecary that administers the physic, and makes the medicine, may do infinite harm, by his old obsolete doses, adulterine drugs, bad mixtures, *quid pro quo,* &c. See Fuchsius, *lib.* 1, *sect.* 1, *cap.* 8, Cordus's Dispensatory, and Brassivola's *Examen simpl.* &c. But it is their ignorance that doth more harm than rashness, their art is wholly conjectural, if it be an art, uncertain, imperfect, and got by killing of men, they are a kind of butchers, leeches, men-slayers; chirurgeons and apothecaries especially, that are indeed the physicians' hangmen, *carnifices,* and common executioners; though to say truth, physicians themselves come not far behind; for according to that facete epigram of Maximilianus Urentius, what's the difference?

> "Chirurgus medico quo differt? scilicet isto,
> Enecat hic succis, enecat ille manu:
> Carnifice hoc ambo tantum differre videntur,
> Tardiùs hi faciunt, quod facit ille citò." [2]

But I return to their skill; many diseases they cannot cure at all, as apoplexy, epilepsy, stone, strangury, gout, *Tollere nodosam nescit medicina Podagram;* [3] quartan agues, a common ague sometimes stumbles them all, they cannot so much as ease, they know not how to judge of it. If by pulses, that doctrine, some hold, is wholly superstitious, and I dare boldly say with [4] Andrew Dudeth, "that variety of pulses, described by Galen, is neither observed nor understood of any." And for urine, that is *meretrix medicorum,*

[1] Omnis ægrotus propriâ culpâ perit, sed nemo nisi medici beneficio restituitur. Agrippa. [2] "How does the surgeon differ from the doctor? In this respect: one kills by drugs, the other by the hand; both only differ from the hangman in this way, they do slowly what he does in an instant." [3] "Medicine cannot cure the knotty gout." [4] Lib. 3, Crat. ep. Winceslao Raphæno. Ausim dicere, tot pulsuum differentias, quæ describuntur a Galeno, nec a quoquam intelligi, nec observari posse.

the most deceitful thing of all, as Forestus and some other physicians have proved at large; I say nothing of critic days, errors in indications, &c. The most rational of them, and skilful, are so often deceived, that as [1] Tholosanus infers "I had rather believe and commit myself to a mere empiric, than to a mere doctor, and I cannot sufficiently commend that custom of the Babylonians, that have no professed physicians, but bring all their patients to the market to be cured;" which Herodotus relates of the Egyptians; Strabo, Sardus, and Aubanus Bohemus of many other nations. And those that prescribed physic, amongst them, did not so arrogantly take upon them to cure all diseases, as our professors do, but some one, some another, as their skill and experience did serve; [2] "one cured the eyes, a second the teeth, a third the head, another the lower parts," &c., not for gain, but in charity to do good, they made neither art, profession, nor trade of it, which in other places was accustomed; and therefore Cambyses in [3] Xenophon told Cyrus, that to his thinking physicians "were like tailors and cobblers, the one mended our sick bodies, as the other did our clothes." But I will urge these cavilling and contumelious arguments no farther, lest some physician should mistake me, and deny me physic when I am sick; for my part, I am well persuaded of physic; I can distinguish the abuse from the use, in this and many other arts and sciences; [4] *Aliud vinum, aliud ebrietas*, wine and drunkenness are two distinct things. I acknowledge it a most noble and divine science, insomuch that Apollo, Æsculapius, and the first founders of it, *meritò pro diis habiti*, were worthily counted gods by succeeding ages, for the excellency of their invention. And whereas Apollo at Delos, Venus at Cyprus, Diana at Ephesus, and those other gods were confined and adored alone in some peculiar places: Æsculapius had his temple and

[1] Lib. 28. cap. 7, syntax. art. mirab. Mallem ego expertis credere solum, quam merè ratiocinantibus: neque satis laudare possum institutum Babylonicum, &c. [2] Herod. Euterpe, de Ægyptiis. Apud eos singulorum morborum sunt singuli medici; alius curat oculos, alius dentes, alius caput, partes occultas alius. [3] Cyrop. lib. 1. Velut vestium fractarum resarcinatores, &c. [4] Chrys. hom.

altars everywhere, in Corinth, Lacedæmon, Athens, Thebes, Epidaurus, &c. Pausanius records, for the latitude of his art, diety, worth, and necessity. With all virtuous and wise men, therefore, I honour the name and calling, as I am enjoined "to honour the physician for necessity's sake. The knowledge of the physician lifteth up his head, and in the sight of great men he shall be admired. The Lord hath created medicines of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them," Ecclus. lviii. 1. But of this noble subject how many panegyrics are worthily written? For my part, as Sallust said of Carthage, *præstat silere quam pauca dicere;* I have said, yet one thing I will add, that this kind of physic is very moderately and advisedly to be used, upon good occasion, when the former of diet will not take place. And 'tis no other which I say, than that which Arnoldus prescribes in his 8 Aphorism. [1] "A discreet and goodly physician doth first endeavour to expel a disease by medicinal diet, then by pure medicine;" and in his ninth, [2] "he that may be cured by diet, must not meddle with physic." So in 11 Aphorism. [3] "A modest and wise physician will never hasten to use medicines, but upon urgent necessity, and that sparingly too;" because (as he adds in his 13 Aphorism), [4] "Whosoever takes much physic in his youth, shall soon bewail it in his old age;" purgative physic especially, which doth much debilitate nature. For which causes some physicians refrain from the use of purgatives, or else sparingly use them. [5] Henricus Ayrerus in a consultation for a melancholy person, would have him take as few purges as he could, "because there be no such medicines, which do not steal away some of our strength, and rob the parts of our body, weaken nature, and cause that cacochymia," which [6] Celsus and others observe, or ill digestion, and bad juice

[1] Prudens et pius medicus, morbum ante expellere satagit, cibis medicinalibus, quam puris medicinis. [2] Cuicunque potest per alimenta restitui sanitas, fugiendus est penitus usus medicamentorum. [3] Modestus et sapiens medicus, nunquam properabit ad pharmaciam, nisi cogente necessitate. [4] Quicunque pharmacatur in juventute, deflebit in senectute. [5] Hildesh. spic. 2, de mel. fol. 276. Nulla est fermè medicina purgans, quæ non aliquam de viribus et partibus corporis deprædatur. [6] Lib. 1, et Bart lib. 8, cap. 12.

through all the parts of it. Galen himself confesseth, [1] "that purgative physic is contrary to nature, takes away some of our best spirits, and consumes the very substance of our bodies;" But this, without question, is to be understood of such purges as are unseasonably or immoderately taken; they have their excellent use in this, as well as most other infirmities. Of alteratives and cordials no man doubts, be they simples or compounds. I will, amongst that infinite variety of medicines which I find in every pharmacopœia, every physician, herbalist, &c., single out some of the chiefest.

Subsect. II.—*Simples proper to Melancholy, against Exotic Simples.*

Medicines properly applied to melancholy, are either simple or compound. Simples are alterative or purgative. Alteratives are such as correct, strengthen nature, alter, any way hinder or resist the disease; and they be herbs, stones, minerals, &c., all proper to this humour. For as there be divers distinct infirmities continually vexing us,

> [2] "Νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισι ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ ἠδ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
> Αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι
> Σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητιέτα Ζεύς."
>
> "Diseases steal both day and night on men,
> For Jupiter hath taken voice from them:"

So there be several remedies, as [3] he saith, "each disease a medicine, for every humour;" and as some hold, every clime, every country, and more than that, every private place hath his proper remedies growing in it, peculiar almost to the domineering and most frequent maladies of it. As [4] one discourseth, "wormwood groweth sparingly in Italy, because most part there they be misaffected with hot diseases; but henbane, poppy, and such cold herbs; with us, in Germany

[1] De vict. acut. Omne purgans medicamentum, corpori purgato contrarium, &c., succos et spiritus abducit, substantiam corporis aufert. [2] Hesiod. op. [3] Heurnius. præf. pra. med. Quot morborum sunt ideæ, tot remediorum genera variis potentiis decorata. [4] Penottus, denar. med. Quæcunque regio producit simplicia, pro morbis regionis; crescit raro absynthium in Italia, quod ibi plerumque morbi calidi, sed cicuta, papaver, et herbæ frigidæ; apud nos Germanos et Polonos ubique provenit absynthium.

and Poland, great store of it in every waste." Baracellus, *Horto geniali*, and Baptista Porta, *Physiognomicæ, lib.* 6, *cap.* 23, give many instances and examples of it, and bring many other proofs. For that cause belike that learned Fuchsius of Nuremburg, [1] "when he came into a village, considered always what herbs did grow most frequently about it, and those he distilled in a silver alembic, making use of others amongst them as occasion served." I know that many are of opinion, our northern simples are weak, imperfect, not so well concocted, of such force, as those in the southern parts, not so fit to be used in physic, and will therefore fetch their drugs afar off: senna, cassia out of Ægypt, rhubarb from Barbary, aloes from Socotra; turbith, agaric, myrobalans, hermodactyls, from the East Indies, tobacco from the West, and some as far as China, hellebore from the Antyciræ, or that of Austria which bears the purple flower, which Matthiolus so much approves, and so of the rest. In the kingdom of Valencia in Spain, [2] Maginus commends two mountains, Mariola and Renagolosa, famous for simples; [3] Leander Albertus, [4] Baldus a mountain near the Lake Venacus in the territory of Verona, to which all the herbalists in the country continually flock; Ortelius one in Apulia, Munster, Mons major in Istria; others Montpelier in France; Prosper Altinus prefers Egyptian simples, Garcias ab Horto Indian before the rest, another those of Italy, Crete, &c. Many times they are over-curious in this kind, whom Fuchsius taxeth, *Instit. l.* 1, *sec.* 1, *cap.* 1, [5] "that think they do nothing, except they rake all over India, Arabia, Æthiopia, for remedies, and fetch their physic from the three quarters of the world, and from beyond the Garamantes. Many an old wife or country woman doth often more good with a few

[1] Quum in villam venit, consideravit quæ ibi crescebant medicamenta simplicia frequentiora, et iis plerumque usus distillatis, et aliter, alimbacum ideo argenteum circumferens. [2] Herbæ medicis utiles omnium in Apulia feracissimæ. [3] Geog. ad quos magnus herbariorum numerus undique confluit. Sincerus Itiner. Gallia. [4] Baldus mons prope Benacum herbilegis maxime notus. [5] Qui se nihil effecisse arbitrantur, nisi Indiam, Æthiopiam, Arabiam, et ultra Garamantas a tribus mundi partibus exquisita remedia corradunt. Tutius sæpe medetur rustica anus una, &c.

known and common garden herbs, than our bombast physicians with all their prodigious, sumptuous, far-fetched, rare, conjectural medicines;" without all question if we have not these rare exotic simples, we hold that at home which is in virtue equivalent unto them, ours will serve as well as theirs, if they be taken in proportionable quantity, fitted and qualified aright, if not much better, and more proper to our constitutions. But so 'tis for the most part, as Pliny writes to Gallus, [1] "We are careless of that which is near us, and follow that which is afar off, to know which we will travel and sail beyond the seas, wholly neglecting that which is under our eyes." Opium in Turkey doth scarce offend, with us in a small quantity it stupefies; cicuta or hemlock is a strong poison in Greece, but with us it hath no such violent effects: I conclude with I. Voschius, who as he much inveighs against those exotic medicines, so he promiseth by our European, a full cure and absolute of all diseases; *a capite ad calcem, nostræ regionis herbæ nostris corporibus magis conducunt*, our own simples agree best with us. It was a thing that Fernelius much laboured in his French practice, to reduce all his cure to our proper and domestic physic; so did [2] Janus Cornarius, and Martin Rulandus in Germany, T. B. with us, as appeareth by a treatise of his divulged in our tongue 1615, to prove the sufficiency of English medicines, to the cure of all manner of diseases. If our simples be not altogether of such force, or so apposite, it may be, if like industry were used, those far-fetched drugs would prosper as well with us, as in those countries whence now we have them, as well as cherries, artichokes, tobacco, and many such. There have been divers worthy physicians, which have tried excellent conclusions in this kind, and many diligent, painful apothecaries, as Gesner, Besler, Gerard, &c., but amongst the rest those famous public gardens

[1] Ep. lib. 8. Proximorum incuriosi longinqua sectamur, et ad ea cognoscenda iter ingredi et mare transmittere solemus; at quæ sub oculis posita negligimus. [2] Exotica rejecit, domesticis solum nos contentos esse voluit. Melch. Adamus, vit. ejus.

of Padua in Italy, Nuremburg in Germany, Leyden in Holland, Montpelier in France (and ours in Oxford now in *fieri*, at the cost and charges of the Right Honourable the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby), are much to be commended, wherein all exotic plants almost are to be seen, and liberal allowance yearly made for their better maintenance, that young students may be the sooner informed in the knowledge of them; which as [1] Fuchsius holds, "is most necessary for that exquisite manner of curing," and as great a shame for a physician not to observe them, as for a workman not to know his axe, saw, square, or any other tool which he must of necessity use.

Subsect. III.—*Alteratives, Herbs, other Vegetables, &c.*

Amongst these 800 simples, which Galeottus reckons up, *lib.* 3, *de promisc. doctor. cap.* 3, and many exquisite herbalists have written of, these few following alone I find appropriated to this humour; of which some be alteratives; [2] "which by a secret force," saith Renodæus, "and special quality expel future diseases, perfectly cure those which are, and many such incurable effects." This is as well observed in other plants, stones, minerals, and creatures, as in herbs, in other maladies as in this. How many things are related of a man's skull? What several virtues of corns in a horse-leg, [3] of a wolf's liver, &c.? Of [4] divers excrements of beasts, all good against several diseases? What extraordinary virtues are ascribed unto plants? [5] *Satyrium et eruca penem erigunt, vitex et nymphea semen extinguunt*, [6] some herbs provoke lust, some again, as agnus castus, water-lily, quite extinguisheth seed; poppy causeth sleep, cabbage resisteth drunkenness, &c., and that which is more to be admired, that such and such plants should have a peculiar virtue to such particular parts, [7] as to the head, anise-seeds, foalfoot, betony,

[1] Instit. l. 1, cap. 8, sec. 1, ad exquisitam curandi rationem, quorum cognitio imprimis necessaria est. [2] Quæ cæcâ vi ac specificâ qualitate morbos futuros arcent, lib. 1, cap. 10, Instit. Phar. [3] Galen. lib. epar. lupi hepaticos curat. [4] Stercus pecoris ad Epilepsiam, &c. [5] Priestpintle, rocket. [6] Sabina fætum educit. [7] Wecker. Vide Oswaldum Crollium, lib. de internis rerum signatu-

calamint, eyebright, lavender, bays, roses, rue, sage, marjoram, peony, &c. For the lungs, calamint, licorice, enula campana, hyssop, horehound, water germander, &c. For the heart, borage, bugloss, saffron, balm, basil, rosemary, violet, roses, &c. For the stomach, wormwood, mints, betony, balm, centaury, sorrel, purslain. For the liver, darthspine or camæpitis, germander, agrimony, fennel, endive, succory, liverwort, barberries. For the spleen, maidenhair, finger-fern, dodder of thyme, hop, the rind of ash, betony. For the kidneys, grumel, parsley, saxifrage, plantain, mallow. For the womb, mugwort, pennyroyal, feverfew, savin, &c. For the joints, chamomile, St. John's-wort, origan, rue, cowslips, centaury the less, &c. And so to peculiar diseases. To this of melancholy you shall find a catalogue of herbs proper, and that in every part. See more in Wecker, Renodæus, Heurnius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 19, &c. I will briefly speak of them, as first of alteratives, which Galen in his third book of diseased parts, prefers before diminutives, and Trallianus brags, that he hath done more cures on melancholy men [1] by moistening, than by purging of them.

Borage.] In this catalogue, borage and bugloss may challenge the chiefest place, whether in substance, juice, roots, seeds, flowers, leaves, decoctions, distilled waters, extracts, oils, &c., for such kind of herbs be diversely varied. Bugloss is hot and moist, and therefore worthily reckoned up amongst those herbs which expel melancholy, and [2] exhilarate the heart, Galen, *lib.* 6, *cap.* 80, *de simpl. med.* Dioscorides, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 123. Pliny much magnifies this plant. It may be diversely used; as in broth, in [3] wine, in conserves, syrups, &c. It is an excellent cordial, and against this malady most frequently prescribed; a herb indeed of such sovereignty, that as Diodorus, *lib.* 7, *bibl.*, Plinius, *lib.* 25, *cap.* 2, *et lib.* 21, *cap.* 22, Plutarch, *sympos. lib.* 1, *cap.* 1, Dioscorides, *lib.* 5, *cap.* 40, Cælius, *lib.* 19, *c.* 3, suppose it was that famous Nepenthes of [4] Homer, which Polydamna, Thonis's wife (then

ris, de herbis particularibus parti cuique convenientibus. [1] Idem Laurentius, cap. 9 [2] Dicor borago, gaudia semper ago. [3] Vino infusum hilaritatem facit. [4] Odyss. A.

king of Thebes in Egypt), sent Helena for a token of such rare virtue, "that if taken steeped in wine, if wife and children, father and mother, brother and sister, and all thy dearest friends should die before thy face, thou couldst not grieve or shed a tear for them."

> "Qui semel id patera mistum Nepenthes Iaccho
> Hauserit, hic lachrymam, non si suavissima proles,
> Si germanus ei charus, materque paterque
> Oppetat, ante oculos ferro confossus atroci."

Helena's commended bowl to exhilarate the heart, had no other ingredient as most of our critics conjecture, than this of borage.

Balm.] Melissa, balm, hath an admirable virtue, to alter melancholy, be it steeped in our ordinary drink, extracted, or otherwise taken. Cardan, *lib.* 8, much admires this herb. It heats and dries, saith [1] Heurnius, in the second degree, with a wonderful virtue comforts the heart, and purgeth all melancholy vapours from the spirits, Matthiol. *in lib.* 3, *cap.* 10, *in Dioscoridem.* Besides they ascribe other virtues to it, [2] "as to help concoction, to cleanse the brain, expel all careful thoughts, and anxious imaginations;" the same words in effect are in Avicenna, Pliny, Simon Sethi, Fuchsius, Leobel, Delacampius, and every herbalist. Nothing better for him that is melancholy than to steep this and borage in his ordinary drink.

Matthiolus, in his fifth book of Medicinal Epistles, reckons up scorzonera, [3] "not against poison only, falling-sickness, and such as are vertiginous, but to this malady; the root of it taken by itself expels sorrow, causeth mirth and lightness of heart."

Antonius Musa, that renowned physician to Cæsar Augustus, in his book which he writ of the virtues of betony, *cap.* 6, wonderfully commends that herb, *animas hominum et cor-*

[1] Lib. 2, cap. 2, prax. med. mirâ vi lætitiam præbet et cor confirmat, vapores melancholicos purgat a spiritibus.
[2] Proprium est ejus animem hilarem reddere, concoctionem juvare, cerebri obstructiones resecare, solicitudines fugare, solicitas imaginationes tollere.
[3] Scorzoneræ non solum ad viperarum morsus, comitiales, vertiginosos, sed per se accommodata radix tristitiam discutit, hilaritatemque conciliat.

pora custodit, securas de metu reddit, it preserves both body and mind, from fears, cares, griefs; cures falling-sickness, this and many other diseases, to whom Galen subscribes, *lib.* 7, *simpl. med.* Dioscorides, *lib.* 4, *cap.* 1, &c.

Marigold is much approved against melancholy, and often used therefore in our ordinary broth, as good against this and many other diseases.

Hop.] Lupulus, hop, is a sovereign remedy; Fuchsius, *cap.* 58, *Plant. hist.* much extols it; [1] "it purges all choler, and purifies the blood." Matthiol. *cap.* 140, *in* 4 *Dioscor.* wonders the physicians of his time made no more use of it, because it rarefies and cleanseth; we use it to this purpose in our ordinary beer, which before was thick and fulsome.

Wormwood, centaury, pennyroyal, are likewise magnified and much prescribed (as I shall after show), especially in hypochondriac melancholy, daily to be used, sod in whey; and as Ruffus Ephesias, [2] Areteus relate, by breaking wind, helping concoction, many melancholy men have been cured with the frequent use of them alone.

And because the spleen and blood are often misaffected in melancholy, I may not omit endive, succory, dandelion, fumitory, &c., which cleanse the blood. Scolopendria, cicuta, ceterach, mugwort, liverwort, ash, tamarisk, genist, maidenhair, &c., which must help and ease the spleen.

To these I may add roses, violets, capers, feverfew, scordium, stœchas, rosemary, ros solis, saffron, ocyme, sweet apples, wine, tobacco, saunders, &c. That Peruvian chamico, *monstrosâ facultate*, &c., Linshcosteus datura; and to such as are cold, the [3] decoction of guaiacum, China, sarsaparilla, sassafras, the flowers of carduus benedictus, which I find much used by Montanus in his Consultations, Julius Alexandrinus, Lælius Eugubinus, and others. [4] Bernardus Penottus prefers his herba solis, or Dutch sindaw, before all the rest in

[1] Bilem utramque detrahit, sanguinem purgat. [2] Lib. 7. cap. 5. Laet. occid. Indiæ descript. lib. 10, cap. 2. [3] Heurnius, l. 2, consil. 185, Scoltzii consil. 77. [4] Præf. denar. med. Omnes capitis dolores et phantasmata tollit; scias nullam herbam in terris huic comparandam viribus et bonitate nasci.

this disease, "and will admit of no herb upon the earth to be comparable to it." It excels Homer's moly, cures this, falling-sickness, and almost all other infirmities. The same Penottus speaks of an excellent balm out of Aponensis, which, taken to the quantity of three drops in a cup of wine, [1] "will cause a sudden alteration, drive away dumps, and cheer up the heart." Ant. Guianerius, in his Antidotary, hath many such. [2] Jacobus de Dondis, the aggregator, repeats ambergris, nutmegs, and allspice amongst the rest. But that cannot be general. Amber and spice will make a hot brain mad, good for cold and moist. Garcias ab Horto hath many Indian plants, whose virtues he much magnifies in this disease. Lemnius, *instit. cap.* 58, admires rue, and commends it to have excellent virtue, [3] "to expel vain imaginations, devils, and to ease afflicted souls." Other things are much magnified [4] by writers, as an old cock, a ram's head, a wolf's heart borne or eaten, which Mercurialis approves; Prosper Altinus, the water of Nilus; Gomesius, all sea-water, and at seasonable times to be sea-sick; goat's milk, whey, &c.

Subsect. IV.—*Precious Stones, Metals, Minerals, Alteratives.*

Precious stones are diversely censured; many explode the use of them or any mineral in physic, of whom Thomas Erastus is the chief, in his tract against Paracelsus, and in an epistle of his to Peter Monavius, [5] "That stones can work any wonders, let them believe that list, no man shall persuade me; for my part, I have found by experience there is no virtue in them." But Matthiolus, in his comment upon [6] Dioscorides, is as profuse on the other side, in their commendation; so is Cardan, Renodæus, Alardus, Rueus, Encelius, Marbodeus, &c.

[1] Optimum mendicamentum in celeri cordis confortatione, et ad omnes qui tristantur, &c. [2] Rondoletius. Elenum quod vim habet miram ad hilaritatem et multi pro secreto habent. Sckenkius, observ. med cen. 5, observ. 86. [3] Afflictas mentes relevat, animi imaginationes et dæmones expellit. [4] Sckenkius, Mizaldus, Rhasis. [5] Cratonis ep. vol. I. Credat qui vult gemmas mirabilia efficere; mihi qui et ratione et experientiâ didici aliter rem habere, nullus facile persuadebit falsum esse verum. [6] L. de gemmis.

[1] Matthiolus specifies in coral; and Oswaldus Crollius, *Basil. Chym.* prefers the salt of coral. [2] Christoph. Encelius, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 131, will have them to be as so many several medicines against melancholy, sorrow, fear, dulness, and the like; [3] Renodæus admires them, "besides they adorn kings' crowns, grace the fingers, enrich our household stuff, defend us from enchantments, preserve health, cure diseases, they drive away grief, cares, and exhilarate the mind." The particulars be these.

Granatus, a precious stone so called, because it is like the kernels of a pomegranate, an imperfect kind of ruby, it comes from Calecut; [4] "if hung about the neck, or taken in drink, it much resisteth sorrow, and recreates the heart." The same properties I find ascribed to the hyacinth and topaz. [5] They allay anger, grief, diminish madness, much delight and exhilarate the mind. [6] "If it be either carried about, or taken in a potion, it will increase wisdom," saith Cardan, "expel fear; he brags that he hath cured many madmen with it, which, when they laid by the stone, were as mad again as ever they were at first." Petrus Bayerus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 13, *veni mecum*, Fran. Rueus, *cap.* 19, *de gemmis*, say as much of the chrysolite, [7] a friend of wisdom, an enemy to folly. Pliny, *lib.* 37, Solinus, *cap.* 52, Albertus de Lapid., Cardan., Encelius, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 66, highly magnifies the virtue of the beryl, [8] "it much avails to a good understanding, represseth vain conceits, evil thoughts, causeth mirth," &c. In the belly of a swallow there is a stone found called chelidonius, [9] "which if it be lapped in a fair cloth, and tied to the

[1] Margaritæ et corallum ad melancholiam præcipue valent. [2] Margaritæ et gemmæ spiritus confortant et cor, melancholiam fugant. [3] Præfat. ad lap. prec. lib. 2, sect. 2, de mat. med. Regum coronas ornant, digitos illustrant, supellectilem ditant, e fascino tuentur, morbis medentur, sanitatem conservant, mentem exhilarant, tristitiam pellunt. [4] Encelius, l. 3, c. 4. Suspensus vel ebibitus tristitiæ multum resistit, et cor recreat. [5] Idem, cap. 5 et cap. 6, de Hyacintho et Topazio Iram sedat et animi tristitiam pellit. [6] Lapis hic gestatus aut ebibitus prudentiam auget, nocturnos timores pellit; insanos hac sanavi, et quum lapidem abjecerint, erupit iterum stultitia. [7] Inducit sapientiam, fugat stultitiam. Idem Cardanus, lunaticos juvat. [8] Confert ad bonum intellectum, comprimit malas cogitationes, &c. Alacres reddit. [9] Albertus, Encelius, cap. 44, lib. 3. Plin. lib. 37, cap. 10. Jacobus de Dondis: dextro brachio alligatus sanat lunaticos, insanos, facit amabiles, jucundos.

right arm, will cure lunatics, madmen, make them amiable and merry."

There is a kind of onyx called a chalcedony, which hath the same qualities, [1] "avails much against fantastic illusions which proceed from melancholy," preserves the vigour and good estate of the whole body.

The Eban stone, which goldsmiths use to sleeken their gold with, borne about or given to drink, [2] hath the same properties, or not much unlike.

Levinus Lemnius, *Institut. ad vit. cap.* 58, amongst other jewels, makes mention of two more notable, carbuncle and coral, [3] "which drive away childish fears, devils, overcome sorrow, and hung about the neck repress troublesome dreams," which properties almost Cardan gives to that green coloured [4] emmetris if it be carried about, or worn in a ring; Rueus to the diamond.

Nicholas Cabeus, a Jesuit of Ferrara, in the first book of his Magnetical Philosophy, *cap.* 3, speaking of the virtues of a loadstone, recites many several opinions; some say that if it be taken in parcels inward, *si quis per frusta voret, juventutem restituet*, it will, like viper's wine, restore one to his youth; and yet, if carried about them, others will have it to cause melancholy; let experience determine.

Mercurialis admires the emerald for its virtues in pacifying all affections of the mind; others the sapphire, which is "the [5] fairest of all precious stones, of sky-colour, and a great enemy to black choler, frees the mind, mends manners," &c. Jacobus de Dondis, in his catalogue of simples, hath ambergris, *os in corde cervi*, [6] the bone in a stag's heart, a monoceros's horn, bezoar's stone ([7] of which elsewhere), it is found in the belly of a little beast in the East Indies, brought into Europe by Hollanders, and our countrymen merchants.

[1] Valet contra phantasticas illusiones ex melancholia. [2] Amentes sanat, tristitiam pellit, iram, &c. [3] Valet ad fugandos timores et dæmones, turbulenta somnia abigit, et nocturnos puerorum timores compescit. [4] Somnia læta facit argenteo annulo gestatus. [5] Atræ bili adversatur, omnium gemmarum pulcherrima, cœli colorem refert, animum ab errore liberat, mores in melius mutat. [6] Longis mœroribus feliciter medetur, deliquiis, &c. [7] Sec. 5, Memb. 1, Subs. 5.

Renodæus, *cap.* 22, *lib.* 3, *de ment. med.* saith he saw two of these beasts alive, in the castle of the Lord of Vitry at Coubert.

Lapis lazuli and armenus, because they purge, shall be mentioned in their place.

Of the rest in brief thus much I will add out of Cardan, Renodæus, *cap.* 23, *lib.* 3, Rondoletius, *lib.* 1, *de Testat. c.* 15, &c. [1] "That almost all jewels and precious stones have excellent virtues" to pacify the affections of the mind, for which cause rich men so much covet to have them; [2] and those smaller unions which are found in shells amongst the Persians and Indians, by the consent of all writers, are very cordial, and most part avail to the exhilaration of the heart.

Minerals.] Most men say as much of gold and some other minerals, as these have done of precious stones. Erastus still maintains the opposite part. *Disput. in Paracelsum, cap.* 4, *fol.* 196, he confesseth of gold, [3] "that it makes the heart merry, but in no other sense but as it is in a miser's chest:" *at mihi plaudo simul ac nummos contemplor in arcâ*, as he said in the poet, it so revives the spirits, and is an excellent recipe against melancholy,

> [4] *For gold in physic is a cordial,*
> *Therefore he loved gold in special.*

Aurum potabile, [5] he discommends and inveighs against it, by reason of the corrosive waters which are used in it; which argument our Dr. Guin urgeth against D. Antonius. [6] Erastus concludes their philosophical stones and potable gold, &c., "to be no better than poison," a mere imposture, a *non ens;* dug out of that broody hill belike this golden stone is, *ubi nascetur ridiculus mus.* Paracelsus and his chemistical followers, as so many Promethei, will fetch fire from heaven,

[1] Gestamen lapidum et gemmarum maximum fert auxilium et juvamen; unde qui dites sunt gemmas secum ferre student. [2] Margaritæ et uniones quæ a conchis et piscibus apud Persas et Indos, valde cordiales sunt, &c. [3] Aurum lætitiam generat, non in corde, sed in arcâ virorum. [4] Chaucer. [5] Aurum non aurum. Noxium ob aquas rodentes. [6] Ep. ad Monavium. Metallica omnia in universum quovismodo parata, nec tutò nec commodè intra corpus sumi.

will cure all manner of diseases with minerals, accounting them the only physic on the other side. [1] Paracelsus calls Galen, Hippocrates, and all their adherents, infants, idiots, sophisters, &c. *Apagesis istos qui Vulcanias istas metamorphoses sugillant, inscitiæ soboles, supinæ pertinaciæ alumnos,* &c., not worthy the name of physicians, for want of these remedies; and brags that by them he can make a man live one hundred and sixty years, or to the world's end, with their [2] *Alexipharmacums, Panaceas, Mummias, unguentum Armarium,* and such magnetical cures, *Lampas vitæ et mortis, Balneum Dianæ, Balsamum, Electrum Magico-physicum, Amuleta Martialia,* &c. What will not he and his followers effect? He brags, moreover, that he was *primus medicorum,* and did more famous cures than all the physicians in Europe besides, [3] "a drop of his preparations should go farther than a drachm, or ounce of theirs," those loathsome and fulsome filthy potions, heteroclitical pills (so he calls them), horse medicines, *ad quorum aspectum Cyclops Polyphemus exhorresceret.* And though some condemn their skill and magnetical cures as tending to magical superstition, witchery, charms, &c., yet they admire, stiffly vindicate nevertheless, and infinitely prefer them. But these are both in extremes, the middle sort approve of minerals, though not in so high a degree. Lemnius, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 6, *de occult. nat. mir.* commends gold inwardly and outwardly used, as in rings, excellent good in medicines; and such mixtures as are made for melancholy men, saith Wecker, *antid. spec. lib.* 1, to whom Renodæus subscribes, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 2, Ficinus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 19, Fernel. *meth. med. lib.* 5, *cap.* 21, *de Cardiacis,* Daniel Sennertus, *lib.* 1, *part.* 2, *cap.* 9, Audernacus, Libavius, Quercetanus, Oswaldus Crollius, Euvonymus, Rubeus, and Matthiolus in the fourth book of his Epistles, *Andreas à Blawen, epist. ad Matthiolum,* as commended and formerly

[1] In parag. Stultissimus pilus occipitis mei plus scit quam omnes vestri doctores, et calceorum meorum annuli doctiores sunt quam vester Galenus et Avicenna, barba mea plus experta est quam vestræ omnes Academiæ. [2] Vide Ernestum Burgratium, edit. Franaker. 8vo. 1611. Crollius and others. [3] Plus proficiet gutta mea, quam tot eorum drachmæ et unciæ.

used by Avicenna, Arnoldus, and many others; [1] Matthiolus in the same place approves of potable gold, mercury, with many such chemical confections, and goes so far in approbation of them, that he holds [2] "no man can be an excellent physician that hath not some skill in chemistical distillations, and that chronic diseases can hardly be cured without mineral medicines;" look for antimony among purgers.

Subsect. V.—*Compound Alteratives; Censure of Compounds, and mixed Physic.*

Pliny, *lib.* 24, *c.* 1, bitterly taxeth all compound medicines, [3] "Men's knavery, imposture, and captious wits, have invented these shops, in which every man's life is set to sale; and by and by came in those compositions and inexplicable mixtures, far-fetched out of India and Arabia; a medicine for a botch must be had as far as the Red Sea." And 'tis not without cause which he saith; for out of question they are much to [4] blame in their compositions, whilst they make infinite variety of mixtures, as [5] Fuchsius notes: "They think they get themselves great credit, excel others, and to be more learned than the rest, because they make many variations, but he accounts them fools, and whilst they brag of their skill, and think to get themselves a name, they become ridiculous, betray their ignorance and error." A few simples well prepared and understood, are better than such a heap of nonsense, confused compounds, which are in apothecaries' shops ordinarily sold. "In which many vain, superfluous, corrupt, exolete, things out of date are to be had (saith Cornarius); a company of barbarous names given to

[1] Nonnulli huic supra modum indulgent, usum etsi non adeo magnum, non tamen abjiciendum censeo. [2] Ausim dicere neminem medicum excellentem, qui non in hac distillatione chymicâ sit versatus. Morbi chronici devinci citra metallicâ vix possint, aut ubi sanguis corrumpitur. [3] Fraudes hominum et ingeniorum capturæ, officinas invenêre istas, in quibus sua cuique venalis promittitur vita; statim compositiones et mixturæ inexplicabiles ex Arabiâ et Indiâ, ulceri parvo medicina a Rubro Mari importatur. [4] Arnoldus, Aphor. 15. Fallax medicus qui potens mederi simplicibus, composita dolosè aut frustra quærit. [5] Lib. 1, sect. 1, cap. 8. Dum infinita medicamenta miscent, laudem sibi comparare student, et in hoc studio alter alterum superare conatur, dum quisque, quo plura miscuerit, eo se doctiorem putet, inde fit ut suam prodant inscitiam, dum ostentant peritiam, et se ridiculos exhibeant, &c.

syrups, juleps, an unnecessary company of mixed medicines;" *rudis indigestaque moles.* Many times (as Agrippa taxeth), there is by this means [1] "more danger from the medicine than from the disease," when they put together they know not what, or leave it to an illiterate apothecary to be made, they cause death and horror for health. Those old physicians had no such mixtures; a simple potion of hellebore in Hippocrates's time was the ordinary purge; and at this day, saith [2] Mat. Riccius, in that flourishing commonwealth of China, "their physicians give precepts quite opposite to ours, not unhappy in their physic; they use altogether roots, herbs, and simples in their medicines, and all their physic in a manner is comprehended in a herbal; no science, no school, no art, no degree, but like a trade, every man in private is instructed of his master." [3] Cardan cracks that he can cure all diseases with water alone, as Hippocrates of old did most infirmities with one medicine. Let the best of our rational physicians demonstrate and give a sufficient reason for those intricate mixtures, why just so many simples in mithridate or treacle, why such and such quantity; may they not be reduced to half or a quarter? *Frustra fit per plura* (as the saying is) *quod fieri potest per pauciora;* three hundred simples in a julep, potion, or a little pill, to what end or purpose? I know not what [4] Alkindus, Capivaccius, Montagna, and Simon Eitover, the best of them all and most rational have said in this kind; but neither he, they, nor any one of them, gives his reader, to my judgment, that satisfaction which he ought; why such, so many simples? Rog. Bacon hath taxed many errors in his tract *de graduationibus*, explained some things, but not cleared. Mercurialis, in his book *de composit. medicin.* gives instance in Hamech, and Philonium Romanum, which Hamech an Arabian, and Philonius a Roman, long since composed, but

[1] Multo plus periculi a medicamento quam a morbo, &c. [2] Expedit. in Sinas, lib. 1, cap. 5. Præcepta medici dant nostris diversa, in medendo non infelices, pharmacis utuntur simplicibus, herbis, radicibus, &c., tota eorum medicina nostræ herbariæ præceptis continetur; nullus ludus hujus artis, quisque privatus a quolibet magistro eruditur. [3] Lib. de Aquâ. [4] Opusc. de Dos.

crassè as the rest. If they be so exact, as by him it seems they were, and those mixtures so perfect, why doth Fernelius alter the one, and why is the other obsolete? [1] Cardan taxeth Galen for presuming out of his ambition to correct Theriacum Andromachi, and we as justly may carp at all the rest. Galen's medicines are now exploded and rejected; what Nicholas Meripsa, Mesue, Celsus, Scribanius, Actuarius, &c., writ of old, are most part contemned. Mellichius, Cordus, Wecker, Quercetan, Renodæus, the Venetian, Florentine states have their several receipts and magistrals; they of Nuremburg have theirs, and Augustana Pharmacopœia, peculiar medicines to the meridian of the city; London hers, every city, town, almost every private man hath his own mixtures, compositions, receipts, magistrals, precepts, as if he scorned antiquity, and all others in respect of himself. But each man must correct and alter to show his skill, every opinionative fellow must maintain his own paradox, be it what it will; *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi:* they dote, and in the mean time the poor patients pay for their new experiments, the commonalty rue it.

Thus others object, thus I may conceive out of the weakness of my apprehension; but to say truth, there is no such fault, no such ambition, no novelty, or ostentation, as some suppose; but as [2] one answers, this of compound medicines, "is a most noble and profitable invention found out, and brought into physic with great judgment, wisdom, counsel and discretion." Mixed diseases must have mixed remedies, and such simples are commonly mixed as have reference to the part affected, some to qualify, the rest to comfort, some one part, some another. Cardan and Brassivola both hold that *Nullum simplex medicamentum sine noxâ*, no simple medicine is without hurt or offence; and although Hippocrates, Erasistratus, Diocles of old, in the infancy of this art, were content with ordinary simples, yet now, saith [3] "Ætius,

[1] Subtil. cap. de scientiis. [2] Quercetan. pharmacop. restitut. cap. 2. Nobilissimum et utilissimum inventum summâ cum necessitate adinventum et introductum. [3] Cap. 25, Tetrabib. 4, ser. 2. Necessitas nunc cogit aliquando

necessity compelleth to seek for new remedies, and to make compounds of simples, as well to correct their harms if cold, dry, hot, thick, thin, insipid, noisome to smell, to make them savoury to the palate, pleasant to taste and take, and to preserve them for continuance, by admixtion of sugar, honey, to make them last months and years for several uses." In such cases, compound medicines may be approved, and Arnoldus, in his 18 aphorism, doth allow of it. [1] "If simples cannot, necessity compels us to use compounds;" so for receipts and magistrals, *dies diem docet*, one day teacheth another, and they are as so many words or phrases, *Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula si volet usus*, ebb and flow with the season, and as wits vary, so they may be infinitely varied. "*Quisque suum placitum, quo capiatur, habet.*" "Every man as he likes, so many men so many minds," and yet all tending to good purpose, though not the same way. As arts and sciences, so physic is still perfected amongst the rest; *Horæ musarum nutrices*, and experience teacheth us every day [2] many things which our predecessors knew not of. Nature is not effete, as he saith, or so lavish, to bestow all her gifts upon an age, but hath reserved some for posterity, to show her power, that she is still the same, and not old or consumed. Birds and beasts can cure themselves by nature, [3] *naturæ usu ea plerumque cognoscunt, quæ homines vix longo labore et doctrinâ assequuntur*, but "men must use much labour and industry to find it out." But I digress.

Compound medicines are inwardly taken or outwardly applied. Inwardly taken, be either liquid or solid; liquid, are fluid or consisting. Fluid, as wines, and syrups. The wines ordinarily used to this disease are wormwood wine, tamarisk, and buglossatum, wine made of borage and bugloss, the composition of which is specified in Arnoldus Villanovanus, *lib. de vinis*, of borage, balm, bugloss, cinnamon, &c., and highly

noxia quærere remedia, et ex simplicibus compositas facere, tum ad saporem, odorem, palati gratiam, ad correctionem simplicium, tum ad futuros usus, conservationem, &c. [1] Cum simplicia non possunt, necessitas cogit ad composita. [2] Lips. Epist. [3] Theod. Prodromus Amor. lib. 9.

commended for its virtues: [1] "it drives away leprosy, scabs, clears the blood, recreates the spirits, exhilarates the mind, purgeth the brain of those anxious black melancholy fumes, and cleanseth the whole body of that black humour by urine. To which I add," saith Villanovanus, "that it will bring madmen, and such raging bedlamites as are tied in chains, to the use of their reason again. My conscience bears me witness, that I do not lie, I saw a grave matron helped by this means; she was so choleric, and so furious sometimes, that she was almost mad, and beside herself; she said and did she knew not what, scolded, beat her maids, and was now ready to be bound, till she drank of this borage wine, and by this excellent remedy was cured, which a poor foreigner, a silly beggar, taught her by chance, that came to crave an alms from door to door." The juice of borage, if it be clarified, and drunk in wine, will do as much, the roots sliced and steeped, &c., saith Ant. Mizaldus, *art. med.*, who cites this story *verbatim* out of Villanovanus, and so doth Magninus, a physician of Milan, in his regimen of health. Such another excellent compound water I find in Rubeus, *de distil. sec.* 3, which he highly magnifies out of Savanarola, [2] "for such as are solitary, dull, heavy, or sad without a cause, or be troubled with trembling of heart." Other excellent compound waters for melancholy, he cites in the same place, [3] "if their melancholy be not inflamed, or their temperature over-hot." Evonimus hath a precious *aqua vitæ* to this purpose, for such as are cold. But he and most commend *aurum potabile*, and every writer prescribes clarified whey, with borage, bugloss, endive, succory, &c., of goat's milk especially,

[1] Sanguinem corruptum emaculat, scabiem abolet, lepram curat, spiritus recreat, et animum exhilarat. Melancholicos humores per urinam educit, et cerebrum a crassis ærumnosis melancholiæ fumis purgat, quibus addo dementes et furiosos vinculis retinendos plurimum juvat, et ad rationis usum ducit. "Testis est mihi conscientia, quod viderim matronam quandam hinc liberatam, quæ frequentiùs ex iracundiâ demens, et impos animi dicenda tacenda loquebatur, adeo furens ut ligari cogeretur. Fuit ei præstantissimo remedio vini istius usus, indicatus a peregrino homine mendico, eleemosynam præ foribus dictæ matronæ implorante. [2] Iis qui tristantur sine causâ, et vitant amicorum societatem et tremunt corde. [3] Modo non inflammetur melancholia, aut calidiore temperamento sint.

some indefinitely at all times, some thirty days together in the spring, every morning fasting, a good draught. Syrups are very good, and often used to digest this humour in the heart, spleen, liver, &c. As syrup of borage (there is a famous syrup of borage highly commended by Laurentius to this purpose in his tract of melancholy), *de pomis* of King Sabor, now obsolete, of thyme and epithyme, hops, scolopendria, fumitory, maidenhair, bizantine, &c. These are most used for preparatives to other physic, mixed with distilled waters of like nature, or in juleps otherwise.

Consisting, are conserves or confections; conserves of borage, bugloss, balm, fumitory, succory, maidenhair, violets, roses, wormwood, &c. Confections, treacle, mithridate, eclegms, or linctures, &c. Solid, as aromatical confections; hot, *diambra, diamargaritum calidum, dianthus, diamoschum dulce, electuarium de gemmis, lætificans Galeni et Rhasis, diagalinga, diacimymum, dianisum, diatrion piperion, diazingiber, diacapers, diacinnamomum;* Cold, *as diamargaritum frigidum, diacoralli, diarrhodon abbatis, diacodion,* &c., as every *pharmacopœia* will show you, with their tables or lozenges that are made out of them; with condites and the like.

Outwardly used as occasion serves, as amulets, oils hot and cold, as of camomile, stæchados, violets, roses, almonds, poppy, nymphæa, mandrake, &c., to be used after bathing, or to procure sleep.

Ointments composed of the said species, oils and wax, &c., as *Alablastritum Populeum,* some hot, some cold, to moisten, procure sleep, and correct other accidents.

Liniments are made of the same matter to the like purpose; emplasters of herbs, flowers, roots, &c., with oils, and other liquors mixed and boiled together.

Cataplasms, salves, or poultices made of green herbs, pounded or sod in water till they be soft, which are applied to the hypochondres, and other parts when the body is empty.

Cerates are applied to several parts and frontals, to take away pain, grief, heat, procure sleep. Fomentations or sponges, wet in some decoctions, &c., epithemata, or those moist medicines, laid on linen, to bathe and cool several parts misaffected.

Sacculi, or little bags of herbs, flowers, seeds, roots, and the like, applied to the head, heart, stomach, &c., odoraments, balls, perfumes, posies to smell to, all which have their several uses in melancholy, as shall be shown, when I treat of the cure of the distinct species by themselves.

MEMB. II.

Subsect. I.—*Purging Simples upward.*

Melanagoga, or melancholy purging medicines, are either simple or compound, and that gently, or violently, purging upward or downward. These following purge upward. [1] Asarum or Asarabacca, which, as Mesue saith, is hot in the second degree, and dry in the third, "it is commonly taken in wine, whey," or as with us, the juice of two or three leaves, or more sometimes, pounded in posset drink qualified with a little licorice, or anise-seed, to avoid the fulsomeness of the taste, or as *Diaserum Fernelii.* Brassivola, *in Catart.*, reckons it up amongst those simples that only purge melancholy, and Ruellius confirms as much out of his experience, that it purgeth [2] black choler, like hellebore itself. Galen, *lib.* 6, *simplic.*, and [3] Matthiolus ascribe other virtues to it, and will have it purge other humours as well as this.

Laurel, by Heurnius's method, *ad prax. lib.* 2, *cap.* 24, is put amongst the strong purgers of melancholy; it is hot and dry in the fourth degree. Dioscorides, *lib.* 11, *cap.* 114, adds other effects to it. [4] Pliny sets down fifteen berries in drink

[1] Heurnius: datur in sero lactis, aut vino. [2] Veratri modo expurgat cerebrum, roborat memoriam. Fuchsius. [3] Crassos et biliosos humores per vomitum educit. [4] Vomitum et menses cit; valet ad hydrop. &c.

for a sufficient potion; it is commonly corrected with his opposites, cold and moist, as juice of endive, purslane, and is taken in a potion to seven grains and a half. But this and asarabacca, every gentlewoman in the country knows how to give; they are two common vomits.

Scilla, or sea-onion, is hot and dry in the third degree. Brassivola, *in Catart.* out of Mesue, others, and his own experience, will have this simple to purge [1] melancholy alone. It is an ordinary vomit, *vinum scilliticum*, mixed with rubel in a little white wine.

White hellebore, which some call sneezing powder, a strong purger upward, which many reject, as being too violent; Mesue and Averroes will not admit of it, [2] "by reason of danger of suffocation," [3] "great pain and trouble it puts the poor patient to," saith Dodonæus. Yet Galen, *lib.* 6, *simpl. med.* and Dioscorides, *cap.* 145, allow of it. It was indeed [4] "terrible in former times," as Pliny notes, but now familiar, insomuch that many took it in those days, [5] "that were students, to quicken their wits," which Persius, *Sat.* 1, objects to Accius the poet, *Ilias Acci ebria veratro.* [6] "It helps melancholy, the falling-sickness, madness, gout, &c., but not to be taken of old men, youths, such as are weaklings, nice, or effeminate, troubled with headache, high-coloured, or fear strangling," saith Dioscorides. [7] Oribasius, an old physician, hath written very copiously, and approves of it, "in such affections which can otherwise hardly be cured." Heurnius, *lib.* 2, *prax. med. de vomitoriis*, will not have it used [8] "but with great caution by reason of its strength, and then when antimony will do no good," which caused Hermophilus to compare it to a stout captain (as Codronchus observes, *cap.* 7, *comment. de Helleb.*) that will see all his soldiers go before

[1] Materias atras educit. [2] Ab arte ideo rejiciendum, ob periculum suffocationis. [3] Cap. 16, magnâ vi educit, et molestiâ cum summâ. [4] Quondam terribile. [5] Multi studiorum gratia ad providenda acrius quæ commentabantur. [6] Medetur comitialibus, melancholicis, podagricis; vetatur senibus, pueris, mollibus et effœminatis. [7] Collect. lib. 8, cap. 3, in affectionibus iis quæ difficulter curantur. Helleborum damus. [8] Non sine summâ cautione hoc remedio utemur; est enim validissimum, et quum vires Antimonii contemnit morbus, in auxilium evocatur, modo valide vires efflorescant.

him and come *post principia*, like the bragging soldier, last himself; [1] when other helps fail in inveterate melancholy, in a desperate case, this vomit is to be taken. And yet for all this, if it be well prepared, it may be [2] securely given at first. [3] Matthiolus brags, that he hath often, to the good of many, made use of it, and Heurnius, [4] "that he hath happily used it, prepared after his own prescript," and with good success. Christophorus à Vega, *lib.* 3, *c.* 41, is of the same opinion, that it may be lawfully given; and our country gentlewomen find it by their common practice, that there is no such great danger in it. Dr. Turner, speaking of this plant in his Herbal, telleth us, that in his time it was an ordinary receipt among good wives, to give hellebore in powder to ii[d] weight, and he is not much against it. But they do commonly exceed, for who so bold as blind Bayard, and prescribe it by pennyworths, and such irrational ways, as I have heard myself market folks ask for it in an apothecary's shop; but with what success God knows; they smart often for their rash boldness and folly, break a vein, make their eyes ready to start out of their heads, or kill themselves. So that the fault is not in the physic, but in the rude and indiscreet handling of it. He that will know, therefore, when to use, how to prepare it aright, and in what dose, let him read Heurnius, *lib.* 2, *prax. med.* Brassivola, *de Catart.* Godefridus Stegius, the emperor Rudolphus's physician, *cap.* 16, Matthiolus in Dioscor. and that excellent commentary of Baptista Codronchus, which is *instar omnium de Helleb. alb.* where we shall find great diversity of examples and receipts.

Antimony or stibium, which our chemists so much magnify, is either taken in substance or infusion, &c., and frequently prescribed in this disease. "It helps all infirmities," saith [5] Matthiolus, "which proceed from black choler, falling-sick-

[1] Ætius, tetrab. cap. 1, ser. 2. Iis solum dari vult Helleborum album, qui secus spem non habent, non iis qui syncopen timent, &c. [2] Cum salute multorum. [3] Cap. 12, de morbis cap. [4] Nos facillime utimur nostro preparato Helleboro albo. [5] In lib. 5, Dioscor. cap. 3. Omnibus opitulatur morbis, quos atra bilis excitavit, comitialibus, iisque præsertim qui Hypochondriacas obtinent passiones.

ness, and hypochondriacal passions;" and for farther proof of his assertion, he gives several instances of such as have been freed with it: [1] one of Andrew Gallus, a physician of Trent, that after many other essays, "imputes the recovery of his health, next after God, to this remedy alone." Another of George Handshius, that in like sort, when other medicines failed, [2] "was by this restored to his former health, and which of his knowledge others have likewise tried, and by the help of this admirable medicine been recovered." A third of a parish priest at Prague in Bohemia, [3] "that was so far gone with melancholy that he doted, and spake he knew not what; but after he had taken twelve grains of stibium, (as I myself saw, and can witness, for I was called to see this miraculous accident,) he was purged of a deal of black choler, like little gobbets of flesh, and all his excrements were as black blood (a medicine fitter for a horse than a man), yet it did him so much good, that the next day he was perfectly cured." This very story of the Bohemian priest, Sckenkius relates *verbatim*, *Exoter. experiment. ad var. morb. cent.* 6, *observ.* 6, with great approbation of it. Hercules de Saxoniâ calls it a profitable medicine, if it be taken after meat to six or eight grains, of such as are apt to vomit. Rodericus à Fonseca, the Spaniard, and late professor of Padua in Italy, extols it to this disease, Tom. 2, consul. 85, so doth Lod. Mercatus, *de inter. morb. cur. lib.* 1, *cap.* 17, with many others. Jacobus Gervinus, a French physician, on the other side, *lib.* 2, *de venenis confut.* explodes all this, and saith he took three grains only upon Matthiolus and some others' commendation, but it almost killed him, whereupon he concludes, [4] "antimony is rather poison than a medicine." Th. Erastus concurs with him in his opinion, and so doth Ælian Mon-

[1] Andreas Gallus, Tridentinus medicus, salutem huic medicamento post Deum debet. [2] Integræ sanitati, brevi restitutus. Id quod aliis accidisse scio, qui hoc mirabili medicamento usi sunt. [3] Qui melancholicus factus planè desipiebat, multaque stultè loquebatur, huic exhibitum 12 gr. stibium, quod paulo post atram bilem ex alvo eduxit (ut ego vidi, qui vocatus tanquam ad miraculum adfui testari possum), et ramenta tanquam carnis dissecta in partes, totum excrementum tanquam sanguinem nigerrimum repræsentabat. [4] Antimonium venenum, non medicamentum.

taltus, *cap.* 30, *de melan.* But what do I talk? 'tis the subject of whole books; I might cite a century of authors *pro* and *con.* I will conclude with [1] Zuinger, antimony is like Scanderbeg's sword, which is either good or bad, strong or weak, as the party is that prescribes, or useth it; "a worthy medicine if it be rightly applied to a strong man, otherwise poison." For the preparing of it, look in *Evonimi thesaurus, Quercetan, Oswaldus Crollius, Basil. Chim. Basil. Valentius,* &c.

Tobacco, divine, rare, superexcellent tobacco, which goes far beyond all the panaceas, potable gold, and philosopher's stones, a sovereign remedy to all diseases. A good vomit, I confess, a virtuous herb, if it be well qualified, opportunely taken, and medicinally used; but as it is commonly abused by most men, which take it as tinkers do ale, 'tis a plague, a mischief, a violent purger of goods, lands, health; hellish, devilish and damned tobacco, the ruin and overthrow of body and soul.

Subsect. II.—*Simples purging Melancholy downward.*

Polypody and epithyme are, without all exceptions, gentle purgers of melancholy. Dioscorides will have them void phlegm; but Brassivola out of his experience averreth, that they purge this humour; they are used in decoction, infusion, &c., simple, mixed, &c.

Myrobalans, all five kinds, are happily [2] prescribed against melancholy and quartan agues; Brassivola speaks out [3] "of a thousand" experiences, he gave them in pills, decoctions, &c., look for peculiar receipts in him.

Stœchas, fumitory, dodder, herb mercury, roots of capers, genista or broom, pennyroyal and half boiled cabbage, I find in this catalogue of purgers of black choler, origan, feverfew, ammoniac [4] salt, saltpetre. But these are very gentle;

[1] Cratonis ep. sect. vel ad Monavium ep. In utramque partem dignissimum medicamentum, si recte utentur, secus venenum. [2] Mœrores fugant; utilissimè dantur melancholicis et quaternariis. [3] Millies horum vires expertus sum. [4] Sal nitrum, sal ammoniacum, dracontii radix, dictamnum.

alyppus, dragon root, centaury, dittany, colutea, which Fuchsius, *cap.* 168, and others take for senna, but most distinguish. Senna is in the middle of violent and gentle purgers downward, hot in the second degree, dry in the first. Brassivola calls it [1] "a wonderful herb against melancholy, it scours the blood, lightens the spirits, shakes off sorrow, a most profitable medicine," as [2] Dodonæus terms it, invented by the Arabians, and not heard of before. It is taken divers ways, in powder, infusion, but most commonly in the infusion, with ginger, or some cordial flowers added to correct it. Actuarius commends it sodden in broth, with an old cock, or in whey, which is the common conveyer of all such things as purge black choler; or steeped in wine, which Heurnius accounts sufficient without any farther correction.

Aloes by most is said to purge choler, but Aurelianus, *lib.* 2, *c.* 6, *de morb. chron.* Arculanus, *cap.* 6, *in* 9 *Rhasis*, Julius Alexandrinus, *consil.* 185, *Scoltz.*, Crato, *consil.* 189, *Scoltz.* prescribe it to this disease; as good for the stomach and to open the hæmorrhoids, out of Mesue, Rhasis, Serapio, Avicenna; Menardus, *ep. lib.* 1, *epist.* 1, opposeth it, aloes [3] "doth not open the veins," or move the hæmorrhoids, which Leonhartus Fuchsius, *paradox. lib.* 1, likewise affirms; but Brassivola and Dodonæus defend Mesue out of their experience; let [4] Valesius end the controversy.

Lapis Armenius and lazuli are much magnified by [5] Alexander, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 16, Avicenna, Ætius, and Actuarius, if they be well washed, that the water be no more coloured, fifty times, some say. [6] "That good Alexander (saith Guianerius), puts such confidence in this one medicine, that he thought all melancholy passions might be cured by it; and I for my part have oftentimes happily used it, and was never deceived in the operation of it." The like may be said of

[1] Calet ordine secundo, siccat primo, adversus omnia vitia atræ bilis valet, sanguinem mundat, spiritus illustrat, mœrorem discutit, herba mirifica. [2] Cap. 4, lib. 2. [3] Recentiores negant ora venarum resecare. [4] An aloe aperiat ora venarum, lib. 9, cont. 3. [5] Vapores abstergit a vitalibus partibus. [6] Tract. 15, c. 6. Bonus Alexander, tantam lapide Armeno confidentiam habuit, ut omnes melancholicas passiones ab eo curari posse crederet, et ego inde sæpissime usus sum, et in ejus exhibitione nunquam fraudatus fui.

lapis lazuli, though it be somewhat weaker than the other. Garcias ab Horto, *hist. lib.* 1, *cap.* 65, relates, that the [1] physicians of the Moors familiarly prescribe it to all melancholy passions, and Matthiolus, *ep. lib.* 3, [2] brags of that happy success which he still had in the administration of it. Nicholas Meripsa puts it amongst the best remedies, *sect.* 1, *cap.* 12, in Antidotis; [3] "and if this will not serve (saith Rhasis), then there remains nothing but lapis Armenius and hellebore itself." Valescus and Jason Pratensis much commend pulvis hali, which is made of it. James Damascen. 2, *cap.* 12, Hercules de Saxoniâ, &c., speaks well of it. Crato will not approve this; it and both hellebores, he saith, are no better than poison. Victor Trincavellius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 14, found it in his experience, [4] "to be very noisome, to trouble the stomach, and hurt their bodies that take it overmuch."

Black hellebore, that most renowned plant, and famous purger of melancholy, which all antiquity so much used and admired, was first found out by Melanpodius a shepherd, as Pliny records, *lib.* 25, *cap.* 5, [5] who, seeing it to purge his goats when they raved, practised it upon Elige and Calene, King Prætus's daughters, that ruled in Arcadia, near the fountain Clitorius, and restored them to their former health. In Hippocrates's time it was in only request, insomuch that he writ a book of it, a fragment of which remains yet. Theophrastus, [6] Galen, Pliny, Cælius Aurelianus, as ancient as Galen, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 6, Areteus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 5, Oribasius, *lib.* 7, *collect.* a famous Greek, Ætius, *ser.* 3, *cap.* 112 & 113 *p.* Ægineta, Galen's Ape, *lib.* 7, *cap.* 4, Actuarius, Trallianus, *lib.* 5, *cap.* 15, Cornelius Celsus only remaining of the old Latins, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 23, extol and admire this excellent plant; and it was generally so much esteemed of the ancients for this disease amongst the rest, that they sent all such as were crazed, or that doted, to the Anticyræ, or to

[1] Maurorum medici hoc lapide plerumque purgant melancholiam, &c. [2] Quo ego sæpe feliciter usus sum, et magno cum auxilio. [3] Si non hoc, nihil restat nisi helleborus, et lapis armenus. Consil. 184, Scoltzii. [4] Multa corpora vidi gravissimè hinc agitata, et stomacho multum obfuisse. [5] Cum vidisset ab eo curari capras furentes, &c. [6] Lib. 6, simpl. med.

Phocis in Achaia, to be purged, where this plant was in abundance to be had. In Strabo's time it was an ordinary voyage, *Naviget Anticyras;* a common proverb among the Greeks and Latins, to bid a dizzard or a madman go take hellebore; as in Lucian, Menippus to Tantalus, *Tantale, desipis, helleboro epoto tibi opus est, eoque sane meraco*, thou art out of thy little wit, O Tantalus, and must needs drink hellebore, and that without mixture. Aristophanes *in Vespis*, drink hellebore, &c., and Harpax in the [1] Comedian, told Simo and Ballio, two doting fellows, that they had need to be purged with this plant. When that proud Menacrates *ὁ ζεὺς*, had writ an arrogant letter to Philip of Macedon, he sent back no other answer but this, *Consulo tibi ut ad Anticyram te conferas*, noting thereby that he was crazed, *atque helleboro indigere*, had much need of a good purge. Lilias Geraldus saith, that Hercules, after all his mad pranks upon his wife and children, was perfectly cured by a purge of hellebore, which an Anticyrian administered unto him. They that were sound commonly took it to quicken their wits (as Ennius of old), [2] *Qui non nisi potus ad arma—prosiluit dicenda*, and as our poets drink sack to improve their inventions, (I find it so registered by Agellius, *lib.* 17, *cap.* 15.) Carneades the academic, when he was to write against Zeno the stoic, purged himself with hellebore first, which [3] Petronius puts upon Chrysippus. In such esteem it continued for many ages, till at length Mesue and some other Arabians began to reject and reprehend it, upon whose authority for many following lustres, it was much debased and quite out of request, held to be poison and no medicine; and is still oppugned to this day by [4] Crato and some junior physicians. Their reasons are, because Aristotle, *l.* 1, *de plant. c.* 3, said, henbane and hellebore were poison; and Alexander Aphrodiseus, in the preface of his problems, gave out, that (speaking of hellebore) [5] "Quails fed on that which was poison to

[1] Pseudolo, act. 4, scen. ult. helleboro hisce hominibus opus est. In Satyr. [2] Hor. Etsi multi magni viri probent, in bonam partem accipiant medici, non probem. [4] Crato, consil. 16, l. 2. [5] Vescuntur veratro coturnices quod ho-

men." Galen, *l.* 6, *Epid. com.* 5, *Text.* 35, confirms as much; [1] Constantine the emperor in his Geoponicks, attributes no other virtue to it, than to kill mice and rats, flies and mould-warps, and so Mizaldus, Nicander of old, Gervinus, Sckenkius, and some other Neoterics that have written of poisons, speak of hellebore in a chief place. [2] Nicholas Leonicus hath a story of Solon, that besieging, I know not what city, steeped hellebore in a spring of water, which by pipes was conveyed into the middle of the town, and so either poisoned, or else made them so feeble and weak by purging, that they were not able to bear arms. Notwithstanding all these cavils and objections, most of our late writers do much approve of it. [3] Gariopontus, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 13, Codronchus, *com. de helleb.*, Fallopius, *lib. de med. pury. simpl. cap.* 69, *et consil.* 15, Trincavellii, Montanus, 239, Frisemelica, *consil.* 14, Hercules de Saxoniâ, so that it be opportunely given. Jacobus de Dondis, Agg. Amatus, Lucet. *cent.* 66, Godef. Stegius, *cap.* 13, Hollerius, and all our herbalists subscribe. Fernelius, *meth. med. lib.* 5, *cap.* 16, "confesseth it to be a [4] terrible purge and hard to take, yet well given to strong men, and such as have able bodies." P. Forestus and Capivaccius forbid it to be taken in substance, but allow it in decoction or infusion, both which ways, P. Monavius approves above all others, *Epist.* 231, Scoltzii; Jacchinus in 9 Rhasis commends a receipt of his own preparing; Penottus another of his chemically prepared, Evonimus another. Hildesheim, *spicel.* 2, *de mel.* hath many examples how it should be used, with diversity of receipts. Heurnius, *lib.* 7, *prax. med. cap.* 14, "calls it an [5] innocent medicine howsoever, if it be well prepared." The root of it is only in use, which may be kept many years, and by some given in substance, as by Fallopius and Brassivola amongst the rest, who [6] brags that he was the first that restored it again to its use, and tells a story how he

minibus toxicum est. [1] Lib. 23, c. 7, 12, 14. [2] De var. hist. [3] Corpus incolume reddit, et juvenile efficit. [4] Veteres non sine causâ usi sunt; Difficilis ex Helleboro purgatio, et terroris plena, sed robustis datur tamen, &c. [5] Innocens medicamentum, modo rite paretur. [6] Absit jactantia, ego primus præbere cœpi, &c.

cured one Melatasta, a madman, that was thought to be possessed, in the Duke Ferrara's court, with one purge of black hellebore in substance; the receipt is there to be seen; his excrements were like ink, [1] he perfectly healed at once; Vidus Vidius, a Dutch physician, will not admit of it in substance, to whom most subscribe, but as before in the decoction, infusion, or which is all in all, in the extract, which he prefers before the rest, and calls *suave medicamentum*, a sweet medicine, an easy, that may be securely given to women, children, and weaklings. Baracellus, *horto geniali*, terms it *maximæ præstantiæ medicamentum*, a medicine of great worth and note. Quercetan in his *Spagir. Phar.* and many others, tell wonders of the extract. Paracelsus, above all the rest, is the greatest admirer of this plant; and especially the extract, he calls it *theriacum, terrestre balsamum*, another treacle, a terrestrial balm, *instar omnium*, "all in all, the [2] sole and last refuge to cure this malady, the gout, epilepsy, leprosy," &c. If this will not help, no physic in the world can but mineral, it is the upshot of all. Matthiolus laughs at those that except against it, and though some abhor it out of the authority of Mesue, and dare not adventure to prescribe it, [3] "yet I, (saith he) have happily used it six hundred times without offence, and communicated it to divers worthy physicians, who have given me great thanks for it." Look for receipts, dose, preparation, and other cautions concerning this simple, in him, Brassivola, Paracelsus, Codronchus, and the rest.

Subsect. III.—*Compound Purgers.*

Compound medicines which purge melancholy, are either taken in the superior or inferior parts; superior at mouth or nostrils. At the mouth swallowed or not swallowed; If

[1] In Catart. Ex unâ solâ evacuatione furor cessavit et quietus inde vixit. Tale exemplum apud Sckenkium, et apud Scoltzium, ep. 231. P. Monavius se stolidum curasse jactat hoc epoto tribus aut quatuor vicibus. [2] Ultimum refugium, extremum medicamentum, quod cætera omnia claudit, quæcunque cæteris laxativis pelli non possunt ad hunc pertinent; si non huic, nulli cedunt. [3] Testari possum me sexcentis hominibus Helleborum nigrum exhibuisse, nullo prorsus incommodo, &c.

swallowed liquid or solid; liquid, as compound wine of hellebore, scilla or sea-onion, senna, *Vinum Scilliticum, Helleboratum*, which [1] Quercetan so much applauds "for melancholy and madness, either inwardly taken, or outwardly applied to the head, with little pieces of linen dipped warm in it." *Oxymel Scilliticum, Syrupus Helleboratus* major and minor in Quercetan, and *Syrupus Genistæ* for hypochondriacal melancholy in the same author, compound syrup of succory, of fumitory, polypody, &c. Heurnius his purging cock-broth. Some except against these syrups, as appears by [2] Udalrinus Leonorus his epistle to Matthiolus, as most pernicious, and that out of Hippocrates, *cocta movere, et medicari, non cruda*, no raw things to be used in physic; but this in the following epistle is exploded and soundly confuted by Matthiolus; many juleps, potions, receipts, are composed of these, as you shall find in Hildesheim, *spicel.* 2, Heurnius, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 14, George Sckenkius, *Ital. med. prax.* &c.

Solid purges are confections, electuaries, pills by themselves, or compound with others, as *de lapide lazulo, Armenio, pil. Indæ, of fumitory*, &c. Confection of Hamech, which though most approve, Solenander, *sec.* 5, *consil.* 22, bitterly inveighs against, so doth Rondoletius Pharmacop. officina, Fernelius and others; diasena, diapolypodium, diacassia, diacatholicon, Wecker's electuarie de Epithymo, Ptolemy's hierologadium, of which divers receipts are daily made.

Ætius, 22, 23, commends *Hieram Ruffi.* Trincavellius, *consil.* 12, *lib.* 4, approves of *Hiera; non, inquit, invenio melius medicamentum*, I find no better medicine, he saith. Heurnius adds *pil. aggregat. pills de Epithymo, pil. Ind.* Mesue describes in the *Florentine Antidotary, Pilulæ sine quibus esse nolo, Pilulæ Cochiæ cum Helleboro, Pil. Arabicæ, Fœtidæ, de quinque generibus mirabolanorum*, &c. More proper to melancholy, not excluding in the mean time, turbith,

[1] Pharmacop. Optimum est ad maniam et omnes melancholicos affectus, tum intra assumptum, tum extrinsecus capiti cum linteolis in eo madefactis tepide admotum. [2] Epist. Math. lib. 3. Tales syrupi nocentissimi et omnibus modis extirpandi.

manna, rhubarb, agaric, elescophe, &c., which are not so proper to this humour. For, as Montaltus holds, *cap.* 30, and Montanus, *cholera etiam purganda quod atræ sit pabulum*, choler is to be purged because it feeds the other; and some are of an opinion, as Erasistratus and Asclepiades maintained of old, against whom Galen disputes, [1] "that no physic doth purge one humour alone, but all alike or what is next." Most therefore in their receipts and magistrals which are coined here, make a mixture of several simples and compounds to purge all humours in general as well as this. Some rather use potions than pills to purge this humour, because that as Heurnius and Crato observe, *hic succus a sicco remedio ægrè trahitur*, this juice is not so easily drawn by dry remedies, and as Montanus adviseth, 25 *cons.* "All [2] drying medicines are to be repelled, as aloe, hiera," and all pills whatsoever, because the disease is dry of itself.

I might here insert many receipts of prescribed potions, boles, &c. The doses of these, but that they are common in every good physician, and that I am loath to incur the censure of Forestus, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 6, *de urinis*, [3] "against those that divulge and publish medicines in their mother-tongue," and lest I should give occasion thereby to some ignorant reader to practise on himself, without the consent of a good physician.

Such as are not swallowed, but only kept in the mouth, are gargarisms used commonly after a purge, when the body is soluble and loose. Or apophlegmatisms, masticatories, to be held and chewed in the mouth, which are gentle, as hyssop, origan, pennyroyal, thyme, mustard; strong, as pellitory, pepper, ginger, &c.

Such as are taken into the nostrils, errhina, are liquid or dry, juice of pimpernel, onions, &c., castor, pepper, white

[1] Purgantia censebant medicamenta, non unum humorem attrahere, sed quemcunque attigerint in suam naturam convertere. [2] Religantur omnes exsiccantes medicinæ, ut aloe, hiera, pilulæ quæcunque. [3] Contra eos qui linguâ vulgari et vernaculâ remedia et medicamenta præscribunt, et quibusvis communia faciunt.

hellebore, &c. To these you may add odoraments, perfumes, and suffumigations, &c.

Taken into the inferior parts are clysters strong or weak, suppositories of Castilian soap, honey boiled to a consistence; or stronger of scammony, hellebore, &c.

These are all used, and prescribed to this malady upon several occasions, as shall be shown in its place.

MEMB. III.

Chirurgical Remedies.

In letting of blood three main circumstances are to be considered, [1] "Who, how much, when." That is, that it be done to such a one as may endure it, or to whom it may belong, that he be of a competent age, not too young, nor too old, overweak, fat, or lean, sore laboured, but to such as have need, are full of bad blood, noxious humours, and may be eased by it.

The quantity depends upon the party's habit of body, as he is strong or weak, full or empty, may spare more or less.

In the morning is the fittest time; some doubt whether it be best fasting, or full, whether the moon's motion or aspect of planets be to be observed; some affirm, some deny, some grant in acute, but not in chronic diseases, whether before or after physic. 'Tis Heurnius's aphorism, *a phlebotomiâ auspicandum esse curationem, non a pharmaciâ*, you must begin with bloodletting and not physic; some except this peculiar malady. But what do I? Horatius Augenius, a physician of Padua, hath lately writ 17 books of this subject, Jobertus, &c.

Particular kinds of bloodletting in [2] use are three, first is that opening a vein in the arm with a sharp knife, or in the head, knees, or any other parts, as shall be thought fit.

[1] Quis, quantum, quando. [2] Fernelius, lib. 2, cap. 19.

Cupping-glasses, with or without scarification, *ocyssimè compescunt*, saith Fernelius, they work presently, and are applied to several parts, to divert humours, aches, winds, &c.

Horseleeches are much used in melancholy, applied especially to the hæmorrhoids. Horatius Augenius, *lib.* 10, *cap.* 10, Platerus, *de mentis alienat. cap.* 3. Altomarus, Piso, and many others, prefer them before any evacuations in this kind.

[1] *Cauteries*, or searing with hot irons, combustions, borings, lancings, which, because they are terrible, *Dropax* and *Sinapismus* are invented by plasters to raise blisters, and heating medicines of pitch, mustard-seed, and the like.

Issues still to be kept open, made as the former, and applied in and to several parts, have their use here on divers occasions, as shall be shown.

SECT. V. MEMB. I.

Subsect. I.—*Particular Cure of the three several Kinds; of Head-Melancholy.*

The general cures thus briefly examined and discussed, it remains now to apply these medicines to the three particular species or kinds, that, according to the several parts affected, each man may tell in some sort how to help or ease himself. I will treat of head-melancholy first, in which, as in all other good cures, we must begin with diet, as a matter of most moment, able oftentimes of itself to work this effect. I have read, saith Laurentius, *cap.* 8, *de Melanch.* that in old diseases which have gotten the upper hand or a habit, the manner of living is to more purpose, than whatsoever can be drawn out of the most precious boxes of the apothecaries. This diet, as I have said, is not only in choice of meat and

[1] Renodæus, lib. 5, cap. 21, de his, Mercurialis, lib. 3, de composit. med. cap. 24. Heurnius, lib. 1, prax. med. Wecker, &c.

drink, but of all those other non-natural things. Let air be clear and moist most part; diet moistening, of good juice, easy of digestion, and not windy; drink clear, and well brewed, not too strong, nor too small. "Make a melancholy man fat," as [1] Rhasis saith, "and thou hast finished the cure." Exercise not too remiss, nor too violent. Sleep a little more than ordinary. [2] Excrements daily to be voided by art or nature; and which Fernelius enjoins his patient, *consil.* 44, above the rest, to avoid all passions and perturbations of the mind. Let him not be alone or idle (in any kind of melancholy), but still accompanied with such friends and familiars he most affects, neatly dressed, washed, and combed, according to his ability at least, in clean sweet linen, spruce, handsome, decent, and good apparel; for nothing sooner dejects a man than want, squalor, and nastiness, foul or old clothes out of fashion. Concerning the medicinal part, he that will satisfy himself at large (in this precedent of diet) and see all at once, the whole cure and manner of it in every distinct species, let him consult with Gordonius, Valescus, with Prosper Calenus, *lib. de atrâ bile ad Card. Cæsium*, Laurentius, *cap.* 8 *et* 9, *de melan.* Ælian Montaltus, *de mel. cap.* 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, Donat. ab Altomari, *cap.* 7, *artis med.* Hercules de Saxoniâ, *in Panth. cap.* 7, *et Tract. ejus peculiar. de melan. per Bolzetam, edit. Venetiis,* 1620, *cap.* 17, 18, 19, Savanarola, *Rub.* 82, *Tract.* 8, *cap.* 1, Sckenkius, *in prax. curat. Ital. med.* Heurnius, *cap.* 12, *de morb.* Victorius Faventinus, *pract. Magn. et Empir.* Hildesheim, *Spicel.* 2, *de man. et mel.* Fel. Plater, Stockerus, Bruel, P. Bayerus, Forestus, Fuchsius, Capivaccius, Rondoletius, Jason Pratensis, Salust. Salvian. *de re med. lib.* 2, *cap.* 1, Jacchinus, *in* 9 *Rhasis*, Lod. Mercatus, *de Inter. morb. cur. lib.* 1, *cap.* 17, Alexan. Messaria, *pract. med. lib.* 1, *cap.* 21, *de mel.* Piso, Hollerius, &c., that have culled out of those old Greeks, Arabians, and Latins, whatsoever is observable or fit to be

[1] Cont. lib. 1. c. 9. festines ad impinguationem, et cum impinguantur, removetur malum. [2] Beneficium ventris.

used. Or let him read those counsels and consultations of Hugo Senensis, *consil.* 13 *et* 14, Renerus Solenander, *consil.* 6, *sec.* 1, *et consil.* 3, *sec.* 3, Crato, *consil.* 16, *lib.* 1, Montanus, 20, 22, and his following counsels, Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus, *consult.* 44, 69, 77, 125, 129, 142, Fernelius, *consil.* 44, 45, 46, Jul. Cæsar Claudinus, Mercurialis, Frambesarius, Sennertus, &c. Wherein he shall find particular receipts, the whole method, preparatives, purgers, correctors, averters, cordials in great variety and abundance; out of which, because every man cannot attend to read or peruse them, I will collect for the benefit of the reader, some few more notable medicines.

Subsect. II.—*Bloodletting.*

Phlebotomy is promiscuously used before and after physic, commonly before, and upon occasion is often reiterated, if there be any need at least of it. For Galen and many others, make a doubt of bleeding at all in this kind of head-melancholy. If the malady, saith Piso, *cap.* 23, and Altomarus, *cap.* 7, Fuchsius, *cap.* 33, [1] "shall proceed primarily from the misaffected brain, the patient in such case shall not need at all to bleed, except the blood otherwise abound. the veins be full, inflamed blood, and the party ready to run mad." In immaterial melancholy, which especially comes from a cold distemperature of spirits, Hercules de Saxoniâ, *cap.* 17, will not admit of phlebotomy; Laurentius, *cap.* 9, approves it out of the authority of the Arabians; but as Mesue, Rhasis, Alexander appoint, [2] "especially in the head," to open the veins in the forehead, nose and ears is good. They commonly set cupping-glasses on the party's shoulders, having first scarified the place, they apply horseleeches on the head, and in all melancholy diseases, whether essential or accidental, they cause the hæmorrhoids to be opened, having the eleventh aphorism of the sixth book of Hippocrates for their ground and warrant, which saith, "That in melancholy

[1] Si ex primario cerebri affectu melancholici evaserint, sanguinis detractione non indigent, nisi ob alias causas sanguis mittatur, si multus in vasis, &c., frustra enim fatigatur corpus, &c. [2] Competit iis phlebotomia frontis.

and mad men, the varicose tumour or hæmorrhoids appearing doth heal the same." Valescus prescribes bloodletting in all three kinds, whom Salust. Salvian follows. [1] "If the blood abound, which is discerned by the fulness of the veins, his precedent diet, the party's laughter, age, &c., begin with the median or middle vein of the arm; if the blood be ruddy and clear, stop it, but if black in the spring-time, or a good season, or thick, let it run, according to the party's strength; and some eight or twelve days after, open the head vein, and the veins in the forehead, or provoke it out of the nostrils, or cupping-glasses," &c. Trallianus allows of this, [2] "If there have been any suppression or stopping of blood at nose, or hæmorrhoids, or women's months, then to open a vein in the head or about the ankles." Yet he doth hardly approve of this course, if melancholy be situated in the head alone, or in any other dotage, [3] "except it primarily proceed from blood, or that the malady be increased by it; for bloodletting refrigerates and dries up, except the body be very full of blood, and a kind of ruddiness in the face." Therefore I conclude with Areteus, [4] "before you let blood, deliberate of it," and well consider all circumstances belonging to it.

Subsect. III.—*Preparatives and Purgers.*

After bloodletting we must proceed to other medicines; first prepare, and then purge, *Augeæ stabulum purgare*, make the body clean before we hope to do any good. Walter Bruel would have a practitioner begin first with a clyster of his, which he prescribes before bloodletting; the common sort, as Mercurialis, Montaltus, *cap.* 30, &c., proceed from lenitives to preparatives, and so to purgers. Lenitives are well

[1] Si sanguis abundet, quod scitur ex venarum repletione, victûs ratione præcedente, risu ægri, ætate et aliis, tundatur mediana; et si sanguis apparet clarus et ruber, supprimatur; aut si vere, si niger aut crassus permittatur fluere pro viribus ægri, dein post 8 vel 12 diem aperiatur cephalica partis magis affectæ, et vena frontis, aut sanguis provocetur setis per nares, &c. [2] Si quibus consuetæ suæ suppressæ sunt menses, &c., talo secare oportet, aut vena frontis si sanguis peccet cerebro. [3] Nisi ortum ducat a sanguine, ne morbus inde augeatur: phlebotomia refrigerat et exsiccat, nisi corpus sit valde sanguineum, rubicundum. [4] Cum sanguinem detrahere oportet, deliberatione indiget. Areteus. lib. 7, c. 5.

known, *electuarium lenitivum*, *diaphenicum*, *diacatholicon*, &c. Preparatives are usually syrups of borage, bugloss, apples, fumitory, thyme and epithyme, with double as much of the same decoction or distilled water, or of the waters of bugloss, balm, hops, endive, scolopendra, fumitory, &c., or these sodden in whey, which must be reiterated and used for many days together. Purges come last, "which must not be used at all, if the malady may be otherwise helped," because they weaken nature and dry so much; and in giving of them, [1] "we must begin with the gentlest first." Some forbid all hot medicines, as Alexander, and Salvianus, &c. *Ne insaniores inde fiant*, hot medicines increase the disease [2] "by drying too much." Purge downward rather than upward, use potions rather than pills, and when you begin physic, persevere and continue in a course; for as one observes, [3] *movere et non educere in omnibus malum est;* to stir up the humour (as one purge commonly doth) and not to prosecute, doth more harm than good. They must continue in a course of physic, yet not so that they tire and oppress nature, *danda quies naturæ*, they must now and then remit, and let nature have some rest. The most gentle purges to begin with, are [4] senna, cassia, epithyme, myrobalans, catholicon; if these prevail not, we may proceed to stronger, as the confection of Hamech, pil. Indæ, fumitoriæ, de assaieret, of lapis Armenius and lazuli, diasena. Or if pills be too dry; [5] some prescribe both hellebores in the last place, amongst the rest Areteus, [6] "because this disease will resist a gentle medicine." Laurentius and Hercules de Saxoniâ would have antimony tried last, "if the [7] party be strong, and it warily given." [8] Trincavellius prefers hierologodium, to whom Francis Alexander in his *Apol. rad.* 5, subscribes, a very good medicine they account it. But Crato in a counsel of his, for the Duke of Bavaria's chancellor, wholly rejects it.

[1] A lenioribus auspicandum. (Valescus, Piso, Bruel) rariusque medicamentis purgantibus utendum, ni sit opus.
[2] Quia corpus exiccant, morbum augent.
[3] Guianerius, Tract. 15, c. 6.
[4] Piso.
[5] Rhasis, sæpe valent ex helleboro.
[6] Lib. 7. Exiguis medicamentis morbus non obsequitur.
[7] Modo caute detur et robustis.
[8] Consil. 10, l. 1.

I find a vast chaos of medicines, a confusion of receipts and magistrals, amongst writers, appropriated to this disease; some of the chiefest I will rehearse. [1] To be sea-sick first, is very good at seasonable times. Helleborismus Matthioli, with which he vaunts and boasts he did so many several cures, [2] "I never gave it (saith he), but after once or twice, by the help of God, they were happily cured." The manner of making it he sets down at large in his third book of Epist. to George Hankshius, a physician. Walter Bruel and Heurnius, make mention of it with great approbation; so doth Sckenkius in his memorable cures, and experimental medicines, *cen.* 6, *obser.* 37. That famous Helleborism of Montanus, which he so often repeats in his consultations and counsels, as 28 *pro melan. sacerdote, et consil.* 148, *pro hypochondriaco*, and cracks, [3] "to be a most sovereign remedy for all melancholy persons, which he hath often given without offence, and found by long experience and observations to be such."

Quercetan prefers a syrup of hellebore in his *Spagirica Pharmac.* and Hellebore's extract, *cap.* 5, of his invention likewise ("a most safe medicine [4] and not unfit to be given children") before all remedies whatsoever.

Paracelsus, in his book of black hellebore, admits this medicine, but as it is prepared by him. [5] "It is most certain (saith he) that the virtue of this herb is great, and admirable in effect, and little differing from balm itself; and he that knows well how to make use of it, hath more art than all their books contain, or all the doctors in Germany can show."

Ælianus Montaltus, in his exquisite work *de morb. capitis*,

[1] Plin. l. 31, c. 6. Navigationes ob vomitionem prosunt plurimis morbis capitis, et omnibus ob quos helleborum bibitur. Idem Dioscorides, lib. 5, cap. 13. Avicenna tertia imprimis. [2] Nunquam dedimus, quin ex unâ aut alterâ assumptione, Deo juvante, fuerint ad salutem restituti. [3] Lib. 2. Inter composita purgantia melancholiam. [4] Longo experimento a se observatum esse, melancholicos sine offensâ egregiè curandos valere. Idem responsione ad Aubertum, veratrum nigrum, alias timidum et periculosum vini spiritu etiam et oleo commodum sic usui redditur, ut etiam pueris tuto administrari possit. [5] Certum est hujus herbæ virtutem maximam et mirabilem esse, parumque distare a balsamo. Et qui nôrit eo recte uti, plus habet artis quam tota scribentium cohors, aut omnes doctores in Germaniâ.

cap. 31, *de mel.* sets a special receipt of his own, which in his practice [1] "he fortunately used; because it is but short I will set it down."

> "℞ Syrupi de pomis ℥ij. aquæ borag. ℥iiij.
> Ellebori nigri per noctem infusi in ligaturâ
> 6 vel 8 gr. manè factâ collaturâ exhibe."

Other receipts of the same to this purpose you shall find in him. Valescus admires *pulvis Hali*, and Jason Pratensis after him; the confection of which our new London Pharmacopœia hath lately revived. [2] "Put case (saith he), all other medicines fail, by the help of God this alone shall do it, and 'tis a crowned medicine which must be kept in secret."

> "℞ Epithymi semunc. lapidis lazuli, agarici ana ℥ij.
> Scammonii, ℥j. Cariophillorum numero 20: pulverisentur
> Omnia, et ipsius pulveris scrup. 4, singulis septimanis assumat."

To these I may add *Arnoldi vinum Buglossatum*, or borage wine before mentioned, which [3] Mizaldus calls *vinum mirabile*, a wonderful wine, and Stockerus vouches to repeat *verbatim* amongst other receipts. Rubeus his [4] compound water out of *Savanarola;* Pinetus his balm; Cardan's *Pulvis Hyacinthi*, with which, in his book *de curis admirandis*, he boasts that he had cured many melancholy persons in eight days, which [5] Sckenkius puts amongst his observable medicines; Altomarus his syrup, with which [6] he calls God so solemnly to witness, he hath in his kind done many excellent cures, and which Sckenkius, *cent.* 7, *observ.* 80, mentioneth, Daniel Sennertus, *lib.* 1, *part.* 2, *cap.* 12, so much commends; Rulandus's admirable water for melancholy, which, *cent.* 2, *cap.* 96, he names *Spiritum vitæ aureum*, *Panaceam*, what not, and his absolute medicine of *fifty eggs*, *curat. Empir. cent.* 1, *cur.* 5, to be taken three in a morning, with a powder of his.

[1] Quo feliciter usus sum. [2] Hoc posito quod aliæ medicinæ non valeant, ista tunc Dei misericordiâ valebit, et est medicina coronata quæ secretissimè teneatur. [3] Lib. de artif. med. [4] Sect. 3. Optimum remedium aqua composita Savanarolæ. [5] Sckenkius, observ. 31. [6] Donatus ab Altomari, cap. 7. Testor Deum, me multos melancholicos hujus solius syrupi usu curasse, factâ priùs purgatione.

[1] Faventinus, *prac. Empir.* doubles this number of eggs, and will have one hundred and one to be taken by three and three in like sort, which Sallust Salvian approves, *de re med. lib.* 2, *c.* 1, with some of the same powder, till all be spent, a most excellent remedy for all melancholy and mad men.

"℞ Epithymi, thymi, ana drachmas duas, sacchari albi unciam unam,
croci grana tria,
Cinnamomi drachmam unam; misce, fiat pulvis."

All these yet are nothing to those [2] chemical preparatives of *Aqua Chalidonia*, quintessence of hellebore, salts, extracts, distillations, oils, *Aurum potabile*, &c. Dr. Anthony, in his book *de auro potab. edit.* 1600, is all and all for it. [3] "And though all the schools of Galenists, with a wicked and unthankful pride and scorn, detest it in their practice, yet in more grievous diseases, when their vegetals will do no good, they are compelled to seek the help of minerals, though they use them rashly, unprofitably, slackly, and to no purpose." Rhenanus, a Dutch chemist, in his book *de Sale e puteo emergente*, takes upon him to apologize for Anthony, and sets light by all that speak against him. But what do I meddle with this great controversy, which is the subject of many volumes? Let Paracelsus, Quercetan, Crollius, and the brethren of the rosy cross, defend themselves as they may. Crato, Erastus, and the Galenists oppugn. Paracelsus, he brags on the other side, he did more famous cures by this means, than all the Galenists in Europe, and calls himself a monarch; Galen, Hippocrates, infants, illiterate, &c. As Thessalus of old railed against those ancient Asclepiadean writers, [4] "he condemns others, insults, triumphs, overcomes all antiquity (saith

[1] Centum ova et unum, quolibet mane sumant ova sorbilia, cum sequenti pulvere supra ovum aspersâ, et contineant quousque assumpserint centum et unum, maniacis et melancholicis utilissimum remedium. [2] Quercetan. cap. 4. Phar. Oswaldus Crollius. [3] Cap. 1. Licet tota Galenistarum schola, mineralia non sine impio et ingrato fastu a suâ practicâ detestentur; tamen in gravoribus morbis, omni vegetabilium derelicto subsidio, ad mineralia confugiunt, licet ea temere, ignaviter, et inutiliter usurpent. Ad finem libri. [4] Veteres maledictis incessit, vincit, et contra omnem antiquitatem coronatur, ipseque a se victor declaratur. Gal. lib. 1, meth. c. 2.

Galen as if he spake to him), declares himself a conqueror, and crowns his own doings." [1] One drop of their chemical preparatives shall do more good than all their fulsome potions. Erastus, and the rest of the Galenists, vilify them on the other side, as heretics in physic; [2] "Paracelsus did that in physic, which Luther in divinity." [3] "A drunken rogue he was, a base fellow, a magician, he had the devil for his master, devils his familiar companions, and what he did, was done by the help of the devil." Thus they contend and rail, and every mart write books *pro* and *con, et adhuc sub judice lis est;* let them agree as they will, I proceed.

Subsect. IV.—*Averters.*

Averters and purgers must go together, as tending all to the same purpose, to divert this rebellious humour, and turn it another way. In this range, clysters and suppositories challenge a chief place, to draw this humour from the brain and heart, to the more ignoble parts. Some would have them still used a few days between, and those to be made with the boiled seeds of anise, fennel, and bastard saffron, hops, thyme, epithyme, mallows, fumitory, bugloss, polypody, senna, diasene, hamech, cassia, diacatholicon, hierologodium, oil of violets, sweet almonds, &c. For without question, a clyster opportunely used, cannot choose in this, as most other maladies, but to do very much good; *Clysteres nutriunt*, sometimes clysters nourish, as they may be prepared, as I was informed not long since by a learned lecture of our natural philosophy [4] reader, which he handled by way of discourse, out of some other noted physicians. Such things as provoke urine most commend, but not sweat. Trincavellius, *consil.* 16, *cap.* 1, in head-melancholy forbids it. P. Bayerus and others approve frictions of the outward parts, and to bathe them with warm water. Instead of ordinary frictions,

[1] Codronchus, de sale absynthii. [2] Idem Paracelsus in medicinâ, quod Lutherus in theologiâ. [3] Disput. in eundem, parte 1. Magus ebrius, illiteratus, dæmonem præceptorem habuit, dæmones familiares, &c. [4] Master D. Lapworth.

Cardan prescribes rubbing with nettles till they blister the skin, which likewise [1] Basardus Visontinus so much magnifies.

Sneezing, masticatories, and nasals are generally received. Montaltus, *c.* 34, Hildesheim, *spicel.* 3, *fol.* 136 and 238, give several receipts of all three. Hercules de Saxoniâ relates of an empiric in Venice [2] "that had a strong water to purge by the mouth and nostrils, which he still used in head-melancholy, and would sell for no gold."

To open months and hæmorrhoids is very good physic, [3] "if they have been formerly stopped." Faventinus would have them opened with horseleeches, so would Hercul. de Sax.; Julius Alexandrinus, *consil.* 185, Scoltzii thinks aloes fitter; [4] most approve horseleeches in this case, to be applied to the forehead, [5] nostrils, and other places.

Montaltus, *cap.* 29, out of Alexander and others, prescribes [6] "cupping-glasses, and issues in the left thigh." Areteus, *lib.* 7, *cap.* 5, [7] Paulus Regolinus, Sylvius will have them without scarification, "applied to the shoulders and back, thighs and feet;" [8] Montaltus, *cap.* 34, "bids open an issue in the arm, or hinder part of the head." [9] Piso enjoins ligatures, frictions, suppositories, and cupping-glasses, still without scarification, and the rest.

Cauteries and hot irons are to be used [10] "in the suture of the crown, and the seared or ulcerated place suffered to run a good while. 'Tis not amiss to bore the skull with an instrument, to let out the fuliginous vapours." Sallust. Salvianus, *de re medic. lib.* 2, *cap.* 1, [11] "because this humour hardly yields to other physic, would have the leg cauterized, or the

[1] Ant. Philos. cap. de melan frictio vertice, &c. [2] Aqua fortissima purgans os, nares, quam non vult auro vendere. [3] Mercurialis, consil. 6 et 30, hæmorroidum et mensium provocatio juvat, modo ex eorum suppressione ortum habuerit. [4] Laurentius, Bruel, &c. [5] P. Bayerus, l. 2, cap. 13, naribus, &c. [6] Cucurbitulæ siccæ, et fontanellæ crure sinistro. [7] Hildesheim, spicel. 2. Vapores a cerebro trahendi sunt frictionibus universi, cucurbitulis siccis humeris ac dorso affixis, circa pedes et crura. [8] Fontanellam aperi juxta occipitium, aut brachium. [9] Balani, ligaturæ, frictiones, &c. [10] Cauterium fiat sutura coronali, diu fluere permittantur loca ulcerosa. Trepano etiam cranii densitas imminui poterit, ut vaporibus fuliginosis exitus pateat. [11] Quoniam difficulter cedit aliis medicamentis, ideo fiat in vertice cauterium, aut crure sinistro infra genu.

left leg, below the knee, [1] and the head bored in two or three places," for that it much avails to the exhalation of the vapours; [2] "I saw (saith he) a melancholy man at Rome, that by no remedies could be healed, but when by chance he was wounded in the head, and the skull broken, he was excellently cured." Another, to the admiration of the beholders, [3] "breaking his head with a fall from on high, was instantly recovered of his dotage." Gordonius, *cap.* 13, *part.* 2, would have these cauteries tried last, when no other physic will serve. [4] "The head to be shaved and bored to let out fumes, which without doubt will do much good. I saw a melancholy man wounded in the head with a sword, his brainpan broken; so long as the wound was open he was well, but when his wound was healed, his dotage returned again." But Alexander Messaria, a professor in Padua, *lib.* 1, *pract. med. cap.* 21, *de melanchol.* will allow no cauteries at all, 'tis too stiff a humour and too thick as he holds, to be so evaporated.

Guianerius, *c.* 8, *Tract.* 15, cured a nobleman in Savoy, by boring alone, [5] "leaving the hole open a month together," by means of which, after two years' melancholy and madness, he was delivered. All approve of this remedy in the suture of the crown; but Arculanus would have the cautery to be made with gold. In many other parts, these cauteries are prescribed for melancholy men, as in the thighs, (*Mercurialis, consil.* 86,) arms, legs. *Idem, consil.* 6 and 19 and 25, Montanus, 86, Rodericus à Fonseca, *tom.* 2, *consult.* 84, *pro hypochond. coxâ dextrâ*, &c., but most in the head, "if other physic will do no good."

[1] Fiant duo aut tria cauteria, cum ossis perforatione. [2] Vidi Romæ melancholicum qui, adhibitis multis remediis, sanari non poterat, sed cum cranium gladio fractum esset, optime sanatus est. [3] Et alterum vidi melancholicum, qui ex alto cadens non sine astantium admiratione, liberatus est. [4] Radatur caput et fiat cauterium in capite; procul dubio ista faciunt ad fumorum exhalationem; vidi melancholicum a fortunâ gladio vulneratum, et cranium fractum, quamdiu vulnus apertum, curatus optime; at cum vulnus sanatum, reversa est mania. [5] Usque ad duram matrem trepanari feci, et per mensem aperte stetit.

SUBSECT. V.—*Alteratives and Cordials, corroborating, resolving the Relics, and mending the Temperament.*

BECAUSE this humour is so malign of itself, and so hard to be removed, the relics are to be cleansed, by alteratives, cordials, and such means; the temper is to be altered and amended, with such things as fortify and strengthen the heart and brain, [1] "which are commonly both affected in this malady, and do mutually misaffect one another; which are still to be given every other day, or some few days inserted after a purge, or like physic, as occasion serves, and are of such force, that many times they help alone, and as [2] Arnoldus holds in his Aphorisms, are to be "preferred before all other medicines, in what kind soever."

Amongst this number of cordials and alteratives, I do not find a more present remedy, than a cup of wine or strong drink, if it be soberly and opportunely used. It makes a man bold, hardy, courageous, [3] "whetteth the wit," if moderately taken, (and as Plutarch [4] saith, *Symp.* 7, *quæst.* 12,) "it makes those which are otherwise dull, to exhale and evaporate like frankincense, or quicken, (Xenophon adds,) [5] as oil doth fire." [6] "A famous cordial," Matthiolus in Dioscoridem calls it, "an excellent nutriment to refresh the body, it makes a good colour, a flourishing age, helps concoction, fortifies the stomach, takes away obstructions, provokes urine, drives out excrements, procures sleep, clears the blood, expels wind and cold poisons, attenuates, concocts, dissipates all thick vapours, and fuliginous humours." And that which is all in all to my purpose, it takes away fear and sorrow. [7] *Curas edaces dissipat Evius.* "It glads the heart of man,"

[1] Cordis ratio semper habenda quod cerebro compatitur, et sese invicem officiunt. [2] Aphor. 38. Medicina Theriacalis præ cæteris eligenda. [3] Galen. de temp. lib. 3, c. 3, moderate vinum sumptum acuit ingenium. [4] Tardos aliter et tristes thuris in modum exhalare facit. [5] Hilaritatem ut oleum flammam excitat. [6] Viribus retinendis cardiacum eximium, nutriendo corpori alimentum optimum, ætatem floridam facit, calorem innatum fovet, concoctionem juvat, stomachum roborat, excrementis viam parat, urinam movet, somnum conciliat, venena, frigidos flatus dissipat, crassos humores attenuat, coquit, discutit, &c. [7] Hor. lib. 2, od. 11. "Bacchus dissipates corroding cares."

Psal. civ. 15, *hilaritatis dulce seminarium.* Helena's bowl, the sole nectar of the gods, or that true nepenthes in [1] Homer, which puts away care and grief, as Oribasius, 5 *Collect. cap.* 7, and some others will, was nought else but a cup of good wine. "It makes the mind of the king and of the fatherless both one, of the bond and free man, poor and rich; it turneth all his thoughts to joy and mirth, makes him remember no sorrow or debt, but enricheth his heart, and makes him speak by talents," Esdras iii. 19, 20, 21. It gives life itself, spirits, wit, &c. For which cause the ancients called Bacchus, *Liber pater a liberando*, and [2] sacrificed to Bacchus and Pallas still upon an altar. [3] "Wine measurably drunk, and in time, brings gladness and cheerfulness of mind, it cheereth God and men," Judges ix. 13, *lætitiæ Bacchus dator*, it makes an old wife dance, and such as are in misery to forget evil, and be [4] merry.

> "Bacchus et afflictis requiem mortalibus affert,
> Crura licet duro compede vincta forent."
>
> "Wine makes a troubled soul to rest,
> Though feet with fetters be oppress."

Demetrius in Plutarch, when he fell into Seleucus's hands, and was prisoner in Syria, [5] "spent his time with dice and drink that he might so ease his discontented mind, and avoid those continual cogitations of his present condition wherewith he was tormented." Therefore Solomon, Prov. xxxi. 6, bids "wine be given to him that is ready to [6] perish, and to him that hath grief of heart, let him drink that he forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more." *Solicitis animis onus eximit*, it easeth a burdened soul, nothing speedier, nothing better; which the prophet Zachariah perceived, when he said, "that in the time of Messias, they of Ephraim should be glad, and their heart should rejoice as through wine." All which makes me very well approve of that

[1] Odyss. A. [2] Pausanias. [3] Syracides, xxxi. 28. [4] Legitur et prisci Catonis sæpe mero caluisse virtus. [5] In pocula et aleam se præcipitavit, et iis fere tempus traduxit, ut ægram crapula mentem levaret, et conditionis præsentis cogitationes quibus agitabatur sobrius vitaret. [6] So did the Athenians of old as Suidas relates, and so do the Germans at this day.

pretty description of a feast in [1] Bartholomeus Anglicus, when grace was said, their hands washed, and the guests sufficiently exhilarated, with good discourse, sweet music, dainty fare, *exhilarationis gratiâ, pocula iterum atque iterum offeruntur*, as a corollary to conclude the feast, and continue their mirth, a grace cup came in to cheer their hearts, and they drank healths to one another again and again. Which as I. Fredericus Matenesius, *Crit. Christ. lib.* 2, *cap.* 5, 6, & 7, was an old custom in all ages in every commonwealth, so as they be not enforced, *bibere per violentiam*, but as in that royal feast of [2] Ahasuerus, which lasted one hundred and eighty days, "without compulsion they drank by order in golden vessels," when and what they would themselves. This of drink is a most easy and parable remedy, a common, a cheap, still ready against fear, sorrow, and such troublesome thoughts, that molest the mind; as brimstone with fire, the spirits on a sudden are enlightened by it. "No better physic" (saith [3] Rhasis) "for a melancholy man; and he that can keep company, and carouse, needs no other medicines," 'tis enough. His countryman Avicenna, 31, *doct.* 2, *cap.* 8, proceeds farther yet, and will have him that is troubled in mind, or melancholy, not to drink only, but now and then to be drunk; excellent good physic it is for this and many other diseases. Magninus, *Reg. san. part.* 3, *c.* 31, will have them to be so once a month at least, and gives his reasons for it, [4] "because it scours the body by vomit, urine, sweat, of all manner of superfluities, and keeps it clean." Of the same mind is Seneca the Philosopher, in his book *de tranquil. lib.* 1, *c.* 15, *nonnunquam ut in aliis morbis ad ebrietatem usque veniendum; Curas deprimit, tristitiæ medetur*, it is good sometimes to be drunk, it helps sorrow, depresseth cares, and so concludes this tract with a cup of wine:

[1] Lib. 6, cap. 23 et 24, de rerum proprietat. [2] Esther i. 8. [3] Tract. 1, cont. l. 1. Non œstrus laudabilior eo, vel cura melior; qui melancholicus, utatur societate hominum et biberia; et qui potest sustinere usum vini, non indiget alia medicina, quod eo sunt omnia ad usum necessaria hujus passionis [4] Tum quod sequatur inde sudor, vomitio, urina, a quibus superfluitates a corpore removentur et remanet corpus mundum.

Habes, Serene charissime, quæ ad tranquillitatem animæ pertinent. But these are epicureal tenets, tending to looseness of life, luxury and atheism, maintained alone by some heathens, dissolute Arabians, profane Christians, and are exploded by Rabbi Moses, *tract.* 4, Guliel. Placentius, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 8, Valescus, *de Taranta*, and most accurately ventilated by Jo. Sylvaticus, a late writer and physician of Milan, *med. cont. cap.* 14, where you shall find this tenet copiously confuted.

Howsoever you say, if this be true, that wine and strong drink have such virtue to expel fear and sorrow, and to exhilarate the mind, ever hereafter let's drink and be merry.

[1] "Prome reconditum, Lyde strenua, cæcubum,
Capaciores, puer, huc affer Scyphos,
Et Chia vina aut Lesbia."

"Come, lusty Lyda, fill 's a cup of sack,
And, sirrah drawer, bigger pots we lack,
And Scio wines that have so good a smack."

I say with him in [2]A. Gellius, "let's maintain the vigour of our souls with a moderate cup of wine," [3]*Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis*, "and drink to refresh our mind; if there be any cold sorrow in it, or torpid bashfulness, let's wash it all away."——*Nunc vino pellite curas;* so saith * Horace, so saith Anacreon,

Μεθύοντα γάρ με κεῖσθαι
Πολὺ κρείσσον ἢ θάνοντα.

Let's drive down care with a cup of wine; and so say I too (though *I drink none* myself), for all this may be done, so that it be modestly, soberly, opportunely used; so that "they be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess," which our [4]Apostle forewarns; for as Chrysostom well comments on that place, *ad lætitiam datum est vinum, non ad ebrietatem*, 'tis for mirth wine, but not for madness; and will you know

[1] Hor. [2] Lib. 15, 2 noct. Att. Vigorem animi moderato vini usu tueamur, et calefacto simul refotoque animo si quid in eo vel frigidæ tristitiæ, vel torpentis verecundiæ fuerit, diluamus. [3] Hor. l. 1, Od. 27. * Od. 7, lib. 1, 26. Nam præstat ebrium me quam mortuum jacere. [4] Ephes. v. 18, ser. 19, in cap. 5.

where, when, and how that is to be understood? *Vis discere ubi bonum sit vinum? Audi quid dicat Scriptura*, hear the Scriptures, "Give wine to them that are in sorrow," or as Paul bid Timothy drink wine for his stomach's sake, for concoction, health, or some such honest occasion. Otherwise, as [1]Pliny tells us; if singular moderation be not had, [2]"nothing so pernicious, 'tis mere vinegar, *blandus dæmon*, poison itself." But hear a more fearful doom, Habac. ii. 15 & 16. "Woe be to him that makes his neighbour drunk, shameful spewing shall be upon his glory." Let not good fellows triumph therefore (saith Matthiolus), that I have so much commended wine; if it be immoderately taken, "instead of making glad, it confounds both body and soul, it makes a giddy head, a sorrowful heart." And 'twas well said of the poet of old, "Wine causeth mirth and grief," [3]nothing so good for some, so bad for others, especially as [4]one observes, *qui a causâ calidâ malè habent*, that are hot or inflamed. And so of spices, they alone, as I have showed, cause head-melancholy themselves, they must not use wine as an [5]ordinary drink, or in their diet. But to determine with Laurentius, *c.* 8, *de melan.* wine is bad for madmen, and such as are troubled with heat in their inner parts or brains; but to melancholy which is cold (as most is), wine, soberly used, may be very good.

I may say the same of the decoction of China roots, sassafras, sarsaparilla, guaiacum; China, saith Manardus, makes a good colour in the face, takes away melancholy, and all infirmities proceeding from cold, even so sarsaparilla provokes sweat mightily, guaiacum dries, Claudinus, *consult.* 89 & 46. Montanus, Capivaccius, *consult.* 188, *Scoltzii*, make frequent and good use of guaiacum and China, [6]"so that the liver be not incensed," good for such as are cold, as most melancholy men are, but by no means to be mentioned in hot.

[1] Lib. 14, 5. Nihil perniciosius viribus, si modus absit, venenum. [2] Theocritus, Idyl. 13, vino dari lætitiam et dolorem. [3] Renodæus. [4] Mercurialis, consil. 25. Vinum frigidis optimum, et pessimum ferinâ melancholiâ. [5] Fernelius, consil. 44 et 45, vinum prohibet assiduum, et aromata. [6] Modo jecur non incendatur.

The Turks have a drink called coffee (for they use no wine), so named of a berry as black as soot, and as bitter (like that black drink which was in use amongst the Lacedæmonians, and perhaps the same), which they sip still of, and sup as warm as they can suffer; they spend much time in those coffee-houses, which are somewhat like our ale-houses or taverns, and there they sit chatting and drinking to drive away the time, and to be merry together, because they find by experience that kind of drink, so used, helpeth digestion, and procured alacrity. Some of them take opium to this purpose.

Borage, balm, saffron, gold, I have spoken of; Montaltus, *c.* 23, commends scorzonera roots condite. Garcias ab Horto, *plant. hist. lib.* 2, *cap.* 25, makes mention of an herb called datura, [1] " which, if it be eaten, for twenty-four hours following takes away all sense of grief, makes them incline to laughter and mirth;" and another called bauge, like in effect to opium, " which puts them for a time into a kind of ecstasy," and makes them gently to laugh. One of the Roman emperors had a seed, which he did ordinarily eat to exhilarate himself. [2] Christophorus Ayrerus prefers bezoar stone, and the confection of alkermes, before other cordials, and amber in some cases. [3] " Alkermes comforts the inner parts;" and bezoar stone hath an especial virtue against all melancholy affections, [4] " it refresheth the heart, and corroborates the whole body." [5] Amber provokes urine, helps the body, breaks wind, &c. After a purge, three or four grains of bezoar stone, and three grains of ambergris, drunk or taken in borage or bugloss water, in which gold hot hath been quenched, will do much good, and the purge will diminish less (the heart so refreshed) of the strength and substance of the body.

[1] Per 24 horas sensum doloris omnem tollit, et ridere facit. [2] Hildesheim, spicel. 2. [3] Alkermes omnia vitalia viscera mire confortat. [4] Contra omnes melancholicos affectus confert, ac certum est ipsius usu omnes cordis et corporis vires mirum in modum refici. [5] Succinum vero albissimum confortat ventriculum, flatum discutit, urinam movet, &c.

℞. Confect. Alkermes ʒ ß. lap. Bezoar. ℈j. Succini albi subtiliss. pulverisat. ℈ij. cum Syrup. de cort. citri; fiat electuarium.

To bezoar stone most subscribe, Manardus, and [1] many others; "it takes away sadness, and makes him merry that useth it; I have seen some that have been much diseased with faintness, swooning, and melancholy, that taking the weight of three grains of this stone, in the water of oxtongue, have been cured." Garcias ab Horto brags how many desperate cures he hath done upon melancholy men by this alone, when all physicians had forsaken them. But alkermes many except against; in some cases it may help, if it be good and of the best, such as that of Montpelier in France, which [2] Iodocus Sincerus, *Itinerario Galliæ*, so much magnifies, and would have no traveller omit to see it made. But it is not so general a medicine as the other. Fernelius, *consil.* 49, suspects alkermes by reason of its heat, [3] "nothing (saith he), sooner exasperates this disease, than the use of hot working meats and medicines, and would have them for that cause warily taken." I conclude, therefore, of this and all other medicines, as Thucydides of the plague at Athens, no remedy could be prescribed for it, *Nam quod uni profuit, hoc aliis erat exitio:* there is no catholic medicine to be had; that which helps one is pernicious to another.

Diamargaritum frigidum, *diambra*, *diaboraginatum*, *electuarium lætificans Galeni et Rhasis*, *de gemmis*, *dianthos*, *diamoschum dulce et amarum*, *electuarium conciliatoris*, *syrup. Cidoniorum*, *de pomis*, conserves of roses, violets, fumitory, enula campana, satyrion, lemons, orange pills condite, &c., have their good use.

[4] "℞. Diamoschi dulcis et amari, ana ʒij. Diabuglossati, Diaboraginati, sacchari violacei, ana ʒj. misce cum syrupo de pomis."

[1] Garcias ab Horto, aromatum, lib. 1, cap. 15, adversus omnes morbos melancholicos conducit, et venenum. Ego (inquit) utor in morbis melancholicis, &c., et deploratos hujus usu ad pristinam sanitatem restitui. See more in Bauhinus's book de lap. Bezoar, c. 45. [2] Edit. 1617. Monspelii electuarium fit preciocissimum Alcherm. &c. [3] Nihil morbum hunc æque exasperat, ac alimentorum vel calidiorum usus. Alchermes ideo suspectus, et quod semel moneam, caute adhibenda calida medicamenta. [4] Sckenkius, l. 1, Observat. de Mania, ad

Every physician is full of such receipts; one only I will add for the rareness of it, which I find recorded by many learned authors, as an approved medicine against dotage, head-melancholy, and such diseases of the brain. Take a [1] ram's head that never meddled with an ewe, cut off at a blow, and the horns only take away, boil it well, skin and wool together; after it is well sod, take out the brains, and put these spices to it, cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg, mace, cloves, *ana* ʒ ß, mingle the powder of these spices with it, and heat them in a platter upon a chafingdish of coals together, stirring them well, that they do not burn; take heed it be not overmuch dried, or drier than a calf's brains ready to be eaten. Keep it so prepared, and for three days give it the patient fasting, so that he fast two hours after it. It may be eaten with bread, in an egg or broth, or any way, so it be taken. For fourteen days let him use this diet, drink no wine, &c. Gesner, *hist. animal. lib.* 1, *pag.* 917, Caricterius, *pract.* 13, *in Nich. de metri. pag.* 129, *Iatro:* Witenberg. *edit. Tubing. pag.* 62, mention this medicine, though with some variation; he that list may try it, * and many such.

Odoraments to smell to, of rose-water, violet flowers, balm, rose-cakes, vinegar, &c., do much recreate the brains and spirits, according to Solomon. Prov. xxvii. 9. "They rejoice the heart," and, as some say, nourish; 'tis a question commonly controverted in our schools, *an odores nutriant;* let Ficinus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 18, decide it; [2] many arguments he brings to prove it; as of Democritus, that lived by the smell of bread alone, applied to his nostrils, for some few days, when for old age he could eat no meat. Ferrerius, *lib.* 2, *meth.* speaks of an excellent confection of his making, of wine, saffron, &c., which he prescribed to dull, weak, feeble, and dying men to smell to, and by it to have done very much good, *æquè ferè profuisse*

mentis alienationem, et desipientiam vitio cerebri obortam, in manuscripto codice Germanico, tale medicamentum reperi. [1] Caput arietis nondum experti venerem, uno ictu amputatum, cornibus tantum demotis, integrum cum lana et pelle bene elixabis, tum aperto cerebrum eximes, et addens aromata, &c. * Cinis testudinis ustus, et vino potus melancholiam curat, et rasura cornu Rhinocerotis, &c., Sckenkius. [2] Instat in matrice, quòd sursum et deorsum ad odoris sensum præcipitatur.

olfactu et potu, as if he had given them drink. Our noble and learned Lord * Verulam, in his book *de vitâ et morte*, commends, therefore, all such cold smells as any way serve to refrigerate the spirits. Montanus, *consil.* 31, prescribes a form which he would have his melancholy patient never to have out of his hands. If you will have them spagyrically prepared, look in Oswaldus Crollius, *Basil. Chymica.*

Irrigations of the head shaven, [1] "of the flowers of water-lilies, lettuce, violets, camomile, wild mallows, wether's-head," &c., must be used many mornings together. Montan. *consil.* 31, would have the head so washed once a week. Lælius à fonte Eugubinus, *consult.* 44, for an Italian count, troubled with head-melancholy, repeats many medicines which he tried, [2] "but two alone which did the cure; use of whey made of goats' milk, with the extract of hellebore, and irrigations of the head with water-lilies, lettuce, violets, camomile, &c., upon the suture of the crown." Piso commends a ram's lungs applied hot to the forepart of the head, [3] or a young lamb divided in the back, exenterated, &c.; all acknowledge the chief cure in moistening throughout. Some, saith Laurentius, use powders and caps to the brain; but forasmuch as such aromatical things are hot and dry, they must be sparingly administered.

Unto the heart we may do well to apply bags, epithems, ointments, of which Laurentius, *c.* 9, *de melan.* gives examples. Bruel prescribes an epithem for the heart, of bugloss, borage, water-lily, violet waters, sweet wine, balm leaves, nutmegs, cloves, &c.

For the belly, make a fomentation of oil, [4] in which the seeds of cumin, rue, carrots, dill, have been boiled.

Baths are of wonderful great force in this malady, much admired by [5] Galen, [6] Ætius, Rhasis, &c., of sweet water, in

* Viscount St. Alban's. [1] Ex decocto florum nymphææ, lactucæ, violarum, chamomilæ, altheæ, capitis vervecum, &c. [2] Inter auxilia multa adhibita, duo visa sunt remedium adferre, usus seri caprini cum extracto Hellebori, et irrigatio ex lacte nymphææ, violarum, &c., suturæ coronali adhibita; his remediis sanitatem pristinam adeptus est. [3] Confert et pulmo arietis, calidus agnus per dorsum divisus, exenteratus, admotus sincipiti. [4] Semina cumini, rutæ, dauci, anethi cocta. [5] Lib. 3. de locis affect. [6] Tetrab. 2, ser. 1, cap. 10.

which are boiled the leaves of mallows, roses, violets, water-lilies, wether's-head, flowers of bugloss, camomile, melilot, &c. Guianer. *cap.* 8, *tract.* 15, would have them used twice a day, and when they come forth of the baths, their backbones to be anointed with oil of almonds, violets, nymphæa, fresh capon grease, &c.

Amulets and things to be borne about, I find prescribed, taxed by some, approved by Renodæus, Platerus (*amuleta inquit non negligenda*), and others; look for them in Mizaldus, Porta, Albertus, &c. Bassardus Viscontinus, *ant. philos.* commends hypericon, or St. John's wort gathered on a [1] Friday in the hour of "Jupiter, when it comes to his effectual operation (that is, about the full moon in July); so gathered and borne, or hung about the neck, it mightily helps this affection, and drives away all fantastical spirits." [2] Philes, a Greek author that flourished in the time of Michael Paleologus, writes that a sheep or kid's skin, whom a wolf worried, [3] *Hœdus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi*, ought not at all to be worn about a man, "because it causeth palpitation of the heart," not for any fear, but a secret virtue which amulets have. A ring made of the hoof of an ass's right forefoot carried about, &c. I say with [4] Renodæus, they are not altogether to be rejected. Peony doth cure epilepsy; precious stones, most diseases; [5] a wolf's dung borne with one helps the colic, [6] a spider an ague, &c. Being in the country in the vacation time not many years since, at Lindley in Leicestershire, my father's house, I first observed this amulet of a spider in a nutshell lapped in silk, &c., so applied for an ague by [7] my mother; whom, although I knew to have excellent skill in chirurgery, sore eyes, aches, &c., and such experimental medicines, as all the country where she dwelt can witness, to have done many famous and good cures upon

[1] Cap. de mel. collectum die vener. hora Jovis cum ad Energiam venit, i. e. ad pleniluniun Julii, inde gesta et collo appensa hunc affectum apprime juvat et fanaticos spiritus expellit. [2] L. de proprietat. animal. ovis a lupo correptæ pellem non esse pro indumento corporis usurpandam, cordis enim palpitationem excitat, &c. [3] Mart. [4] Phar. lib. 1, cap. 12. [5] Ætius, cap. 31. Tet. 3, ser. 4. [6] Dioscorides, Ulysses Alderovandus de aranea. [7] Mistress Dorothy Burton, she died, 1629.

divers poor folks, that were otherwise destitute of help: yet among all other experiments, this methought was most absurd and ridiculous, I could see no warrant for it. *Quid aranea cum febre?* For what antipathy? till at length rambling amongst authors (as often I do) I found this very medicine in Dioscorides, approved by Matthiolus, repeated by Alderovandus, *cap. de Aranea, lib. de insectis*, I began to have a better opinion of it, and to give more credit to amulets, when I saw it in some parties answer to experience. Some medicines are to be exploded, that consist of words, characters, spells, and charms, which can do no good at all, but out of a strong conceit, as Pomponatius proves; or the devil's policy, who is the first founder and teacher of them.

Subsect. VI.—*Correctors of Accidents to procure Sleep. Against fearful Dreams, Redness, &c.*

When you have used all good means and helps of alteratives, averters, diminutives, yet there will be still certain accidents to be corrected and amended, as waking, fearful dreams, flushing in the face to some ruddiness, &c.

Waking, by reason of their continual cares, fears, sorrows, dry brains, is a symptom that much crucifies melancholy men, and must therefore be speedily helped, and sleep by all means procured, which sometimes is a sufficient [1] remedy of itself without any other physic. Sckenkius, in his Observations, hath an example of a woman that was so cured. The means to procure it, are inward or outward. Inwardly taken, are simples, or compounds; simples, as poppy, nymphæa, violets, roses, lettuce, mandrake, henbane, nightshade or solanum, saffron, hempseed, nutmegs, willows, with their seeds, juice, decoctions, distilled waters, &c. Compounds are syrups, or opiates, syrup of poppy, violets, verbasco, which are commonly taken with distilled waters.

> ℞. Diacodii ℥j. diascordii ʒ§. aquæ lactucæ ℥iij.§. mista fiat potio ad horam somni sumenda.

[1] Solo somno curata est citra medici auxilium, fol. 154.

Requies Nicholai, *Philonium Romanum*, *Triphera magna*, *pilulæ de Cynoglossa*, *Diascordium*, *Laudanum Paracelsi*, *Opium*, are in use, &c. Country folks commonly make a posset of hempseed, which Fuchsius in his herbal so much discommends; yet I have seen the good effect, and it may be used where better medicines are not to be had.

Laudanum Paracelsi is prescribed in two or three grains, with a drachm of *Diascordium*, which Oswald. Crollius commends. *Opium* itself is most part used outwardly, to smell to in a ball, though commonly so taken by the Turks to the same quantity [1] for a cordial, and at Goa in the Indies; the dose forty or fifty grains.

Rulandus calls *Requiem Nicholai*, *ultimum refugium*, the last refuge; but of this and the rest look for peculiar receipts in Victorius Faventinus, *cap. de phrenesi*, Heurnius, *cap. de mania*, Hildesheim, *spicel.* 4, *de somno et vigil.* &c. Outwardly used, as oil of nutmegs by extraction, or expression with rose-water to anoint the temples, oils of poppy, nenuphar, mandrake, purslain, violets, all to the same purpose.

Montan. *consil.* 24 and 25, much commends odoraments of opium, vinegar, and rose-water. Laurentius, *cap.* 9, prescribes pomanders and nodules; see the receipts in him; Codronchus, [2] wormwood to smell to.

Unguentum Alabastritum, *populeum*, are used to anoint the temples, nostrils, or if they be too weak, they mix saffron and opium. Take a grain or two of opium, and dissolve it with three or four drops of rose-water in a spoon, and after mingle with it as much *Unguentum populeum* as a nut, use it as before; or else take half a drachm of opium, *Unguentum populeum*, oil of nenuphar, rose-water, rose-vinegar, of each half an ounce, with as much virgin wax as a nut, anoint your temples with some of it, *ad horam somni*.

Sacks of wormwood, [3] mandrake, [4] henbane, roses made

[1] Bellonius, observat. lib. 3, cap. 15, lassitudinem et labores animi tollunt; inde Garcias ab Horto, lib. 1, cap. 4, simp. med. [2] Absynthium somnos alicit olfactu. [3] Read Lemnius, lib. her. bib. cap. 2, of Mandrake. [4] Hyoscyamus sub cervicali viridis.

like pillows and laid under the patient's head, are mentioned by [1]Cardan and Mizaldus, "to anoint the soles of the feet with the fat of a dormouse, the teeth with ear wax of a dog, swine's gall, hare's ears;" charms, &c.

Frontlets are well known to every good wife, rose-water and vinegar, with a little woman's milk, and nutmegs grated upon a rose-cake applied to both temples.

For an emplaster, take of castorium a drachm and a half, of opium half a scruple, mixed both together with a little water of life, make two small plasters thereof, and apply them to the temples.

Rulandus, *cent.* 1, *cur.* 17, *cent.* 3, *cur.* 94, prescribes epithems and lotions of the head, with the decoction of flowers of nymphæa, violet leaves, mandrake roots, henbane, white poppy. Herc. de Saxoniâ, *stillicidia*, or droppings, &c. Lotions of the feet do much avail of the said herbs; by these means, saith Laurentius, I think you may procure sleep to the most melancholy man in the world. Some use horseleeches behind the ears, and apply opium to the place.

[2]Bayerus, *lib.* 2, *c.* 13, sets down some remedies against fearful dreams, and such as walk and talk in their sleep. Baptista Porta, *Mag. nat. l.* 2, *c.* 6, to procure pleasant dreams and quiet rest, would have you take hippoglossa, or the herb horsetongue, balm, to use them or their distilled waters after supper, &c. Such men must not eat beans, peas, garlic, onions, cabbage, venison, hare, use black wines, or any meat hard of digestion at supper, or lie on their backs, &c.

Rusticus pudor, bashfulness, flushing in the face, high colour, ruddiness, are common grievances, which much torture many melancholy men, when they meet a man, or come in [3]company of their betters, strangers, after a meal, or if they drink a cup of wine or strong drink, they are as red and flect, and sweat as if they had been at a mayor's feast, *præ-*

[1] Plantam pedis inungere pinguedine gliris dicunt efficacissimum, et quod vix credi potest, dentes inunctos ex sorditie aurium canis somnum profundum conciliare, &c. Cardan de rerum varietat. [2] Veni mecum lib. [3] Aut si quid incautius exciderit aut, &c.

sertim si metus accesserit, it exceeds, [1] they think every man observes, takes notice of it; and fear alone will effect it, suspicion without any other cause. Sckenkius, *observ. med. lib.* 1, speaks of a waiting gentlewoman in the Duke of Savoy's court, that was so much offended with it, that she kneeled down to him, and offered Biarus, a physician, all that she had to be cured of it. And 'tis most true, that [2] Antony Ludovicus saith in his book *de Pudore*, "bashfulness either hurts or helps," such men I am sure it hurts. If it proceed from suspicion or fear, [3] Felix Plater prescribes no other remedy but to reject and contemn it; *Id populus curat scilicet*, as a [4] worthy physician in our town said to a friend of mine in like case, complaining without a cause, suppose one look red, what matter is it, make light of it, who observes it?

If it trouble at or after meals (as [5] Jobertus observes, *med. pract. l.* 1, *c.* 7), after a little exercise or stirring, for many are then hot and red in the face, or if they do nothing at all, especially women; he would have them let blood in both arms, first one, then another, two or three days between, if blood abound; to use frictions of the other parts, feet especially, and washing of them, because of that consent which is between the head and the feet. [6] And withal to refrigerate the face, by washing it often with rose, violet, nenuphar, lettuce, lovage waters, and the like; but the best of all is that *lac virginale*, or strained liquor of litargy; it is diversely prepared; by Jobertus thus: ℞. *lithar. argent. unc.* j. *cerussæ candidissimæ*, ℥iij. *caphuræ*, ℈ij. *dissolvantur aquarum solani*, *lactucæ*, *et nenupharis ana unc.* iij. *aceti vini albi*, *unc.* ij. *aliquot horas resideat*, *deinde transmittatur per philt. aqua servetur in vase vitreo*, *ac eâ bis terve facies quotidie irroretur.* [7] Quercetan, *spagir. phar. cap.* 6, commends the water of frogs' spawn for ruddiness in the face. [8] Crato,

[1] Nam quâ parte pavor simul est pudor additus illi. Statius. [2] Olysipponensis medicus; pudor aut juvat aut lædit. [3] De mentis alienat. [4] Mr. Doctor Ashworth. [5] Facies nonnullis maxime calet rubetque, si se paululum exercuerint; nonnullis quiescentibus idem accidit, fœminis præsertim; causa quicquid fervidum aut halituosum sanguinem facit. [6] Interim faciei prospiciendum ut ipsa refrigeretur; utrumque præstabit frequens potio ex aquâ rosarum, violarum, nenupharis, &c. [7] Ad faciei ruborem aqua spermatis ranarum. [8] Recte

consil. 283, Scoltzii, would fain have them use all summer the condite flowers of succory, strawberry water, roses (cupping-glasses are good for the time), *consil.* 285 *et* 286, and to defecate impure blood with the infusion of senna, savory, balm water. [1] Hollerius knew one cured alone with the use of succory boiled, and drunk for five months, every morning in the summer. [2] It is good overnight to anoint the face with hare's blood, and in the morning to wash it with strawberry and cowslip water, the juice of distilled lemons, juice of cucumbers, or to use the seeds of melons, or kernels of peaches beaten small, or the roots of Aron, and mixed with wheat bran to bake it in an oven, and to crumble it in strawberry water, [3] or to put fresh cheese curds to a red face.

If it trouble them at meal times that flushing, as oft it doth, with sweating or the like, they must avoid all violent passions and actions, as laughing, &c., strong drink, and drink very little, [4] one draught, saith Crato, and that about the midst of their meal; avoid at all times indurate salt, and especially spice and windy meat.

[5] Crato prescribes the condite fruit of wild rose, to a nobleman his patient, to be taken before dinner or supper, to the quantity of a chestnut. It is made of sugar, as that of quinces. The decoction of the roots of sow-thistle before meat, by the same author is much approved. To eat of a baked apple some advise, or of a preserved quince, cumin-seed prepared with meat instead of salt, to keep down fumes; not to study or to be intentive after meals.

"℞. Nucleorum persic. seminis melonum, ana unc. ℈ ß. aquæ fragorum l. ij. misce, utatur mane."

[6] To apply cupping-glasses to the shoulders is very good.

utantur in æstate floribus Cichorii saccharo conditis vel saccharo rosaceo, &c. [1] Solo usu decocti Cichorii. [2] Utile imprimis noctu faciem illinire sanguine leporino, et mane aquâ fragorum, vel aquâ floribus verbasci cum succo limonum distillato abluere. [3] Utile rubenti faciei caseum recentem imponere. [4] Consil. 21. lib. unico vini haustu sit contentus. [5] Idem, consil. 283, Scoltzii, laudatur conditus rosæ caninæ fructus ante prandium et cœnam ad magnitudinem castaneæ. Decoctum radicum Sonchi, si ante cibum sumatur, valet plurimum. [6] Cucurbit. ad scapulas appositæ.

For the other kind of ruddiness which is settled in the face with pimples, &c., because it pertains not to my subject, I will not meddle with it. I refer you to Crato's counsels, Arnoldus, *lib.* 1, *breviar. cap.* 39, 1, Rulande, Peter Forestus de Fuco, *lib.* 31, *obser.* 2. To Platerus, Mercurialis, Ulmus, Rondoletius, Heurnius, Menadous, and others that have written largely of it.

Those other grievances and symptoms of headache, palpitation of heart, *Vertigo*, *deliquium*, &c., which trouble many melancholy men, because they are copiously handled apart in every physician, I do voluntarily omit.

MEMB. II.

Cure of Melancholy over all the Body.

Where the melancholy blood possesseth the whole body with the brain, [1] it is best to begin with bloodletting. The Greeks prescribe the [2] median or middle vein to be opened and so much blood to be taken away as the patient may well spare, and the cut that is made must be wide enough. The Arabians hold it fittest to be taken from that arm on which side there is more pain and heaviness in the head; if black blood issue forth, bleed on; if it be clear and good, let it be instantly suppressed, [3] "because the malice of melancholy is much corrected by the goodness of the blood." If the party's strength will not admit much evacuation in this kind at once, it must be assayed again and again; if it may not be conveniently taken from the arm, it must be taken from the knees and ankles, especially to such men or women whose hæmorrhoids or months have been stopped. [4] If the malady continue, it is not amiss to evacuate in a part in the forehead, and to virgins in the ankles, who are melancholy for love matters; so to widows that are much grieved and troubled

[1] Piso. [2] Mediana præ cæteris. [3] Succi melancholici malitia a sanguinis bonitate corrigitur. [4] Perseverante malo ex quacunque parte sanguis detrahi debet.

with sorrow and cares; for bad blood flows in the heart, and so crucifies the mind. The hæmorrhoids are to be opened with an instrument or horseleeches, &c. See more in Montaltus, *cap.* 29. [1] Sckenkius hath an example of one that was cured by an accidental wound in his thigh, much bleeding freed him from melancholy. Diet, diminutives, alteratives, cordials, correctors as before, intermixed as occasion serves, [2] "all their study must be to make a melancholy man fat, and then the cure is ended." Diuretica, or medicines to procure urine, are prescribed by some in this kind, hot and cold; hot, where the heat of the liver doth not forbid; cold, where the heat of the liver is very great; [3] amongst hot are parsley roots, lovage, fennel, &c.; cold, melon seeds, &c., with whey of goats' milk, which is the common conveyer.

To purge and [4] purify the blood, use sow-thistle, succory, senna, endive, carduus benedictus, dandelion, hop, maidenhair, fumitory, bugloss, borage, &c., with their juice, decoctions, distilled waters, syrups, &c.

Oswaldus Crollius, *Basil. Chym.* much admires salt of corals in this case, and Ætius, *tetrabib. ser.* 2, *cap.* 114, Hieram Archigenis, which is an excellent medicine to purify the blood, "for all melancholy affections, falling-sickness, none to be compared to it."

MEMB. III.

Subsect. I.—*Cure of Hypochondriacal Melancholy.*

In this cure, as in the rest, is especially required the rectification of those six non-natural things above all, as good diet, which Montanus, *consil.* 27, enjoins a French nobleman,

[1] Observat. fol. 154, curatus ex vulnere in crure ob cruorem amissum. [2] Studium sit omne ut melancholicus impinguetur: ex quo enim pingues et carnosi, illico sani sunt. [3] Hildesheim, spicel. 2. Inter calida radix petroselini, apii, feniculi; inter frigida emulsio seminis melonum cum sero caprino quod est commune vehiculum. [4] Hoc unum præmoneo, domine, ut sis diligens circa victum, sine quo cætera remedia frustra adhibentur.

"to have an especial care of it, without which all other remedies are in vain." Bloodletting is not to be used, except the patient's body be very full of blood, and that it be derived from the liver and spleen to the stomach and his vessels, then [1] to draw it back, to cut the inner vein of either arm, some say the *salvatella*, and if the malady be continuate, [2] to open a vein in the forehead.

Preparatives and alteratives may be used as before, saving that there must be respect had as well to the liver, spleen, stomach, hypochondries, as to the heart and brain. To comfort the [3] stomach and inner parts against wind and obstructions, by Aretæus, Galen, Ætius, Aurelianus, &c., and many later writers, are still prescribed the decoctions of wormwood, centaury, pennyroyal, betony sodden in whey, and daily drunk; many have been cured by this medicine alone.

Prosper Alpinus and some others as much magnify the water of Nile against this malady, an especial good remedy for windy melancholy. For which reason belike Ptolemeus Philadelphus, when he married his daughter Berenice to the king of Assyria (as Celsus, *lib.* 2, records), *magnis impensis Nili aquam afferri jussit*, to his great charge caused the water of Nile to be carried with her, and gave command that during her life she should use no other drink. I find those that commend use of apples, in splenetic and this kind of melancholy (lamb's wool, some call it), which howsoever approved must certainly be corrected of cold rawness and wind.

Codronchus in his book *de sale absynth.* magnifies the oil and salt of wormwood above all other remedies, [4] "which works better and speedier than any simple whatsoever, and much to be preferred before all those fulsome decoctions and infusions, which must offend by reason of their quantity; this alone in a small measure taken, expels wind, and that

[1] Laurentius, cap. 15, evulsionis gratiâ venam internam alterius brachii secamus. [2] Si pertinax morbus, venam fronte secabis. Bruel. [3] Ego maximam curam stomacho delegabo. Octa. Horatianus, lib. 2, c. 7. [4] Citius et efficacius suas vires exercet quam solent decocta ac diluta in quantitate multâ, et magnâ cum assumentium molestiâ desumpta. Flatus hic sal efficaciter dissipat, urinam movet, humores crassos abstergit, stomachum egregie confortat, cruditatem, nauseam, appetentiam mirum in modum renovat, &c.

most forcibly, moves urine, cleanseth the stomach of all gross humours, crudities, helps appetite," &c. Arnoldus hath a wormwood wine which he would have used, which every pharmacopœia speaks of.

Diminutives and purges may [1]be taken as before, of hiera, manna, cassia, which Montanus, *consil.* 230, for an Italian abbot, in this kind prefers before all other simples, [2]" and these must be often used, still abstaining from those which are more violent, lest they do exasperate the stomach, &c., and the mischief by that means be increased." Though in some physicians I find very strong purgers, hellebore itself prescribed in this affection. If it long continue, vomits may be taken after meat, or otherwise gently procured with warm water, oxymel, &c., now and then. Fuchsius, *cap.* 33, prescribes hellebore; but still take heed in this malady, which I have often warned, of hot medicines, [3]" because (as Salvianus adds) drought follows heat, which increaseth the disease;" and yet Baptista Sylvaticus, *controv.* 32, forbids cold medicines, [4]" because they increase obstructions, and other bad symptoms." But this varies as the parties do, and 'tis not easy to determine which to use. [5]" The stomach most part in this infirmity is cold, the liver hot; scarce therefore (which Montanus insinuates, *consil.* 229, for the Earl of Monfort) can you help the one and not hurt the other;" much discretion must be used; take no physic at all he concludes without great need. Lælius Æugubinus, *consil.* 77, for an hypochondriacal German prince, used many medicines; "but it was after signified to him in [6]letters, that the decoction of China and sassafras, and salt of sassafras, wrought him an incredible good." In his 108 *consult.* he used as happily the same remedies; this to a third might have been poison, by overheating his liver and blood.

1 Piso, Altomarus, Laurentius, c. 15. 2 His utendum sæpius iteratis: a vehementioribus semper abstinendum ne ventrem exasperent. 3 Lib. 2, cap. 1. Quoniam caliditate conjuncta est siccitas quæ malum auget. 4 Quisquis frigidis auxiliis hoc morbo usus fuerit, is obstructionem aliaque symptomata augebit. 5 Ventriculus plerumque frigidus, epar calidum; quomodo ergo ventriculum calefaciet, vel refrigerabit hepar sine alterius maximo detrimento? 6 Significatum per literas, incredibilem utilitatem ex decocto Chinæ, et Sassafras percepisse.

For the other parts look for remedies in Savanarola, Gordonius, Massaria, Mercatus, Johnson, &c. One for the spleen, amongst many other, I will not omit, cited by Hildesheim, *spicel.* 2, prescribed by Mat. Flaccus, and out of the authority of Benevenius. Anthony Benevenius in a hypochondriacal passion, [1] "cured an exceeding great swelling of the spleen with capers alone, a meat befitting that infirmity, and frequent use of the water of a smith's forge; by this physic he helped a sick man, whom all other physicians had forsaken, that for seven years had been splenetic." And of such force is this water, [2] "that those creatures as drink of it, have commonly little or no spleen." See more excellent medicines for the spleen in him, and [3] Lod. Mercatus, who is a great magnifier of this medicine. This *Chalybs præparatus*, or steel-drink, is much likewise commended to this disease by Daniel Sennertus, *l.* 1, *part.* 2, *cap.* 12, and admired by J. Cæsar Claudinus, *Respons.* 29, he calls steel the proper [4] alexipharmacum of this malady, and much magnifies it; look for receipts in them. Averters must be used to the liver and spleen, and to scour the meseraic veins; and they are either to open or provoke urine. You can open no place better than the hæmorrhoids, "which if by horseleeches they be made to flow, [5] there may not be again such an excellent remedy," as Plater holds. Sallust. Salvian. will admit no other phlebotomy but this; and by his experience in an hospital which he kept, he found all mad and melancholy men worse for other bloodletting. Laurentius, *cap.* 15, calls this of horseleeches a sure remedy to empty the spleen and meseraic membrane. Only Montanus, *consil.* 241, is against it; [6] "to other men (saith he) this opening of the hæmorrhoids seems to be a profitable remedy; for my part

[1] Tumorem splenis incurabilem sola cappari curavit, cibo tali ægritudini aptissimo: Soloque usu aquæ, in quâ faber ferrarius sæpe candens ferrum extinxerat, &c. [2] Animalia quæ apud hos fabros educantur, exiguos habent lienes. [3] L. 1, cap. 17. [4] Continuus ejus usus semper felicem in ægris finem est assequutus. [5] Si hemorroides fluxerint, nullum præstantius esset remedium, quæ sanguisugis admotis provocari poterunt, observat. lib. 1, pro hypoc. leguleio. [6] Aliis apertio hæc in hoc morbo videtur utilissima; mihi non admodum probatur, quia sanguinem tenuem attrahit et crassum relinquit.

I do not approve of it, because it draws away the thinnest blood, and leaves the thickest behind."

Ætius, Vidus Vidius, Mercurialis, Fuchsius, recommend diuretics, or such things as provoke urine, as anise-seeds, dill, fennel, germander, ground pine, sodden in water, or drunk in powder; and yet [1] P. Bayerus is against them; and so is Hollerius: "All melancholy men (saith he) must avoid such things as provoke urine, because by them the subtile or thinnest is evacuated, the thicker matter remains."

Clysters are in good request. Trincavellius, *lib.* 3, *cap.* 38, for a young nobleman, esteems of them in the first place, and Hercules de Saxoniâ, *Panth. lib.* 1, *cap.* 16, is a great approver of them. [2] "I have found (saith he) by experience, that many hypochondriacal melancholy men have been cured by the sole use of clysters," receipts are to be had in him.

Besides those fomentations, irrigations, inunctions, odoraments, prescribed for the head, there must be the like used for the liver, spleen, stomach, hypochondries, &c. [3] "In crudity (saith Piso) 'tis good to bind the stomach hard" to hinder wind, and to help concoction.

Of inward medicines I need not speak; use the same cordials as before. In this kind of melancholy, some prescribe [4] treacle in winter, especially before or after purges, or in the spring, as Avicenna, [5] Trincavellius mithridate, [6] Montaltus peony seeds, unicorn's horn; *os de corde cervi*, &c.

Amongst topics or outward medicines, none are more precious than baths, but of them I have spoken. Fomentations to the hypochondries are very good, of wine and water in which are sodden southernwood, melilot, epithyme, mugwort, senna, polypody, as also [7] cerotes, [8] plasters, liniments, ointments for the spleen, liver, and hypochondries, of which look

[1] Lib. 2, cap. 13, omnes melancholici debent omittere urinam provocantia, quoniam per ea educitur subtile, et remanet crassum. [2] Ego experientiâ probavi, multos hypochondriacos solo usu clysterum fuisse sanatos. [3] In cruditate optimum, ventriculum arctius alligari. [4] 3j. Theriacæ, vere præsertim et æstate. [5] Cons. 12, l. 1. [6] Cap. 33. [7] Trincavellius, consil. 15, cerotum pro sene melancholico ad jecur, optimum. [8] Emplastra pro splene, Fernel. consil. 45.

for examples in Laurentius, Jobertus, *lib.* 3, *c.* 1, *pra. med.*, Montanus, *consil.* 231, Montaltus, *cap.* 33, Hercules de Saxoniâ, Faventinus. And so of epithems, digestive powders, bags, oils, Octavius Horatianus, *lib.* 2, *c.* 5, prescribes calastic cataplasms, or dry purging medicines, Piso [1] dropaces of pitch, and oil of rue, applied at certain times to the stomach, to the metaphrene, or part of the back which is over against the heart, Ætius sinapisms; Montaltus, *cap.* 35, would have the thighs to be [2] cauterized, Mercurialis prescribes beneath the knees; Lælius Æugubinus, *consil.* 77, for a hypochondriacal Dutchman, will have the cautery made in the right thigh, and so Montanus, *consil.* 55. The same Montanus, *consil.* 34, approves of issues in the arms or hinder part of the head. Bernardus Paternus in Hildesheim, *spicel.* 2, would have [3] issues made in both the thighs; [4] Lod. Mercatus prescribes them near the spleen, *aut prope ventriculi regionem*, or in either of the thighs. Ligatures, frictions, and cupping-glasses above or about the belly, without scarification, which [5] Felix Platerus so much approves, may be used as before.

Subsect. II.—*Correctors to expel Wind. Against Costiveness, &c.*

In this kind of melancholy one of the most offensive symptoms is wind, which, as in the other species, so in this, hath great need to be corrected and expelled.

The medicines to expel it are either inwardly taken, or outwardly. Inwardly to expel wind, are simples or compounds; simples are herbs, roots, &c., as galanga, gentian, angelica, enula, calamus aromaticus, valerian, zeodoti, iris, condite ginger, aristolochy, cicliminus, China, dittander, pennyroyal, rue, calamint, bay-berries, and bay-leaves, betony, rosemary, hyssop, sabine, centaury, mint, camomile, stœchas, agnus castus, broom-flowers, origan, orange pills, &c.; spices, as saf-

[1] Dropax e pice navali, et oleo rutaceo affigatur ventriculo, et toti metaphreni. [2] Cauteria cruribus inusta. [3] Fontanellæ sint in utroque crure. [4] Lib. 1, c. 17. [5] De mentis alienat. c. 3, flatus egregie discutiunt materiamque evocant.

fron, cinnamon, bezoar stone, myrrh, mace, nutmegs, pepper, cloves, ginger, seeds of anise, fennel, amni, cari, nettle, rue, &c., juniper berries, grana paradisi; compounds, dianisum, diagalanga, diaciminum, diacalaminth, *electuarium de baccis lauri*, *benedicta laxativa*, *pulvis ad flatus*, *antid. florent. pulvis carminativus*, *aromaticum rosatum*, *treacle*, *mithridate*, &c. This one caution of [1] Gaulter Bruel is to be observed in the administering of these hot medicines and dry, "that whilst they covet to expel wind, they do not inflame the blood, and increase the disease; sometimes (as he saith) medicines must more decline to heat, sometimes more to cold, as the circumstances require, and as the parties are inclined to heat or cold."

Outwardly taken to expel wind, are oils, as of camomile, rue, bay, &c.; fomentations of the hypochondries, with the decoctions of dill, pennyroyal, rue, bay leaves, cumin, &c., bags of camomile flowers, anise-seed, cumin, bays, rue, wormwood, ointments of the oil of spikenard, wormwood, rue, &c. [2] Areteus prescribes cataplasms of camomile flowers, fennel, anise-seed, cumin, rosemary, wormwood leaves, &c.

[3] Cupping-glasses applied to the hypochondries, without scarification, do wonderfully resolve wind. Fernelius, *consil.* 43, much approves of them at the lower end of the belly; [4] Lod. Mercatus calls them a powerful remedy, and testifies moreover out of his own knowledge, how many he hath seen suddenly eased by them. Julius Cæsar Claudinus, *Respons. med. resp.* 33, admires these cupping-glasses, which he calls out of Galen, [5] "a kind of enchantment, they cause such present help."

Empirics have a myriad of medicines, as to swallow a

[1] Cavendum hic diligenter a multum calefacientibus, atque exsiccantibus, sive alimenta fuerint hæc, sive medicamenta: nonnulli enim ut ventositates et rugitus compescant, hujusmodi utentes medicamentis, plurimum peccant, morbum sic augentes: debent enim medicamenta declinare ad calidum vel frigidum secundum exigentiam circumstantiarum, vel ut patiens inclinat ad cal. et frigid. [2] Cap. 5, lib. 7. [3] Piso, Bruel, mire flatus resolvit. [4] Lib. 1, c. 17, nonnullos præ tensione ventris deploratos illico restitutos his vidimus. [5] Velut incantamentum quoddam, ex flatuoso spiritu dolorem ortum levant.

bullet of lead, &c., which I voluntarily omit. Amatus Lusitanus, *cent.* 4, *curat.* 54, for a hypochondriacal person, that was extremely tormented with wind, prescribes a strange remedy. Put a pair of bellows' end into a clyster pipe, and applying it into the fundament, open the bowels, so draw forth the wind, *natura non admittit vacuum.* He vaunts he was the first invented this remedy, and by means of it speedily eased a melancholy man. Of the cure of this flatuous melancholy, read more in *Fienus, de flatibus, cap.* 26, *et passim alias.*

Against headache, vertigo, vapours which ascend forth of the stomach to molest the head, read Hercules de Saxoniâ, and others.

If costiveness offend in this, or any other of the three species, it is to be corrected with suppositories, clysters or lenitives, powder of senna, condite prunes, &c. ℞ *Elect. lenit. e succo rosar. ana* ʒ j. *misce.* Take as much as a nutmeg at a time, half an hour before dinner or supper, or *pil. mastichin.* ʒ j. in six pills, a pill or two at a time. See more in Montan. *consil.* 229. Hildesheim, *spicel.* 2. P. Cnemander, and Montanus, commend [1] "Cyprian turpentine, which they would have familiarly taken, to the quantity of a small nut, two or three hours before dinner and supper, twice or thrice a week if need be; for besides that it keeps the belly soluble, it clears the stomach, opens obstructions, cleanseth the liver, provokes urine."

These in brief are the ordinary medicines which belong to the cure of melancholy, which if they be used aright, no doubt may do much good; *Si non levando, saltem leniendo valent peculiaria benè selecta,* saith Bessardus, a good choice of particular receipts must needs ease, if not quite cure, not one, but all or most, as occasion serves. *Et quæ non prosunt singula, multa juvant.*

[1] Terebinthinam Cypriam habeant familiarem, ad quantitatem deglutiant nucis parvæ, tribus horis ante prandium vel cœnam, ter singulis septimanis prout expedire videbitur; nam præterquam quod alvum mollem efficit, obstructiones aperit, ventriculum purgat, urinam provocat, hepar mundificat.

THE

SYNOPSIS OF THE THIRD PARTITION.

Love and love melancholy, *Memb.* 1, *Sect.* 1.

- Preface or Introduction. *Subsect.* 1.
- Love's definition, pedigree, object, fair, amiable, gracious, and pleasant, from which comes beauty, grace, which all desire and love, parts affected.
- Division or kinds, *Subs.* 2.
  - Natural, in things without life, as love and hatred of elements; and with life, as vegetable, vine and elm, sympathy, antipathy, &c.
  - Sensible, as of beasts, for pleasure, preservation of kind, mutual agreement, custom, bringing up together, &c.
  - or
  - Rational,
    - Simple, which hath three objects, as *Memb.* 1.
      - Profitable, *Subs.* 1. — Health, wealth, honour, we love our benefactors; nothing so amiable as profit, or that which hath a show of commodity.
      - Pleasant, *Subs.* 2. — Things without life, made by art, pictures, sports, games, sensible objects, as hawks, hounds, horses; or men themselves, for similitude of manners, natural affection, as to friends, children, kinsmen, &c., for glory such as commend us.
        - Of women as
          - Before marriage, as *Heroical Mel. Sect.* 2, *vide* ♀
          - Or after marriage, as *Jealousy*, *Sect.* 3, *vide* ♂
      - Honest, *Subs.* 3. — Fucate in show, by some error or hypocrisy; some seem and are not; or truly for virtue, honesty, good parts, learning, eloquence, &c.
    - Mixed of all three, which extends to *Memb.* 3. — Common good, our neighbour, country, friends, which is charity; the defect of which is cause of much discontent and melancholy.
      - or God, *Sect.* 4.
        - In excess, *vide* □.
        - In defect, *vide* ▭.

♀ Heroical or Love-Melancholy, in which consider,

- *Memb.* 1.
  - His pedigree, power, extent to vegetables and sensible creatures, as well as men, to spirits, devils, &c.
  - His name, definition, object, part affected, tyranny.
- Causes, *Memb.* 2.
  - Stars, temperature, full diet, place, country, clime, condition, idleness, *Subs.* 1.
  - Natural allurements, and causes of love, as beauty, its praise, how it allureth.
  - Comeliness, grace, resulting from the whole or some parts, as face, eyes, hair, hands, &c. *Subs.* 2.
  - Artificial allurements, and provocations of lust and love, gestures, apparel, dowry, money, &c.
  - *Quest.* Whether beauty owe more to Art or Nature? *Subs.* 3.
  - Opportunity of time and place, conference, discourse, music, singing, dancing, amorous tales, lascivious objects, familiarity, gifts, promises, &c. *Subs.* 4.
  - Bawds and Philters. *Subs.* 5.
- Symptoms or signs, *Memb.* 3.
  - Of body
    - Dryness, paleness, leanness, waking, sighing, &c.
    - Quest. *An detur pulsus amatorius?*
  - or
  - Of mind.
    - Bad, as
      - Fear, sorrow, suspicion, anxiety, &c.
      - A hell, torment, fire, blindness, &c.
      - Dotage, slavery, neglect of business.
    - or
    - Good, as
      - Spruceness, neatness, courage, aptness to learn music, singing, dancing, poetry, &c.
- Prognostics; despair, madness, frensy, death, *Memb.* 4.
- Cures, *Memb.* 5.
  - By labour, diet, physic, abstinence, *Subs.* 1.
  - To withstand the beginnings, avoid occasions, fair and foul means, change of place, contrary passion, witty inventions, discommend the former, bring in another, *Subs.* 2.
  - By good counsel, persuasion, from future miseries, inconveniences, &c., *Subs.* 3.
  - By philters, magical, and poetical cures, *Subs.* 4.
  - To let them have their desire disputed *pro* and *con*. Impediments removed, reasons for it, *Subs.* 5.

♂ Jealousy, *Sect.* 3.

- His name, definition, extent, power, tyranny, *Memb.* 1.
- Division, Equivocations, kinds, *Subs.* 1.
  - Improper
    - To many beasts, as swans, cocks, bulls.
    - To kings and princes, of their subjects, successors.
  - or
    - To friends, parents, tutors over their children, or otherwise.
  - Proper.
    - Before marriage, corrivals, &c.
    - After, as in this place our present subject.
- Causes, *Sect.* 2.
  - In the parties themselves,
    - Idleness, impotency in one party, melancholy, long absence.
    - They have been naught themselves. Hard usage, unkindness, wantonness, inequality of years, persons, fortunes, &c.
  - or
  - from others. Outward enticements and provocations of others.

- Symptoms, *Memb.* 2. — Fear, sorrow, suspicion, anguish of mind, strange actions, gestures, looks, speeches, locking up, outrages, severe laws, prodigious trials, &c.
- Prognostics, *Memb.* 3. — Despair, madness, to make away themselves, and others.
- Cures, *Memb.* 4.
  - By avoiding occasions, always busy, never to be idle.
  - By good counsel, advice of friends, to contemn or dissemble it. *Subs.* 1.
  - By prevention before marriage. Plato's communion.
  - To marry such as are equal in years, birth, fortunes, beauty, of like conditions, &c.
  - Of a good family, good education. To use them well.

Π Religious Melancholy, *Sect.* 4.

A proof that there is such a species of melancholy, name, object God, what his beauty is, how it allureth, part and parties affected, superstitious, idolaters, prophets, heretics, &c., *Subs.* 1.

- Causes, *Subs.* 2.
  - From others, — The devil's allurements, false miracles, priests for their gain. Politicians, to keep men in obedience, bad instructors, blind guides.
  - or from themselves. — Simplicity, fear, ignorance, solitariness, melancholy, curiosity, pride, vainglory, decayed image of God.
- In excess of such as do that which is not required. *Memb.* 1.
  - Symptoms, *Subs.* 3.
    - General — Zeal without knowledge, obstinacy, superstition, strange devotion, stupidity, confidence, stiff defence of their tenets, mutual love and hate of other sects, belief of incredibilities, impossibilities.
    - or — Of heretics, pride, contumacy, contempt of others, wilfulness, vainglory, singularity, prodigious paradoxes.
    - Particular — In superstitious blind zeal, obedience, strange works, fasting, sacrifices, oblations, prayers, vows, pseudo-martyrdom, mad and ridiculous customs, ceremonies, observations.
    - In pseudo-prophets, visions, revelations, dreams, prophecies, new doctrines, &c., of Jews, Gentiles, Mahometans, &c.
  - Prognostics, *Subs.* 4. — New doctrines, paradoxes, blasphemies, madness, stupidity, despair, damnation.
  - Cures, *Subs.* 5. — By physic, if need be, conference, good counsel, persuasion, compulsion, correction, punishment. *Quæritur an cogi debent? Affir.*
- In defect, as *Memb.* 2.
  - Secure, void of grace and fears. — Epicures, atheists, magicians, hypocrites, such as have cauterized consciences, or else are in a reprobate sense, worldly secure, some philosophers, impenitent sinners, *Subs.* 1.
  - or
  - Distrustful, or too timorous, as desperate. In despair consider,
    - Causes, *Subs.* 2. — The devil and his allurements, rigid preachers, that wound their consciences, melancholy, contemplation, solitariness. How melancholy and despair differ. Distrust, weakness of faith. Guilty conscience for offence committed, misunderstanding Scr.
    - Symptoms, *Subs.* 3. — Fear, sorrow, anguish of mind, extreme tortures and horror of conscience, fearful dreams, conceits, visions, &c.
    - Prognostics. — Blasphemy, violent death, *Subs.* 4.
    - Cures, *S.* 5. — Physic, as occasion serves, conference, not to be idle or alone. Good counsel, good company, all comforts and contents, &c.

THE THIRD PARTITION.

LOVE-MELANCHOLY.

THE FIRST SECTION, MEMBER, SUBSECTION.

The Preface.

THERE will not be wanting, I presume, one or other that will much discommend some part of this treatise of love-melancholy, and object (which [1] Erasmus in his preface to Sir Thomas More suspects of his) "that it is too light for a divine, too comical a subject to speak of love symptoms, too fantastical, and fit alone for a wanton poet, a feeling young lovesick gallant, an effeminate courtier, or some such idle person." And 'tis true they say; for by the naughtiness of men it is so come to pass, as [2] Caussinus observes, *ut castis auribus vox amoris suspecta sit, et invisa*, the very name of love is odious to chaster ears; and therefore some again, out of an affected gravity, will dislike all for the name's sake before they read a word; dissembling with him in [3] Petronius, and seem to be angry that their ears are violated with such obscene speeches, that so they may be admired for grave philosophers and staid carriage. They cannot abide to hear talk of love toys, or amorous discourses, *vultu, gestu, oculis* in their

[1] Encom. Moriæ, leviores esse nugas quam ut Theologum decant. [2] Lib. 8, Eloquent. cap. 14, de affectibus mortalium vitio fit qui præclara quæque in pravos usus vertunt. [3] Quoties de amatoriis mentio facta est, tam vehementer excandui; tam severa tristitia violari aures meas obsceno sermone nolui, ut me tanquam unum ex Philosophis intuerentur.

outward actions averse, and yet in their cogitations they are all out as bad, if not worse than others.

[1] "Erubuit, posuitque meum Lucretia librum,
Sed coram Bruto, Brute recede, legit."

But let these cavillers and counterfeit Catos know, that as the Lord John answered the queen in that Italian [2] Guazzo, an old, a grave, discreet man is fittest to discourse of love matters, because he hath likely more experience, observed more, hath a more staid judgment, can better discern, resolve, discuss, advise, give better cautions, and more solid precepts, better inform his auditors in such a subject, and by reason of his riper years sooner divert. Besides, *nihil in hâc amoris voce subtimendum*, there is nothing here to be excepted at; love is a species of melancholy, and a necessary part of this my treatise, which I may not omit; *operi suscepto inserviendum fuit:* so Jacobus Mysillius pleadeth for himself in his translation of Lucian's dialogues, and so do I; I must and will perform my task. And that short excuse of Mercerus for his edition of Aristænetus shall be mine, [3] "If I have spent my time ill to write, let not them be so idle as to read." But I am persuaded it is not so ill spent, I ought not to excuse or repent myself of this subject, on which many grave and worthy men have written whole volumes, Plato, Plutarch, Plotinus, Maximus Tyrius, Alcinous, Avicenna, Leon Hebræus in three large dialogues, Xenophon, *sympos.* Theophrastus, if we may believe Athenæus, *lib.* 13, *cap.* 9, Picus Mirandula, Marius Æquicola, both in Italian, Kornmannus, *de lineâ Amoris, lib.* 3. Petrus Godefridus hath handled in three books, P. Hædus, and which almost every physician, as Arnoldus, Villanovanus, Valleriola, *Observat. med. lib.* 2, *observ.* 7, Ælian Montaltus and Laurentius in their treatises of melancholy, Jason Pratensis, *de morb. cap.* Valescus de Taranta, Gordonius, Hercules de Saxoniâ, Savanarola, Langius, &c., have treated of apart, and in their works. I ex-

[1] Martial. "In Brutus's presence Lucretia blushed and laid my book aside; when he retired, she took it up again and read." [2] Lib. 4, of civil conversation. [3] Si male locata est opera scribendo, ne ipsi locent in legendo.

cuse myself therefore with Peter Godefridus, Valleriola, Ficinus, and in [1] Langius's words: "Cadmus Milesius writ fourteen books of love, and why should I be ashamed to write an epistle in favour of young men, of this subject?" A company of stern readers dislike the second of the Æneids, and Virgil's gravity, for inserting such amorous passions in an heroical subject; but [2] Servius, his commentator, justly vindicates the poet's worth, wisdom, and discretion in doing as he did. Castalio would not have young men read the [3] Canticles, because to his thinking it was too light and amorous a tract, a ballad of ballads, as our old English translation hath it. He might as well forbid the reading of Genesis, because of the loves of Jacob and Rachel, the stories of Sichem and Dinah, Judah and Tamar; reject the Book of Numbers, for the fornications of the people of Israel with the Moabites; that of Judges, for Samson and Delilah's embracings; that of the Kings, for David and Bathsheba's adulteries, the incest of Amnon and Tamar, Solomon's concubines, &c., the stories of Esther, Judith, Susanna, and many such. Dicearchus, and some other, carp at Plato's majesty, that he would vouchsafe to indite such love toys; amongst the rest, for that dalliance with Agatho,

> "Suavia dans Agathoni, animam ipse in labrâ tenebam;
> Ægra etenim properans tanquam abitura fuit."

For my part, saith [4] Maximus Tyrius, a great Platonist himself, *me non tantum admiratio habet, sed etiam stupor*, I do not only admire but stand amazed to read, that Plato and Socrates both should expel Homer from their city, because he writ of such light and wanton subjects, *Quod Junonem cum Jove in Idâ concumbentes inducit, ab immortali nube contectos*, Vulcan's net, Mars and Venus's fopperies before all the gods, because Apollo fled when he was persecuted by Achilles, the

[1] Med. epist. l. 1, ep. 14. Cadmus Milesius, teste Suidâ, de hoc Erotico Amore 14 libros scripsit, nec me pigebit in gratiam adolescentum hanc scribere epistolam. [2] Comment. in 2 Æneid. [3] Meros amores meram impudicitiam sonare videtur nisi, &c. [4] Ser. 8.

[1] gods were wounded and ran whining away, as Mars that roared louder than Stentor, and covered nine acres of ground with his fall, Vulcan was a summer's day falling down from heaven, and in Lemnos Isle brake his leg, &c., with such ridiculous passages; when as both Socrates and Plato by his testimony writ lighter themselves; *quid enim tam distat* (as he follows it) *quam amans a temperante, formarum admirator a demente*, what can be more absurd than for grave philosophers to treat of such fooleries, to admire Autiloquus, Alcibiades, for their beauties as they did, to run after, to gaze, to dote on fair Phædrus, delicate Agatho, young Lysis, fine Charmides, *hæccine Philosophum decent?* Doth this become grave philosophers? Thus peradventure Callias, Thrasymachus, Polus, Aristophanes, or some of his adversaries and emulators might object; but neither they nor [2] Anytus and Melitus his bitter enemies, that condemned him for teaching Critias to tyrannize, his impiety for swearing by dogs and plane trees, for his juggling sophistry, &c., never so much as upbraided him with impure love, writing or speaking of that subject; and therefore without question, as he concludes, both Socrates and Plato in this are justly to be excused. But suppose they had been a little overseen, should divine Plato be defamed? no, rather as he said of Cato's drunkenness, if Cato were drunk, it should be no vice at all to be drunk. They reprove Plato then, but without cause (as [3] Ficinus pleads) "for all love is honest and good, and they are worthy to be loved that speak well of love." "Being to speak of this admirable affection of love" (saith [4] Valleriola) "there lies open a vast and philosophical field to my discourse, by which many lovers become mad, let me leave my more serious meditations, wander in these philosophical fields, and look

[1] Quod risum et eorum amores commemoret. [2] Quum multa ei objecissent quod Critiam tyrannidem docuisset, quod Platonem juraret loquacem sophistam, &c., accusationem amoris nullam fecerunt. Ideoque honestus amor, &c. [3] Carpunt alii Platonicam majestatem quod amori nimium indulserit, Dicearchus et alii; sed male. Omnis amor honestus et bonus, et amore digni qui bene dicunt de amore. [4] Med. obser. lib. 2, cap. 7, de admirando amoris affectu dicturus, ingens patet campus et philosophicus, quo sæpe homines ducuntur ad insaniam, libeat modo vagari, &c., quæ non ornent modo, sed fragrantiâ et succulentiâ jucundâ plenius alant, &c.

into those pleasant groves of the Muses, where, with unspeakable variety of flowers, we may make garlands to ourselves, not to adorn us only, but with their pleasant smell and juice to nourish our souls, and fill our minds desirous of knowledge," &c. After a harsh and unpleasing discourse of melancholy, which hath hitherto molested your patience and tired the author, give him leave with [1] Godefridus the lawyer, and Laurentius (*cap.* 5) to recreate himself in this kind after his laborious studies, "since so many grave divines and worthy men have without offence to manners, to help themselves and others, voluntarily written of it." Heliodorus, a bishop, penned a love story of Theagines and Chariclea, and when some Catos of his time reprehended him for it, chose rather, saith [2] Nicephorus, to leave his bishopric than his book. Æneas Sylvius, an ancient divine, and past forty years of age (as [3] he confesseth himself, after Pope Pius Secundus), indited that wanton history of Euryalus and Lucretia. And how many superintendents of learning could I reckon up that have written of light, fantastical subjects? Beroaldus, Erasmus, Alpheratius, twenty-four times printed in Spanish, &c. Give me leave then to refresh my muse a little, and my weary readers, to expatiate in this delightsome field, *hoc deliciarum campo*, as Fonseca terms it, to [4] season a surly discourse with a more pleasing aspersion of love matters; *Edulcare vitam convenit*, as the poet invites us, *curas nugis*, &c., 'tis good to sweeten our life with some pleasing toys to relish it, and as Pliny tells us, *magna pars studiosorum amœnitates quærimus*, most of our students love such pleasant [5] subjects. Though Macrobius teach us otherwise, [6] "that those old sages banished all such light tracts from their studies to nurse's cradles, to please only the ear;" yet out of Apuleius

[1] Lib. 1, præfat. de amoribus agens relaxandi animi causa laboriosissimis studiis fatigati; quando et Theologi se his juvari et juvare illæsis moribus volunt. [2] Hist. lib. 12, cap. 34. [3] Præfat. quid quadragenario convenit cum amore? Ego vero agnosco amatorium scriptum mihi non convenire, qui jam meridiem prætergressus in vesperem feror. Æneas Sylvius, præfat. [4] Ut severiora studia iis amœnitatibus lector condire possit. Accius. [5] Discum quam philosophum audire malunt. [6] In Som. Scip. e sacrario suo tum ad cunas nutricum sapientes eliminarunt, solas aurium delicias profitentes.

I will oppose as honourable patrons, Solon, Plato, [1] Xenophon, Adrian, &c., that as highly approve of these treatises. On the other side methinks they are not to be disliked, they are not so unfit. I will not peremptorily say as one did, [2] *tam suavia dicam facinora, ut male sit ei qui talibus non delectetur,* I will tell you such pretty stories, that foul befall him that is not pleased with them; *Neque dicam ea quæ vobis usui sit audivisse, et voluptati meminisse,* with that confidence as Beroaldus doth his enarrations on Propertius. I will not expect or hope for that approbation which Lipsius gives to his Epictetus; *pluris facio quum relego; semper ut novum, et quum repetivi, repetendum,* the more I read, the more shall I covet to read. I will not press you with my pamphlets, or beg attention, but if you like them you may. Pliny holds it expedient, and most fit, *severitatem jucunditate etiam in scriptis condire,* to season our works with some pleasant discourse; Synesius approves it, *licet in ludicris ludere,* the [3] poet admires it, *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci;* and there be those, without question, that are more willing to read such toys, than [4] I am to write; "Let me not live," saith Aretine's Antonia, "if I had not rather hear thy discourse, [5] than see a play!" No doubt but there be more of her mind, ever have been, ever will be, as [6] Hierome bears me witness. A far greater part had rather read Apuleius than Plato; Tully himself confesseth he could not understand Plato's Timæus, and therefore cared less for it; but every schoolboy hath that famous testament of Grunnius Corocotta Porcellus at his fingers' ends. The comical poet,

> "Id sibi negotî credidit solum dari,
> Populo ut placerent, quas fecisset fabulas," [7]

made this his only care and sole study to please the people, tickle the ear, and to delight; but mine earnest intent is as

[1] Babylonius et Ephesius, qui de Amore scripserunt, uterque amores Myrrhæ, Cyrenes, et Adonidis. Suidas. [2] Pet. Aretine. dial. Ital. [3] Hor. "He has accomplished every point who has joined the useful to the agreeable." [4] Legendi cupidiores, quam ego scribendi, saith Lucian. [5] Plus capio voluptatis inde, quam spectandis in theatro ludis. [6] Prœmio in Isaiam. Multo major pars Milesias fabulas revolventium quam Platonis libros. [7] "This he took to be his only business, that the plays which he wrote should please the people."

much to profit as to please; *non tam ut populo placerem, quam ut populum juvarem*, and these my writings, I hope, shall take like gilded pills, which are so composed as well to tempt the appetite, and deceive the palate, as to help and medicinally work upon the whole body; my lines shall not only recreate, but rectify the mind. I think I have said enough; if not, let him that is otherwise minded, remember that of * Maudarensis, "he was in his life a philosopher (as Ausonius apologizeth for him), in his epigrams a lover, in his precepts most severe; in his epistle to Cærellia, a wanton." Annianus, Sulpicius, Evemus, Menander, and many old poets besides, did *in scriptis prurire*, write Fescennines, Attellanes, and lascivious songs; *lætam materiam;* yet they had *in moribus censuram, et severitatem*, they were chaste, severe and upright livers.

> "Castum esse decet pium poetam
> Ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est,
> Qui tum denique habent salem et leporem." [1]

I am of Catullus's opinion, and make the same apology in mine own behalf; *Hoc etiam quod scribo, pendet plerumque ex aliorum sententiâ et auctoritate; nec ipse forsan insanio. sed insanientes sequor. Atqui detur hoc insanire me; semel insanivimus omnes, et tute ipse opinor insanis aliquando, et is, et ille, et ego, scilicet.*[2] *Homo sum, humani a me nihil alienum puto;* [3] And which he urgeth for himself, accused of the like fault, I as justly plead, [4] *lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba est.* Howsoever my lines err, my life is honest, [5] *vita verecunda est, musa jocosa mihi.* But I presume I need no such apologies, I need not, as Socrates in Plato, cover his face when he spake of love, or blush and hide mine

*In vita philosophus, in Epigram. amator, in Epistolis petulans, in præceptis severus. [1] "The poet himself should be chaste and pious, but his verses need not imitate him in these respects; they may therefore contain wit and humour." [2] "This that I write depends sometimes upon the opinion and authority of others; nor perhaps am I frantic, I only follow madmen; but thus far I may be deranged; we have all been so at some one time, and yourself, I think, art sometimes insane, and this man, and that man, and I also." [3] "I am mortal, and think no humane action unsuited to me." [4] Mart. [5] Ovid.

eyes, as Pallas did in her hood, when she was consulted by Jupiter about Mercury's marriage, *quod super nuptiis virgo consulitur*, it is no such lascivious, obscene or wanton discourse; I have not offended your chaster ears with anything that is here written, as many French and Italian authors in their modern language of late have done, nay some of our Latin pontifical writers, Zanches, Asorius, Abulensis, Burchardus, &c., whom [1] Rivet accuseth to be more lascivious than Virgil in Priapeiis, Petronius in Catalectis, Aristophanes in Lycistratæ, Martialis, or any other pagan profane writer, *qui tam atrocitèr* ([2] one notes) *hoc genere peccârunt ut multa ingeniosissimè scripta obscœnitatum gratiâ castæ mentes abhorreant.* 'Tis not scurrile this, but chaste, honest, most part serious, and even of religion itself. [3] "Incensed (as he said) with the love of finding love, we have sought it, and found it." More yet, I have augmented and added something to this light treatise (if light) which was not in the former editions, I am not ashamed to confess it, with a good [4] author, *quod extendi et locupletari hoc subjectum plerique postulabant, et eorum importunitate victus, animum utcunque renitentem eò adegi, ut jam sextâ vice calamum in manum sumerem, scriptionique longè et a studiis et professione meâ alienæ me accingerem, horas aliquas a seriis meis occupationibus interim suffuratus, easque veluti ludo cuidam ac recreationi destinans;*

[5] "Cogor———retrorsum
Vela dare, atque iterare cursus
Olim relictos"

etsi non ignorarem novos fortasse detractores novis hisce interpolationibus meis minimè defuturos.[6]

[1] Isago. ad sac. scrip. cap. 13. [2] Barthius, notis in Cœlestinam, ludum Hisp. [3] Ficinus, Comment. c. 17. Amore incensi inveniendi amoris, amorem quæsivimus et invenimus. [4] Author Cœlestinæ, Barth. interprete. "That, overcome by the solicitations of friends, who requested me to enlarge and improve my volumes, I have devoted my otherwise reluctant mind to the labour; and now for the sixth time have I taken up my pen, and applied myself to literature very foreign indeed to my studies and professional occupations, stealing a few hours from serious pursuits, and devoting them, as it were, to recreation." [5] Hor. lib. 1, Ode 34. "I am compelled to reverse my sails, and retrace my former course" [6] "Although I was by no means ignorant that new calumniators would not be wanting to censure my new introductions."

And thus much have I thought good to say by way of preface, lest any man (which [1] Godefridus feared in his book) should blame in me lightness, wantonness, rashness, in speaking of love's causes, enticements, symptoms, remedies, lawful and unlawful loves, and lust itself, [2] I speak it only to tax and deter others from it, not to teach, but to show the vanities and fopperies of this heroical or herculean love, [3] and to apply remedies unto it. I will treat of this with like liberty as of the rest.

> [4] "Sed dicam vobis, vos porro dicite multis
> Millibus, et facite hæc charta loquatur anus."

Condemn me not, good reader, then, or censure me hardly, if some part of this treatise to thy thinking as yet be too light; but consider better of it; *Omnia munda mundis*, [5] a naked man to a modest woman is no otherwise than a picture, as Augusta Livia truly said, and [6] *mala mens, malus animus*, 'tis as 'tis taken. If in thy censure it be too light, I advise thee as Lipsius did his reader for some places of Plautus, *istos quasi Sirenum scopulos prætervehare*, if they like thee not, let them pass; or oppose that which is good to that which is bad, and reject not therefore all. For to invert that verse of Martial, and with Hierom Wolfius to apply it to my present purpose, *sunt mala sunt quædam, mediocria, sunt bona plura;* some is good, some bad, some is indifferent. I say further with him yet, I have inserted ([7] *levicula quædam et ridicula ascribere non sum gravatus, circumforanea quædam e theatris, e plateis, etiam e popinis*) some things more homely, light, or comical, *litans gratiis*, &c., which I would request every man to interpret to the best, and as

[1] Hæc prædixi ne quis temere nos putaret scripsisse de amorum lenociniis, de praxi, fornicationibus, adulteriis, &c. [2] Taxando et ab his deterrendo humanam lasciviam et insaniam, sed et remedia docendo: non igitur candidus lector nobis succenseat, &c. Commonitio erit juvenibus hæc, hisce ut abstineant magis, et, omissa lascivia quæ homines reddit insanos, virtutis incumbant studiis, (Æneas Sylv.) et curam amoris si quis nescit, hinc poterit scire. [3] Martianus Capella, lib. 1, de nupt. philol. virginali suffusa rubore oculos peplo obnubens, &c. [4] Catullus. "What I tell you, do you tell to the multitude, and make this treatise gossip like an old woman." [5] Viros nudos castæ feminæ nihil a statuis distare. [6] Honi soit qui mal y pense. [7] Præf. Suid.

Julius Cæsar Scaliger besought Cardan (*si quid urbaniusculè lusum a nobis, per deos immortales te oro, Hieronyme Cardane, ne me malè capias*). I beseech thee, good reader, not to mistake me, or misconstrue what is here written; *Per Musas et Charites, et omnia Poëtarum numina, benigne lector, oro te ne me malè capias.* 'Tis a comical subject; in sober sadness I crave pardon of what is amiss, and desire thee to suspend thy judgment, wink at small faults, or to be silent at least; but if thou likest, speak well of it, and wish me good success. *Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem.**

I am resolved howsoever, *velis, nolis, audacter stadium intrare*, in the Olympics, with those Æliensian wrestlers in Philostratus, boldly to show myself in this common stage, and in this tragicomedy of love, to act several parts, some satirically, some comically, some in a mixed tone, as the subject I have in hand gives occasion, and present scene shall require, or offer itself.

Subsect. II.—*Love's Beginning, Object, Definition, Division.*

"Love's limits are ample and great, and a spacious walk it hath, beset with thorns," and for that cause, which [1]Scaliger reprehends in Cardan, "not lightly to be passed over." Lest I incur the same censure, I will examine all the kinds of love, his nature, beginning, difference, objects, how it is honest or dishonest, a virtue or vice, a natural passion, or a disease, his power and effects, how far it extends; of which, although something has been said in the first partition, in those sections of perturbations ([2]"for love and hatred are the first and most common passions, from which all the rest arise, and are attendant," as Picolomineus holds, or as Nich. Caussinus, the *primum mobile* of all other

* "O Arethusa, smile on this my last labour." [1] Exerc. 301. Campus amoris maximus et spinis obsitus, nec levissimo pede transvolandus. [2] Grad. 1, cap. 29, Ex Platone, primæ et communissimæ perturbationes ex quibus ceteræ oriuntur et earum sunt pedissequæ.

affections, which carry them all about them), I will now more copiously dilate, through all his parts and several branches, that so it may better appear what love is, and how it varies with the objects, how in defect, or (which is most ordinary and common) immoderate, and in excess, causeth melancholy.

Love universally taken is defined to be a desire, as a word of more ample signification; and though Leon Hebræus, the most copious writer of this subject, in his third dialogue makes no difference, yet in his first he distinguisheth them again, and defines love by desire. [1] "Love is a voluntary affection, and desire to enjoy that which is good. [2] Desire wisheth, love enjoys; the end of the one is the beginning of the other; that which we love is present; that which we desire is absent." [3] "It is worth the labour," saith Plotinus, "to consider well of love, whether it be a god or a devil, or passion of the mind, or partly god, partly devil, partly passion." He concludes love to participate of all three, to arise from desire of that which is beautiful and fair, and defines it to be "an action of the mind desiring that which is good." [4] Plato calls it the great devil, for its vehemency, and sovereignty over all other passions, and defines it an appetite, [5] "by which we desire some good to be present." Ficinus in his comment adds the word fair to this definition. Love is a desire of enjoying that which is good and fair. Austin dilates this common definition, and will have love to be a delectation of the heart, [6] "for something which we seek to win, or joy to have, coveting by desire, resting in joy." [7] Scaliger, *Exerc.* 301, taxeth these former definitions, and will not have love to be defined by desire or appetite;

[1] Amor est voluntarius affectus et desiderium re bonâ fruendi. [2] Desiderium optantis, amor eorum quibus fruimur; amoris principium, desiderii finis, amatum adest. [3] Principio, l. 4, de amore. Operæ pretium est de amore considerare, utrum Deus, an Dæmon, an passio quædam animæ, an partim Deus, partim Dæmon, passio partim, &c. Amor est actus animi bonum desideraus. [4] Magnus Dæmon. Convivio. [5] Boni pulchrique fruendi desiderium. [6] Godefridus, l. 1, cap. 2. Amor est delectatio cordis, alicujus ad aliquid, propter aliquod desiderium in appetendo, et gaudium perfruendo, per desiderium currens, requiescens per gaudium. [7] Non est amor desiderium aut appetitus ut ab omnibus hactenus traditum; nam cum potimur amatâ re, non manet appetitus; est igitur affectus quo cum re amatâ aut unimur, aut unionem perpetuamus.

"for when we enjoy the things we desire, there remains no more appetite;" as he defines it, "Love is an affection by which we are either united to the thing we love, or perpetuate our union;" which agrees in part with Leon Hebræus.

Now this love varies as its object varies, which is always good, amiable, fair, gracious, and pleasant. [1] "All things desire that which is good," as we are taught in the Ethics, or at least that which to them seems to be good; *quid enim vis mali* (as Austin well infers) *dic mihi? puto nihil in omnibus actionibus;* thou wilt wish no harm, I suppose, no ill in all thine actions, thoughts or desires, *nihil mali vis;* [2] thou wilt not have bad corn, bad soil, a naughty tree, but all good; a good servant, a good horse, a good son, a good friend, a good neighbour, a good wife. From this goodness comes beauty; from beauty, grace, and comeliness, which result as so many rays from their good parts, make us to love, and so to covet it; for were it not pleasing and gracious, in our eyes, we should not seek. [3] "No man loves (saith Aristotle, 9 *mor. cap.* 5), but he that was first delighted with comeliness and beauty." As this fair object varies, so doth our love; for as Proclus holds, *Omne pulchrum amabile*, every fair thing is amiable, and what we love is fair and gracious in our eyes, or at least we do so apprehend and still esteem of it. [4] "Amiableness is the object of love, the scope and end is to obtain it, for whose sake we love, and which our mind covets to enjoy." And it seems to us especially fair and good; for good, fair, and unity, cannot be separated. Beauty shines, Plato saith, and by reason of its splendour and shining causeth admiration; and the fairer the object is, the more eagerly it is sought. For as the same Plato defines it, [5] "Beauty is a lively, shining or glittering brightness,

[1] Omnia appetunt bonum. [2] Terram non vis malam, malam segetem, sed bonam arborem, equum bonum, &c. [3] Nemo amore capitur nisi qui fuerit ante forma specieque delectatus. [4] Amabile objectum amoris et scopus, cujus adeptio est finis, cujus gratia amamus. Animus enim aspirat ut eo fruatur, et formam boni habet et præcipue videtur et placet. Picolomineus, grad. 7, cap. 2, et grad. 8, cap. 35. [5] Forma est vitalis fulgor ex ipso bono manans, per ideas, semina, rationes, umbras effusus, animos excitans ut per bonum in unum redigantur.

resulting from effused good, by ideas, seeds, reasons, shadows, stirring up our minds, that by this good they may be united and made one." Others will have beauty to be the perfection of the whole composition, [1] "caused out of the congruous symmetry, measure, order and manner of parts, and that comeliness which proceeds from this beauty is called grace, and from thence all fair things are gracious." For grace and beauty are so wonderfully annexed, [2] "so sweetly and gently win our souls, and strongly allure, that they confound our judgment and cannot be distinguished. Beauty and grace are like those beams and shinings that come from the glorious and divine sun," which are diverse, as they proceed from the diverse objects, to please and affect our several senses. [3] "As the species of beauty are taken at our eyes, ears, or conceived in our inner soul," as Plato disputes at large in his *Dialogue de pulchro*, *Phædro*, *Hyppias*, and after many sophistical errors confuted, concludes that beauty is a grace in all things, delighting the eyes, ears, and soul itself; so that, as Valesius infers hence, whatsoever pleaseth our ears, eyes, and soul, must needs be beautiful, fair, and delightsome to us. [4] "And nothing can more please our ears than music, or pacify our minds." Fair houses, pictures, orchards, gardens, fields, a fair hawk, a fair horse is most acceptable unto us; whatsoever pleaseth our eyes and ears, we call beautiful and fair; [5] "Pleasure belongeth to the rest of the senses, but grace and beauty to these two alone." As the objects vary and are diverse, so they diversely affect our eyes, ears, and soul itself. Which gives occasion to some to make so many several kinds of love as there be objects. One beauty ariseth from God, of which and divine love S. Dionysius,[6] with many fathers and Neoterics, have written

[1] Pulchritudo est perfectio compositi ex congruente ordine, mensurâ et ratione partium consurgens, et venustas inde prodiens gratia dicitur et res omnes pulchræ gratiosæ. [2] Gratia et pulchritudo ita suaviter animos demulcent, ita vehementer alliciunt, et admirabiliter connectuntur, ut in unum confundant et distingui non possunt, et sunt tanquam radii et splendores divini solis in rebus variis vario modo fulgentes. [3] Species pulchritudinis hauriuntur oculis, auribus, aut concipiuntur internâ mente. [4] Nihil hinc magis animos conciliat quàm musica, pulchræ picturæ, ædes, &c. [5] In reliquis sensibus voluptas, in his pulchritudo et gratia. [6] Lib. 4, de divinis. Convivio Platonis.

just volumes, *De amore Dei*, as they term it, many parenetical discourses; another from his creatures; there is a beauty of the body, a beauty of the soul, a beauty from virtue, *formam martyrum*, Austin calls it, *quam videmus oculis animi*, which we see with the eyes of our mind; which beauty, as Tully saith, if we could discern with these corporeal eyes, *admirabiles sui amores excitaret*, would cause admirable affections, and ravish our souls. This other beauty which ariseth from those extreme parts, and graces which proceed from gestures, speeches, several motions, and proportions of creatures, men and women (especially from women, which made those old poets put the three graces still in Venus's company, as attending on her, and holding up her train) are infinite almost, and vary their names with their objects, as love of money, covetousness, love of beauty, lust, immoderate desire of any pleasure, concupiscence, friendship, love, good-will, &c., and is either virtue or vice, honest, dishonest, in excess, defect, as shall be showed in his place. Heroical love, religious love, &c., which may be reduced to a twofold division, according to the principal parts which are affected, the brain and liver. *Amor et amicitia*, which Scaliger, *Exercitat.* 301, Valesius and Melancthon warrant out of Plato φιλεῖν and ἐρᾶν from that speech of Pausanias belike, that makes two Veneres and two loves. [1] "One Venus is ancient without a mother, and descended from heaven, whom we call celestial; the younger, begotten of Jupiter and Dione, whom commonly we call Venus." Ficinus, in his comment upon this place, *cap.* 8, following Plato, calls these two loves, two devils, or good and bad angels according to us, which are still hovering about our souls. [2] "The one rears to heaven, the other depresseth us to hell; the one good, which stirs us up to the contemplation of that divine beauty for whose sake we perform justice and all

[1] Duæ Veneres duo amores; quarum una antiquior et sine matre, cœlo nata, quam cœlestem Venerem nuncupamus; altera vero junior a Jove et Dione prognata, quam vulgarem Venerem vocamus.

[2] Alter ad superna erigit, alter deprimit ad inferna; alter excitat hominem ad divinam pulchritudinem lustrandam, cujus causa philosophiæ studia et justitiæ, &c.

godly offices, study philosophy, &c.; the other base, and though bad yet to be respected; for indeed both are good in their own natures; procreation of children is as necessary as that finding out of truth, but therefore called bad, because it is abused, and withdraws our soul from the speculation of that other to viler objects," so far Ficinus. S. Austin, *lib.* 15, *de civ. Dei et sup.* Psal. lxiv. hath delivered as much in effect. [1] "Every creature is good, and may be loved well or ill;" and [2] "Two cities make two loves, Jerusalem and Babylon, the love of God the one, the love of the world the other; of these two cities we all are citizens, as by examination of ourselves, we may soon find, and of which." The one love is the root of all mischief, the other of all good. So, in his 15 *cap. lib. de amor. Ecclesiæ*, he will have those four cardinal virtues to be nought else but love rightly composed; in his 15 book *de civ. Dei*, *cap.* 22, he calls virtue the order of love, whom Thomas following, 1, *part.* 2, *quæst.* 55, *art.* 1, and *quæst.* 56, 3, *quæst.* 62, *art.* 2, confirms as much, and amplifies in many words. [3] Lucian, to the same purpose, hath a division of his own, "One love was born in the sea, which is as various and raging in young men's breasts as the sea itself, and causeth burning lust; the other is that golden chain which was let down from heaven, and with a divine fury ravisheth our souls, made to the image of God, and stirs us up to comprehend the innate and incorruptible beauty to which we were once created." Beroaldus hath expressed all this in an epigram of his: —

> "Dogmata divini memorant si vera Platonis,
> Sunt geminæ Veneres, et geminatus amor.
> Cœlestis Venus est nullo generata parente,
> Quæ casto sanctos nectit amore viros.
> Altera sed Venus est totum vulgata per orbem,
> Quæ divûm mentes alligat, atque hominum;
> Improba, seductrix, petulans," &c.

[1] Omnis creatura cum bona sit, et bene amari potest et male. [2] Duas civitates duo faciunt amores; Jerusalem facit amor Dei, Babylonem amor sæculi; unusquisque se quid amet interroget, et inveniet unde sit civis. [3] Alter mari ortus, ferox, varius, fluctuans, in animis juvenum, mare referens, &c., alter aurea catena, cœlo demissa, bonum furorem mentibus mittens, &c.

"If divine Plato's tenets they be true,
Two Veneres, two loves there be;
The one from heaven, unbegotten still,
Which knits our souls in unitie.
The other famous over all the world,
Binding the hearts of gods and men;
Dishonest, wanton, and seducing she,
Rules whom she will, both where and when."

This twofold division of love, Origen likewise follows, in his Comment on the Canticles, one from God, the other from the devil, as he holds (understanding it in the worse sense), which many others repeat and imitate. Both which (to omit all subdivisions) in excess or defect, as they are abused, or degenerate, cause melancholy in a particular kind, as shall be shown in his place. Austin, in another Tract, makes a threefold division of this love, which we may use well or ill: [1] "God, our neighbour, and the world: God above us, our neighbour next us, the world beneath us. In the course of our desires, God hath three things, the world one, our neighbour two. Our desire to God, is either from God, with God, or to God, and ordinarily so runs. From God, when it receives from him, whence, and for which it should love him; with God, when it contradicts his will in nothing; to God, when it seeks to him, and rests itself in him. Our love to our neighbour may proceed from him, and run with him, not to him: from him, as when we rejoice of his good safety, and well-doing; with him, when we desire to have him a fellow and companion of our journey in the way of the Lord; not in him, because there is no aid, hope, or confidence in man. From the world our love comes, when we begin to admire the Creator in his works, and glorify God in his creatures; with the world it should run, if, according to the mutability of all temporalities, it should be dejected in adversity, or over elevated in prosperity; to the world, if it would settle itself in its vain delights and studies." Many such partitions of

[1] Tria sunt, quæ amari a nobis benè vel malè possunt; Deus, proximus, mundus; Deus supra nos; juxta nos proximus; infra nos mundus. Tria Deus, duo proximus, unum mundus habet, &c.

love I could repeat, and subdivisions, but lest (which Scaliger objects to Cardan, *Exercitat.* 501,) [1] "I confound filthy burning lust with pure and divine love," I will follow that accurate division of Leon Hebræus, dial. 2, betwixt Sophia and Philo, where he speaks of natural, sensible, and rational love, and handleth each apart. Natural love or hatred, is that sympathy or antipathy which is to be seen in animate and inanimate creatures, in the four elements, metals, stones, *gravia tendunt deorsum*, as a stone to his centre, fire upward, and rivers to the sea. The sun, moon, and stars go still round, [2]*Amantes naturæ debita exercere*, for love of perfection. This love is manifest, I say, in inanimate creatures. How comes a loadstone to draw iron to it? jet chaff? the ground to covet showers, but for love? No creature, S. Hierom concludes, is to be found, *quod non aliquid amat*, no stock, no stone, that hath not some feeling of love. 'Tis more eminent in plants, herbs, and is especially observed in vegetables; as between the vine and elm a great sympathy, between the vine and the cabbage, between the vine and the olive, [3] *Virgo fugit Bromium*, between the vine and bays a great antipathy, the vine loves not the bay, [4] "nor his smell, and will kill him, if he grow near him;" the burr and the lentil cannot endure one another, the olive [5] and the myrtle embrace each other, in roots and branches if they grow near. Read more of this in Picolomineus, *grad.* 7, *cap.* 1, Crescentius, *lib.* 5, *de agric.* Baptista Porta, *de mag. lib.* 1, *cap. de plant. odio et element. sym.*, Fracastorius, *de sym. et antip.* of the love and hatred of planets, consult with every astrologer. Leon Hebærus gives many fabulous reasons, and moralizeth them withal.

Sensible love is that of brute beasts, of which the same Leon Hebræus, *dial.* 2, assigns these causes. First, for the pleasure they take in the act of generation, male and female

[1] Ne confundam vesanos et fœdos amores beatis, sceleratum cum puro, divino, et vero, &c. [2] Fonseca, cap. 1, Amor ex Augustini forsan lib. 11, de Civit. Dei. Amore inconcussus stat mundus, &c. [3] Alciat. [4] Porta: Vitis laurum non amat, nec ejus odorem; si prope crescat, enecat. Lappus lenti adversatur. [5] Sympathia olei et myrti ramorum et radicum se complectentium Mizaldus, secret. cent. 1, 47.

love one another. Secondly, for the preservation of the species, and desire of young brood. Thirdly, for the mutual agreement, as being of the same kind: *Sus sui, canis cani, bos bovi, et asinus asino pulcherrimus videtur*, as Epicharmus held, and according to that adage of Diogenianus, *Adsidet usque graculus apud graculum*, they much delight in one another's company, [1]*Formicæ grata est formica, cicada cicadæ*, and birds of a feather will gather together. Fourthly, for custom, use, and familiarity, as if a dog be trained up with a lion and a bear, contrary to their natures, they will love each other. Hawks, dogs, horses, love their masters and keepers; many stories I could relate in this kind, but see Gillius, *de hist. anim. lib.* 3, *cap.* 14, those two Epistles of Lipsius, of dogs and horses, Agellius, &c. Fifthly, for bringing up, as if a bitch bring up a kid, a hen ducklings, a hedge-sparrow a cuckoo, &c.

The third kind is *Amor cognitionis*, as Leon calls it, rational love, *Intellectivus amor*, and is proper to men, on which I must insist. This appears in God, angels, men. God is love itself, the fountain of love, the disciple of love, as Plato styles him; the servant of peace, the God of love and peace; have peace with all men and God is with you.

[2] "Quisquis veneratur Olympum,
Ipse sibi mundum subjicit atque Deum."

[3] "By this love (saith Gerson) we purchase heaven, and buy the kingdom of God." This [4] love is either in the Trinity itself (for the Holy Ghost is the love of the Father and the Son, &c., John iii. 35, and v. 20, and xiv. 31), or towards us His creatures, as in making the world. *Amor mundum fecit*, love built cities, *mundi anima*, invented arts, sciences, and all [5] good things, incites us to virtue and humanity, combines and quickens; keeps peace on earth, quietness by

[1] Theocritus, Idyll. 9. [2] Mantuan. [3] Charitas munifica, quâ mercamur de Deo regnum Dei. [4] Polanus, partit. Zanchius, de naturâ Dei, c. 3, copiose de hoc amore Dei agit. [5] Nich. Bellus, discurs. 28, de amatoribus, virtutem provocat, conservat pacem in terrâ tranquilliatitem in aëre, ventis lætitiam, &c.

sea, mirth in the winds and elements, expels all fear, anger, and rusticity; *Circulus a bono in bonum*, a round circle still from good to good; for love is the beginner and end of all our actions, the efficient and instrumental cause, as our poets in their symbols, impresses, [1] emblems of rings, squares, &c., shadow unto us,

> "Si rerum quæris fuerit quis finis et ortus,
> Desine; nam causa est unica solus amor."
>
> "If first and last of anything you wit,
> Cease; love's the sole and only cause of it."

Love, saith [2] Leo, made the world, and afterwards in redeeming of it, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son for it," John iii. 16. "Behold what love the Father hath showed on us, that we should be called the sons of God," 1 John iii. 1. Or by His sweet providence, in protecting of it; either all in general, or His saints elect and church in particular, whom He keeps as the apple of His eye, whom He loves freely, as Hosea xiv. 5 speaks, and dearly respects, [3] *Charior est ipsis homo quam sibi.* Not that we are fair, nor for any merit or grace of ours, for we are most vile and base; but out of His incomparable love and goodness, out of His Divine Nature. And this is that Homer's golden chain, which reacheth down from heaven to earth, by which every creature is annexed, and depends on his Creator. He made all, saith [4] Moses, "and it was good;" He loves it as good.

The love of angels and living souls is mutual amongst themselves, towards us militant in the church, and all such as love God; as the sunbeams irradiate the earth from those celestial thrones, they by their well wishes reflect on us, [5] *in salute hominum promovendâ alacres, et constantes administri*, there is joy in heaven for every sinner that repenteth; they pray for us, are solicitous for our good, [6] *Casti genii.*

[1] Camerarius, Emb. 100, cen. 2. [2] Dial. 3. [3] Juven. [4] Gen. i. [5] Caussinus. [6] Theodoret e Plotino.

"Ubi regnat charitas, suave desiderium,
Lætitiaque et amor Deo conjunctus." *

Love proper to mortal men is the third member of this subdivision, and the subject of my following discourse.

MEMB. II.

SUBSECT. I.—*Love of Men, which varies as his Objects, Profitable, Pleasant, Honest.*

VALESIUS, *lib* 3, *contr.* 13, defines this love which is in men, "to be [1]an affection of both powers, appetite, and reason." The rational resides in the brain, the other in the liver (as before hath been said out of Plato and others); the heart is diversely affected of both, and carried a thousand ways by consent. The sensitive faculty most part overrules reason, the soul is carried hoodwinked, and the understanding captive like a beast. [2]"The heart is variously inclined, sometimes they are merry, sometimes sad, and from love arise hope, and fear, jealousy, fury, desperation." Now this love of men is diverse, and varies as the object varies, by which they are enticed, as virtue, wisdom, eloquence, profit, wealth, money, fame, honour, or comeliness of person, &c. Leon Hebræus, in his first dialogue, reduceth them all to these three, *utile*, *jucundum*, *honestum*, profitable, pleasant, honest (out of Aristotle belike, 8 *moral.*); of which he discourseth at large, and whatsoever is beautiful and fair is referred to them, or any way to be desired. [3]"To profitable is ascribed health, wealth, honour, &c., which is rather ambition, desire, covetousness, than love;" friends, children, love of women, [4]all delightful and pleasant objects, are referred

* "Where charity prevails, sweet desire, joy, and love towards God are also present." [1] Affectus nunc appetitivæ potentiæ, nunc rationalis, alter cerebro residet, alter hepate, corde, &c. [2] Cor varie inclinatur, nunc gaudens, nunc mœrens; statim ex amore nascitur Zelotypia, timor, furor, spes, desperatio. [3] Ad utile sanitas refertur; utilium est ambitio, cupido, desiderium, potius quam amor, excessus, avaritia. [4] Picolom. grad. 7, cap. 1.

to the second. The love of honest things consists in virtue and wisdom, and is preferred before that which is profitable and pleasant; intellectual about that which is honest. [1] St. Austin calls "profitable, worldly; pleasant, carnal; honest, spiritual. [2] Of and from all three, result charity, friendship, and true love, which respects God and our neighbour." Of each of these I will briefly dilate, and show in what sort they cause melancholy.

Amongst all these fair enticing objects, which procure love, and bewitch the soul of man, there is none so moving, so forcible as profit; and that which carrieth with it a show of commodity. Health indeed is a precious thing, to recover and preserve which we will undergo any misery, drink bitter potions, freely give our goods; restore a man to his health, his purse lies open to thee, bountiful he is, thankful and beholding to thee; but give him wealth and honour, give him gold, or what shall be for his advantage and preferment, and thou shalt command his affections, oblige him eternally to thee; heart, hand, life, and all is at thy service, thou art his dear and loving friend, good and gracious lord and master, his Mæcenas; he is thy slave, thy vassal, most devote, affectioned, and bound in all duty; tell him good tidings in this kind, there spoke an angel, a blessed hour that brings in gain, he is thy creature, and thou his creator, he hugs and admires thee; he is thine forever. No loadstone so attractive as that of profit, none so fair an object as this of gold; [3] nothing wins a man sooner than a good turn, bounty and liberality command body and soul:

> "Munera (crede mihi) placant hominesque deosque;
> Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datis."
>
> "Good turns doth pacify both God and men,
> And Jupiter himself is won by them."

Gold of all other is a most delicious object; a sweet light, a goodly lustre it hath: *gratiùs aurum quàm solem intuemur*,

[1] Lib. de amicit. utile mundanum, carnale jucundum, spirituale honestum.
[2] Ex singulis tribus fit charitas et amicitia, quæ respicit deum et proximum.
[3] Benefactores præcipuè amamus. Vives, 3, de animâ.

saith Austin, and we had rather see it than the sun. Sweet and pleasant in getting, in keeping; it seasons all our labours, intolerable pains we take for it, base employments, endure bitter flouts and taunts, long journeys, heavy burdens, all are made light and easy by this hope of gain; *At mihi plaudo ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.* The sight of gold refresheth our spirits, and ravisheth our hearts, as that Babylonian garment and [1] golden wedge did Achan in the camp, the very sight and hearing sets on fire his soul with desire of it. It will make a man run to the antipodes, or tarry at home and turn parasite, lie, flatter, prostitute himself, swear and bear false witness; he will venture his body, kill a king, murder his father, and damn his soul to come at it. *Formosior auri massa*, as [2] he well observed, the mass of gold is fairer than all your Grecian pictures, that Apelles, Phidias, or any doating painter could ever make; we are enamoured with it,

> [3] "Prima ferè vota, et cunctis notissima templis,
> Divitiæ ut crescant."

All our labours, studies, endeavours, vows, prayers, and wishes, are to get, how to compass it.

> [4] "Hæc est illa cui famulatur maximus orbis,
> Diva potens rerum, domitrixque pecunia fati."

"This is the great goddess we adore and worship; this is the sole object of our desire." If we have it, as we think, we are made forever, thrice happy, princes, lords, &c. If we lose it, we are dull, heavy, dejected, discontent, miserable, desperate, and mad. Our estate and *benè esse* ebbs and flows with our commodity; and as we are endowed or enriched, so are we beloved and esteemed; it lasts no longer than our wealth; when that is gone, and the object removed, farewell friendship; as long as bounty, good cheer, and rewards were to be hoped, friends enough; they were tied to thee by the teeth, and would follow thee as crows do a carcass; but when thy goods are gone and spent, the lamp of their love is out, and

[1] Jos. 7. [2] Petronius Arbiter. [3] Juvenalis. [4] Joh. Secund. lib. sylvarum.

thou shalt be contemned, scorned, hated, injured. [1] Lucian's Timon, when he lived in prosperity, was the sole spectacle of Greece, only admired; who but Timon? Everybody loved, honoured, applauded him, each man offered him his service, and sought to be kin to him; but when his gold was spent, his fair possessions gone, farewell Timon; none so ugly, none so deformed, so odious an object as Timon, no man so ridiculous on a sudden, they gave him a penny to buy a rope, no man would know him.

'Tis the general humour of the world, commodity steers our affections throughout, we love those that are fortunate and rich, that thrive, or by whom we may receive mutual kindness, hope for like courtesies, get any good, gain, or profit; hate those, and abhor on the other side, which are poor and miserable, or by whom we may sustain loss or inconvenience. And even those that were now familiar and dear unto us, our loving and long friends, neighbours, kinsmen, allies, with whom we have conversed, and lived as so many Geryons for some years past, striving still to give one another all good content and entertainment, with mutual invitations, feastings, disports, offices, for whom we would ride, run, spend ourselves, and of whom we have so freely and honourably spoken, to whom we have given all those turgent titles, and magnificent eulogiums, most excellent and most noble, worthy, wise, grave, learned, valiant, &c., and magnified beyond measure; if any controversy arise between us, some trespass, injury, abuse, some part of our goods be detained, a piece of land come to be litigious, if they cross us in our suit, or touch the string of our commodity, we detest and depress them upon a sudden; neither affinity, consanguinity, or old acquaintance can contain us, but [2] *rupto jecore exierit Caprificus.* A golden apple sets altogether by the ears, as if a marrowbone or honeycomb were flung amongst bears; father and son, brother and sister, kinsmen are at odds; and look what malice, deadly hatred can invent, that shall be

[1] Lucianus, Timon. [2] Pers.

done, *Terribile, dirum, pestilens, atrox, ferum*, mutual injuries, desire of revenge, and how to hurt them, him and his, are all our studies. If our pleasures be interrupt, we can tolerate it; our bodies hurt, we can put it up and be reconciled; but touch our commodities, we are most impatient; fair becomes foul, the graces are turned to harpies, friendly salutations to bitter imprecations, mutual feastings to plotting villanies, minings and counterminings; good words to satires and invectives, we revile *e contrâ*, nought but his imperfections are in our eyes, he is a base knave, a devil, a monster, a caterpillar, a viper, a hogrubber, &c. *Desinit in piscem mulier formosa supernè;* [1] the scene is altered on a sudden, love is turned to hate, mirth to melancholy; so furiously are we most part bent, our affections fixed upon this object of commodity, and upon money, the desire of which in excess is covetousness; ambition tyrannizeth over our souls, as [2] I have shown, and in defect crucifies as much, as if a man by negligence, ill husbandry, improvidence, prodigality, waste and consume his goods and fortunes, beggary follows, and melancholy, he becomes an abject, [3] odious and "worse than an infidel, in not providing for his family."

Subsect. II.—*Pleasant Objects of Love.*

Pleasant objects are infinite, whether they be such as have life, or be without life; inanimate are countries, provinces, towers, towns, cities, as he said, [4] *Pulcherrimam insulam videmus, etiam cum non videmus*, we see a fair island by description, when we see it not. The [5] sun never saw a fairer city, Thessala Tempe, orchards, gardens, pleasant walks, groves, fountains, &c. The heaven itself is said to be [6] fair or foul; fair buildings, [7] fair pictures, all artificial, elaborate and curious works, clothes, give an admirable lustre; we admire, and gaze upon them, *ut pueri Junonis avem*, as

[1] "The bust of a beautiful woman with the tail of a fish." [2] Part. 1, sec. 2, memb. 3, sub. 12. [3] 1 Tim. v. 8. [4] Lips. epist. Camdeno. [5] Leland of St. Edmondsbury. [6] Cœlum serenum, cœlum visu fœdum. Polid. lib. 1, de Angliâ. [7] Credo equidem vivos ducent e marmore vultus.

children do on a peacock; a fair dog, a fair horse and hawk, &c. [1] *Thessalus amat equum pullinum, buculum Ægyptius, Lacedæmonius catulum*, &c., such things we love, are most gracious in our sight, acceptable unto us, and whatsoever else may cause this passion, if it be superfluous or immoderately loved, as Guianerius observes. These things in themselves are pleasing and good, singular ornaments, necessary, comely, and fit to be had; but when we fix an immoderate eye, and dote on them overmuch, this pleasure may turn to pain, bring much sorrow and discontent unto us, work our final overthrow, and cause melancholy in the end. Many are carried away with those bewitching sports of gaming, hawking, hunting, and such vain pleasures, as [2] I have said; some with immoderate desire of fame, to be crowned in the Olympics, knighted in the field, &c., and by these means ruinate themselves. The lascivious dotes on his fair mistress, the glutton on his dishes, which are infinitely varied to please the palate, the epicure on his several pleasures, the superstitious on his idol, and fats himself with future joys, as Turks feed themselves with an imaginary persuasion of a sensual paradise; so several pleasant objects diversely affect diverse men. But the fairest objects and enticings proceed from men themselves, which most frequently captivate, allure, and make them dote beyond all measure upon one another, and that for many respects: first, as some suppose, by that secret force of stars, (*quod me tibi temperat astrum?*) They do singularly dote on such a man, hate such again, and can give no reason for it. [3] *Non amo te Sabidi, &c.* Alexander admired Hephæstion, Adrian Antinous, Nero Sporus, &c. The physicians refer this to their temperament, astrologers to trine and sextile aspects, or opposite of their several ascendants, lords of their genitures, love and hatred of planets; [4] Cicogna, to concord and discord of spirits; but most to outward graces. A merry companion is welcome and acceptable to all men, and there-

[1] Max. Tyrius, ser. 9. [2] Part. 1, sec. 2, memb. 3. [3] Mart. [4] Omnif. mag. lib. 12, cap. 3.

fore, saith [1] Gomesius, princes and great men entertain jesters and players commonly in their courts. But [2] *Pares cum paribus facillime congregantur*, 'tis that [3] similitude of manners which ties most men in an inseparable link, as if they be addicted to the same studies or disports, they delight in one another's companies, "birds of a feather will gather together;" if they be of divers inclinations, or opposite in manners, they can seldom agree. Secondly, [4] affability, custom, and familiarity, may convert nature many times, though they be different in manners, as if they be countrymen, fellow-students, colleagues, or have been fellow-soldiers, [5] brethren in affliction, ([6] *acerba calamitatum societas, diversi etiam ingenii homines conjungit,*) affinity, or some such accidental occasion, though they cannot agree amongst themselves, they will stick together like burrs, and hold against a third; so after some discontinuance, or death, enmity ceaseth; or in a foreign place;

> "Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit:
> Et cecidere odia, et tristes mors obruit iras."

A third cause of love and hate, may be mutual offices, *acceptum beneficium*, [7] commend him, use him kindly, take his part in a quarrel, relieve him in his misery, thou winnest him forever; do the opposite, and be sure of a perpetual enemy. Praise and dispraise of each other, do as much, though unknown, as [8] Schoppius by Scaliger and Casaubonus: *mulus mulum scabit;* who but Scaliger with him? what encomiums, epithets, eulogiums? *Antistes sapientiæ, perpetuus dictator, literarum ornamentum, Europæ miraculum*, noble Scaliger,[9] *incredibilis ingenii præstantia*, &c., *diis potius*

[1] De sale geniali, l. 3, c. 15. [2] Theod. Prodromus, amor. lib. 3. [3] Similitudo morum parit amicitiam. [4] Vives, 3, de animâ. [5] Qui simul fecere naufragium, aut una pertulere vincula vel consilii conjurationisve societate junguntur, invicem amant: Brutum et Cassium invicem infensos Cæsarianus dominatus conciliavit. Æmilius Lepidus et Julius Flaccus, quum essent inimicissimi censores renunciati simultates illico deposuere. Scultet. cap. 4, de causâ amor. [6] Papinius. [7] Isocrates demonico præcipit ut quum alicujus amicitiam vellet, illum laudet, quod laus initium amoris sit, vituperatio simultatum. [8] Suspect. lect. lib. 1, cap. 2. [9] "The priest of wisdom, perpetual dictator, ornament of literature, wonder of Europe."

quam hominibus per omnia comparandus, scripta ejus aurea ancylia de cœlo delapsa poplitibus veneramur flexis, [1] &c., but when they began to vary, none so absurd as Scaliger, so vile and base, as his books *de Burdonum familiâ*, and other satirical invectives may witness. *Ovid. in Ibin*, Archilocus himself was not so bitter. Another great tie or cause of love, is consanguinity; parents are dear to their children, children to their parents, brothers and sisters, cousins of all sorts, as a hen and chickens, all of a knot; every crow thinks her own bird fairest. Many memorable examples are in this kind, and 'tis *portenti simile*, if they do not; [2] "a mother cannot forget her child;" Solomon so found out the true owner; love of parents may not be concealed, 'tis natural, descends, and they that are inhuman in this kind, are unworthy of that air they breathe, and of the four elements; yet many unnatural examples we have in this rank, of hard-hearted parents, disobedient children, of [3] disagreeing brothers, nothing so common. The love of kinsmen is grown cold, [4] "many kinsmen (as the saying is) few friends;" if thine estate be good, and thou able, *par pari referre*, to requite their kindness, there will be mutual correspondence, otherwise thou art a burden, most odious to them above all others. The last object that ties man and man, is comeliness of person, and beauty alone, as men love women with a wanton eye; which κατ' ἐξοχὴν is termed heroical, or love-melancholy. Other loves (saith Picolomineus) are so called with some contraction, as the love of wine, gold, &c., but this of women is predominant in a higher strain, whose part affected is the liver, and this love deserves a longer explication, and shall be dilated apart in the next section.

[1] "O incredible excellence of genius, &c., more comparable to gods' than man's in every respect we venerate your writings on bended knees, as we do the shield that fell from heaven." [2] Isa. xlix. [3] Rara est concordia fratrum. [4] Grad. 1, cap. 22.

Subsect. III.—*Honest Objects of Love.*

Beauty is the common object of all love, [1] "as jet draws a straw, so doth beauty love;" virtue and honesty are great motives and give as fair a lustre as the rest, especially if they be sincere and right, not fucate, but proceeding from true form, and an incorrupt judgment; those two Venus's twins, Eros and Anteros, are then most firm and fast. For many times otherwise men are deceived by their flattering gnathos, dissembling chameleons, outsides, hypocrites, that make a show of great love, learning, pretend honesty, virtue, zeal, modesty, with affected looks and counterfeit gestures; feigned protestations often steal away the hearts and favours of men, and deceive them, *specie virtutis et umbrâ*, when as *reverâ* and indeed, there is no worth or honesty at all in them, no truth, but mere hypocrisy, subtlety, knavery, and the like. As true friends they are, as he that Cælius Secundus met by the highway side; and hard it is in this temporizing age to distinguish such companions, or to find them out. Such gnathos as these for the most part belong to great men, and by this glozing flattery, affability, and such like philters, so dive and insinuate into their favours, that they are taken for men of excellent worth, wisdom, learning, demi-gods, and so screw themselves into dignities, honours, offices; but these men cause harsh confusion often, and as many stirs, as Rehoboam's counsellors in a commonwealth overthrew themselves and others. Tandlerus and some authors make a doubt, whether love and hatred may be compelled by philters or characters; Cardan and Marbodius, by precious stones and amulets; astrologers by election of times, &c., as [2] I shall elsewhere discuss. The true object of this honest love is virtue, wisdom, honesty, [3] real worth, *Interna forma*, and this love cannot deceive or be compelled, *ut ameris amabilis esto*, love itself is the most potent philtrum, virtue and wisdom, *gratia gratum faciens*,

[1] Vives, 3, de animâ, ut palcam succinum sic formam amor trahit. [2] Sect. seq.
[3] Nihil divinius homine probo.

the sole and only grace, not counterfeit but open, honest, simple, naked, [1] "descending from heaven," as our apostle hath it, an infused habit from God, which hath given several gifts, as wit, learning, tongues, for which they shall be amiable and gracious, Eph. iv. 11, as to Saul stature and a goodly presence, 1 Sam. ix. 1. Joseph found favour in Pharaoh's court, Gen. xxxix., for [2] his person; and Daniel with the princes of the eunuchs, Dan. xix. 19. Christ was gracious with God and men, Luke, ii. 52. There is still some peculiar grace, as of good discourse, eloquence, wit, honesty, which is the *primum mobile*, first mover, and a most forcible loadstone to draw the favours and good-wills of men's eyes, ears, and affections unto them. When "Jesus spake, they were all astonished at his answers (Luke ii. 47) and wondered at his gracious words which proceeded from his mouth." An orator steals away the hearts of men, and as another Orpheus, *quo vult, unde vult*, he pulls them to him by speech alone; a sweet voice causeth admiration; and he that can utter himself in good words, in our ordinary phrase, is called a proper man, a divine spirit. For which cause belike, our old poets, *Senatus populusque poetarum*, made Mercury the gentleman-usher to the Graces, captain of eloquence, and those charities to be Jupiter's and Eurynome's daughters descended from above. Though they be otherwise deformed, crooked, ugly to behold, those good parts of the mind denominate them fair. Plato commends the beauty of Socrates; yet who was more grim of countenance, stern, and ghastly to look upon? So are and have been many great philosophers, as [3] Gregory Nazianzen observes, "deformed most part in that which is to be seen with the eyes, but most elegant in that which is not to be seen." *Sæpe sub attritâ latitat sapientia veste.* Æsop. Democritus, Aristotle, Politianus, Melancthon, Gesner, &c., withered old men, *Sileni Alcibiades*, very harsh and impolite to the eye; but who were so terse, polite, eloquent, generally

[1] James iii. 10. [2] Gratior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus. [3] Orat. 18, deformes plerumque philosophi ad id quod in aspectum cadit, eâ parte elegantes quæ oculos fugit.

learned, temperate and modest? No man then living was so fair as Alcibiades, so lovely *quoad superficiem*, to the eye, as [1] Boethius observes, but he had *Corpus turpissimum interne*, a most deformed soul; honesty, virtue, fair conditions, are great enticers to such as are well given, and much avail to get the favour and good-will of men. Abdolominus in Curtius, a poor man (but which mine author notes [2] "the cause of his poverty was his honesty"), for his modesty and continency from a private person (for they found him digging in his garden) was saluted king, and preferred before all the magnificos of his time, *injecta ei vestis purpurâ auroque distincta*, "a purple embroidered garment was put upon him, [3] and they bade him wash himself, and, as he was worthy, take upon him the style and spirit of a king," continue his continency and the rest of his good parts. Titus Pomponius Atticus, that noble citizen of Rome, was so fair conditioned, of so sweet a carriage, that he was generally beloved of all good men, of Cæsar, Pompey, Antony, Tully, of divers sects, &c., *multas hæreditates* ([4] Cornelius Nepos writes) *solâ bonitate consequutus. Operæ pretium audire*, &c. It is worthy of your attention, Livy cries, [5] "you that scorn all but riches, and give no esteem to virtue, except they be wealthy withal, Q. Cincinnatus had but four acres, and by the consent of the senate was chosen dictator of Rome." Of such account were Cato, Fabricius, Aristides, Antonius, Probus, for their eminent worth; so Cæsar, Trajan, Alexander, admired for valour, [6] Hephæstion loved Alexander, but Parmenio the king: *Titus deliciæ humani generis*, and which Aurelius Victor hath of Vespasian, the darling of his time, as [7] Edgar Etheling was in England, for his [8] excellent virtues; their memory is yet fresh, sweet, and we love them many ages after, though they be dead: *Suavem memoriam sui reliquit*,

[1] 43, de consol. [2] Causa ei paupertatis, philosophia, sicut plerisque probitas fuit. [3] Ablue corpus et cape regis animum, et in eam fortunam, quâ dignus es continentiam istam profer. [4] Vita ejus. [5] Qui præ divitiis humana spernunt, nec virtuti locum putant nisi opes affluant. Q. Cincinnatus consensu patrum in dictatorem Romanum electus. [6] Curtius. [7] Edgar Etheling, England's darling. [8] Morum suavitas, obvia comitas, prompta officia mortalium animos demerentur.

saith Lipsius of his friend, living and dead they are all one. [1] "I have ever loved as thou knowest (so Tully wrote to Dolabella) Marcus Brutus for his great wit, singular honesty, constancy, sweet conditions; and believe it [2] there is nothing so amiable and fair as virtue." "I [3] do mightily love Calvisinus, (so Pliny writes to Sossius,) a most industrious, eloquent upright man, which is all in all with me;" the affection came from his good parts. And as St. Austin comments on the 84th Psalm, [4] "there is a peculiar beauty of justice, and inward beauty, which we see with the eyes of our hearts, love, and are enamoured with, as in martyrs, though their bodies be torn in pieces with wild beasts, yet this beauty shines, and we love their virtues." The [5] stoics are of opinion that a wise man is only fair; and Cato in Tully, 3 *de Finibus*, contends the same, that the lineaments of the mind are far fairer than those of the body, incomparably beyond them; wisdom and valour according to [6] Xenophon, especially deserves the name of beauty, and denominate one fair, *et incomparabiliter pulchrior est* (as Austin holds) *veritas Christianorum quam Helena Græcorum.* "Wine is strong, the king is strong, women are strong, but truth overcometh all things," Esd. i. 3, 10, 11, 12. "Blessed is the man that findeth wisdom, and getteth understanding; for the merchandise thereof is better than silver, and the gain thereof better than gold; it is more precious than pearls, and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared to her," Prov. ii. 13, 14, 15; a wise, true, just, upright, and good man, I say it again, is only fair; [7] it is reported of Magdalene Queen of France, and wife to Lewis XI., a Scottish woman by birth, that walking forth in an evening with her ladies,

[1] Epist. lib. 8. Semper amavi ut tu scis, M. Brutum propter ejus summum ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem probitatem et constantiam; nihil est, mihi erede, virtute formosius, nihil amabilius. [2] Ardentes amores excitaret, si simulacrum ejus ad oculos penetraret. Plato Phædone. [3] Epist. lib. 4, Validissimè diligo virum rectum, disertum, quod apud me potentissimum est. [4] Est quædam pulchritudo justitiæ quam videmus oculis cordis, amamus, et exardescimus, ut in matyribus, quum eorum membra bestiæ lacerarent, etsi alias deformes, &c. [5] Lipsius, manuduc. ad Phys. Stoic. lib. 3, diff. 17, solus sapiens pulcher. [6] Fortitudo et prudentia pulchritudinis laudem præcipue merentur. [7] Franc. Belforist. in hist. an. 1430.

she spied M. Alanus, one of the king's chaplains, a silly, old, [1] hard-favoured man fast asleep in a bower, and kissed him sweetly; when the young ladies laughed at her for it, she replied, that it was not his person that she did embrace and reverence, but, with a platonic love, the divine beauty of [2] his soul. Thus in all ages virtue hath been adored, admired, a singular lustre hath proceeded from it; and the more virtuous he is, the more gracious, the more admired. No man so much followed upon earth as Christ himself; and as the Psalmist saith, xlv. 2, "He was fairer than the sons of men." Chrysostom, *Hom.* 8, *in Mat.* Bernard, *Ser.* 1, *de omnibus sanctis;* Austin Cassiodore, *Hier. in* 9 *Mat.* interpret it of the [3] beauty of his person; there was a divine majesty in his looks, it shined like lightning and drew all men to it; but Basil, *Cyril. lib.* 6, *super* 55 *Esay.* Theodoret, Arnobius, &c., of the beauty of his divinity, justice, grace, eloquence, &c., Thomas in Psal. xliv. of both; and so doth Barradius and Peter Morales, *lib. de pulchritud. Jesu et Mariæ*, adding as much of Joseph and the Virgin Mary,——*hæc alios formâ præcesserit omnes*, [4] according to that prediction of Sibylla Cumea. Be they present or absent, near us, or afar off, this beauty shines, and will attract men many miles to come and visit it. Plato and Pythagoras left their country, to see those wise Egyptian priests; Apollonius travelled into Æthiopia, Persia, to consult with the Magi, Brachmanni, gymnosophists. The Queen of Sheba came to visit Solomon; and "many," saith [5] Hierom, "went out of Spain and remote places a thousand miles, to behold that eloquent Livy:" [6] *Multi Romam non ut urbem pulcherrimam, aut urbis et orbis dominum Octavianum, sed ut hunc unum inviserent audirentque, a Gadibus profecti sunt.* No beauty leaves such an impression, strikes so deep, [7] or links the souls of men closer than virtue.

[1] Erat autem fœde deformis, et ea forma, qua citius pueri terreri possent, quam invitari ad osculum puellæ. [2] Deformis iste etsi videatur senex, divinum animum habet. [3] Fulgebat vultu suo: fulgor et divina majestas homines ad se trahentes. [4] "She excelled all others in beauty." [5] Præfat. bib. vulgar. [6] Pars inscrip. Tit. Livii statuæ Patavii. [7] A true love's knot.

[1] "Non per deos aut pictor posset,
Aut statuarius ullus fingere
Talem pulchritudinem qualem virtus habet;"

"no painter, no graver, no carver can express virtue's lustre, or those admirable rays that come from it, those enchanting rays that enamour posterity, those everlasting rays that continue to the world's end." Many, saith Phavorinus, that loved and admired Alcibiades in his youth, knew not, cared not for Alcibiades a man, *nunc intuentes quærebant Alcibiadem;* but the beauty of Socrates is still the same; [2] virtue's lustre never fades, is ever fresh and green, *semper viva* to all succeeding ages, and a most attractive loadstone, to draw and combine such as are present. For that reason belike, Homer feigns the three Graces to be linked and tied hand in hand, because the hearts of men are so firmly united with such graces. [3] "O sweet bands (Seneca exclaims), which so happily combine, that those which are bound by them love their binders, desiring withal much more harder to be bound," and as so many Geryons to be united into one. For the nature of true friendship is to combine, to be like affected of one mind,

[4] "Velle et nolle ambobus idem, satiataque toto
Mens ævo"

as the poet saith, still to continue one and the same. And where this love takes place there is peace and quietness, a true correspondence, perfect amity, a diapason of vows and wishes, the same opinions, as between [5] David and Jonathan, Damon and Pythias, Pylades and Orestes, [6] Nisus and Euryalus, Theseus and Pirithous, [7] they will live and die together, and prosecute one another with good turns. [8] *Nam vinci in amore turpissimum putant*, not only living, but when their friends are dead, with tombs and monuments, Nenias, epi-

[1] Stobæus e Græco. [2] Solinus, pulchri nulla est facies. [3] O dulcissimi laquei, qui tam feliciter devinciunt, ut etiam a vinctis diligantur, qui a gratiis vincti sunt, cupiunt arctius deligari et in unum redigi. [4] Statius. [5] "He loved him as he loved his own soul," 1 Sam. xv. 1. "Beyond the love of women." [6] Virg. 9 Æn. Qui super exanimem sese conjecit amicum confossus. [7] Amicus animæ dimidium, Austin. confess. 4, cap. 6. Quod de Virgilio Horatius: Et serves animæ dimidium meæ [8] Plinius.

taphs, elegies, inscriptions, pyramids, obelisks, statues, images, pictures, histories, poems, annals, feasts, anniversaries, many ages after (as Plato's scholars did) they will *parentare* still, omit no good office that may tend to the preservation of their names, honours, and eternal memory. [1] *Illum coloribus, illum cerâ, illum ære*, &c. "He did express his friends in colours, in wax, in brass, in ivory, marble, gold, and silver, (as Pliny reports of a citizen in Rome,) and in a great auditory not long since recited a just volume of his life." In another place, [2] speaking of an epigram which Martial had composed in praise of him, [3] "He gave me as much as he might, and would have done more if he could; though what can a man give more than honour, glory, and eternity? But that which he wrote peradventure, will not continue, yet he wrote it to continue." 'Tis all the recompense a poor scholar can make his well-deserving patron, Mæcenas, friend, to mention him in his works, to dedicate a book to his name, to write his life, &c., as all our poets, orators, historiographers have ever done, and the greatest revenge such men take of their adversaries, to persecute them with satires, invectives, &c., * and 'tis both ways of great moment, as [4] Plato gives us to understand. Paulus Jovius, in the fourth book of the life and deeds of Pope Leo Decimus, his noble patron, concludes in these words, [5] "Because I cannot honour him as other rich men do, with like endeavour, affection, and piety, I have undertaken to write his life; since my fortunes will not give me leave to make a more sumptuous monument, I will perform those rites to his sacred ashes, which a small, perhaps, but a liberal wit can afford." But I rove. Where this true love is wanting, there can be no firm peace, friendship from teeth

[1] Illum argento et auro, illum ebore, marmore effingit, et nuper ingenti adhibito auditorio ingentem de vitâ ejus librum recitavit, epist. lib. 4, epist. 68. [2] Lib. iv. ep. 61. Prisco suo. [3] Dedit mihi quantum potuit maximum, daturus amplius si potuisset. Tametsi quid homini dari potest majus quam gloria, laus, et æternitas? At non erunt fortasse quæ scripsit. Ille tamen scripsit tanquam essent futura. * For, genus irritabile vatum. [4] Lib. 13, de Legibus. Magnam enim vim habent, &c. [5] Pari tamen studio et pietate conscribendæ vitæ ejus munus suscepi, et postquam sumptuosa condere pro fortunâ non licuit, exiguo sed eo forte liberalis ingenii monumento justa sanctissimo cineri solventur.

outward, counterfeit, or for some by-respects, so long dissembled, till they have satisfied their own ends, which, upon every small occasion, breaks out into enmity, open war, defiance, heart-burnings, whispering, calumnies, contentions, and all manner of bitter melancholy discontents. And those men which have no other object of their love than greatness, wealth, authority, &c., are rather feared than beloved; *nec amant quemquam, nec amantur ab ullo;* and howsoever borne with for a time, yet for their tyranny and oppression, griping, covetousness, currish hardness, folly, intemperance, imprudence, and such like vices, they are generally odious, abhorred of all, both God and men.

> "Non uxor salvum te vult, non filius, omnes
> Vicini oderunt,"

"wife and children, friends, neighbours, all the world forsakes them, would feign be rid of them," and are compelled many times to lay violent hands on them, or else God's judgments overtake them; instead of graces, come furies. So when fair [1] Abigail, a woman of singular wisdom, was acceptable to David, Nabal was churlish and evil-conditioned; and therefore [2] Mordecai was received, when Haman was executed, Haman the favourite, "that had his seat above the other princes, to whom all the king's servants that stood in the gates, bowed their knees and reverenced." Though they flourish many times, such hypocrites, such temporizing foxes, and blear the world's eyes by flattery, bribery, dissembling their natures, or other men's weakness, that cannot so apprehend their tricks, yet in the end they will be discerned, and precipitated, in a moment; "surely," saith David, "thou hast set them in slippery places," Ps. xxxvii. 5, as so many Sejani, they will come down to the Gemonian scales; and as Eusebius in [3] Ammianus, that was in such authority, *ad jubendum Imperatorem*, be cast down headlong on a sudden. Or put case they escape, and rest unmasked to their lives' end, yet after their death their memory stinks as a snuff of

[1] 1 Sam. xxv. 3. [2] Esther iii. 2. [3] Amm. Marcellinus, l. 14.

a candle put out, and those that durst not so much as mutter against them in their lives, will prosecute their name with satires, libels, and bitter imprecations, they shall *malè audire* in all succeeding ages, and be odious to the world's end.

MEMB. III.

Charity composed of all three Kinds, Pleasant, Profitable, Honest.

Besides this love that comes from profit, pleasant, honest (for one good turn asks another in equity), that which proceeds from the law of nature, or from discipline and philosophy, there is yet another love compounded of all these three, which is charity, and includes piety, dilection, benevolence, friendship, even all those virtuous habits; for love is the circle equant of all other affections, of which Aristotle dilates at large in his Ethics, and is commanded by God, which no man can well perform, but he that is a Christian, and a true regenerate man; this is, [1] "To love God above all, and our neighbour as ourself;" for this love is *lychnus accendens et accensus*, a communicating light, apt to illuminate itself as well as others. All other objects are fair, and very beautiful, I confess; kindred, alliance, friendship, the love that we owe to our country, nature, wealth, pleasure, honour, and such moral respects, &c., of which read [2] copious Aristotle in his morals; a man is beloved of a man, in that he is a man; but all these are far more eminent and great, when they shall proceed from a sanctified spirit, that hath a true touch of religion, and a reference to God. Nature binds all creatures to love their young ones; a hen to preserve her brood will run upon a lion, a hind will fight with a bull, a sow with

[1] Ut mundus duobus polis sustentatur: ita lex Dei, amore Dei et proximi; duobus his fundamentis vincitur; machina mundi corruit, si una de polis turbatur; lex perit divina si una ex his. [2] 8 et 9 libro.

a bear, a silly sheep with a fox. So the same nature urgeth a man to love his parents, ([1] *dii me pater omnes oderint, ni te magis quam oculos amem meos!*) and this love cannot be dissolved, as Tully holds, [2] "without detestable offence;" but much more God's commandment, which enjoins a filial love, and an obedience in this kind. [3] "The love of brethren is great, and like an arch of stones, where if one be displaced, all comes down," no love so forcible and strong, honest, to the combination of which, nature, fortune, virtue, happily concur; yet this love comes short of it. [4] *Dulce et decorum pro patriâ mori*, [5] it cannot be expressed, what a deal of charity that one name of country contains. *Amor laudis et patriæ pro stipendio est;* the Decii did *se devovere*, Horatii, Curii, Scævola, Regulus, Codrus, sacrifice themselves for their country's peace and good.

[6] "Una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes,
Ad bellum missos perdidit una dies."

"One day the Fabii stoutly warred,
One day the Fabii were destroyed."

Fifty thousand Englishmen lost their lives willingly near Battle Abbey, in defence of their country. [7] P. Æmilius, *l.* 6, speaks of six senators of Calais, that came with halters in their hands to the king of England, to die for the rest. This love makes so many writers take such pains, so many historiographers, physicians, &c., or at least, as they pretend, for common safety, and their country's benefit. [8] *Sanctum nomen amicitiæ, sociorum communio sacra;* friendship is a holy name, and a sacred communion of friends. [9] "As the sun is in the firmament, so is friendship in the world," a most divine and heavenly band. As nuptial love makes, this perfects mankind, and is to be preferred (if you will stand to

[1] Ter. Adelph. 4, 5. [2] De Amicit. [3] Charitas parentum dilui nisi detestabili scelere non potest, lapidum fornicibus simillima, casura, nisi se invicem sustentaret. Seneca. [4] "It is sweet to die for one's country." [5] Dii immortales, dici non potest quantum charitatis nomen illud habet. [6] Ovid. Fast. [7] Anno 1347. Jacob Mayer. Annal. Fland. lib. 12. [8] Tully. [9] Lucianus, Toxari. Amicitia ut sol in mundo, &c.

the judgment of [1] Cornelius Nepos) before affinity or consanguinity; *plus in amicitiâ valet similitudo morum quam affinitas, &c.*, the cords of love bind faster than any other wreath whatsoever. Take this away, and take all pleasure, joy, comfort, happiness, and true content out of the world; 'tis the greatest tie, the surest indenture, strongest band, and, as our modern Maro decides it, is much to be preferred before the rest.

[2] "Hard is the doubt, and difficult to deem,
When all three kinds of love together meet;
And do dispart the heart with power extreme,
Whether shall weigh the balance down; to wit,
The dear affection unto kindred sweet,
Or raging fire of love to women kind,
Or zeal of friends, combin'd by virtues meet;
But of them all the band of virtuous mind,
Methinks the gentle heart should most assured bind.

"For natural affection soon doth cease,
And quenched is with Cupid's greater flame;
But faithful friendship doth them both suppress,
And them with mastering discipline doth tame,
Through thoughts aspiring to eternal fame.
For as the soul doth rule the earthly mass,
And all the service of the body frame,
So love of soul doth love of body pass,
No less than perfect gold surmounts the meanest brass."

[3] A faithful friend is better than [4] gold, a medicine of misery, [5] an only possession; yet this love of friends, nuptial, heroical, profitable, pleasant, honest, all three loves put together, are little worth, if they proceed not from a true Christian illuminated soul, if it be not done *in ordine ad Deum*, for God's sake. "Though I had the gift of prophecy, spake with tongues of men and angels, though I feed the poor with all my goods, give my body to be burned, and have not this love, it profiteth me nothing," 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 3, 'tis *splendidum peccatum*, without charity. This is an all-apprehending love, a deifying love, a refined, pure, divine love, the quintessence

[1] Vit. Pompon Attici. [2] Spenser, Faërie Queene, lib. 5, cant. 9, staff. 1, 2. [3] Siracides. [4] Plutarch, preciosum numisma. [5] Xenophon, verus amicus præstantissima possessio.

of all love, the true philosopher's stone, *Non potest enim*, as [1] Austin infers, *veraciter amicus esse hominis, nisi fuerit ipsius primitus veritatis*, He is no true friend that loves not God's truth. And therefore this is true love indeed, the cause of all good to mortal men, that reconciles all creatures, and glues them together in perpetual amity and firm league; and can no more abide bitterness, hate, malice, than fair and foul weather, light and darkness, sterility and plenty may be together; as the sun in the firmament (I say), so is love in the world; and for this cause, 'tis love without an addition, love, love of God, and love of men. [2] "The love of God begets the love of man; and by this love of our neighbour, the love of God is nourished and increased." By this happy union of love, [3] "all well governed families and cities are combined, the heavens annexed, and divine souls complicated, the world itself composed, and all that is in it conjoined in God, and reduced to one. [4] This love causeth true and absolute virtues, the life, spirit, and root of every virtuous action, it finisheth prosperity, easeth adversity, corrects all natural incumbrances, inconveniences, sustained by faith and hope, which with this our love make an indissoluble twist, a Gordian knot, an equilateral triangle, and yet the greatest of them is love," 1 Cor. xiii. 13, [5] "which inflames our souls with a divine heat, and being so inflamed, purged, and so purgeth, elevates to God, makes an atonement, and reconciles us unto him." [6] That other love infects the soul of man, this cleanseth; that depresses, this rears; that causeth cares and troubles, this quietness of mind; this informs, that deforms our life; that leads to repentance, this to heaven." For if once we be truly linked and touched with this charity, we shall love God above all, our neighbour as ourself, as we are enjoined, Mark xii.

[1] Epist. 52. [2] Greg. Per amorem Dei, proximi gignitur; et per hunc amorem proximi, Dei nutritur. [3] Picolomineus, grad. 7, cap. 27, hoc felici amoris nodo ligantur familiæ, civitates, &c. [4] Veras absolutas hæc parit virtutes, radix omnium virtutum, mens et spiritus. [5] Divino calore animos incendit, incensos purgat, purgatos elevat ad Deum, Deum placat, hominem Deo conciliat. Bernard. [6] Ille inficit, hic perficit; ille deprimit, hic elevat; hic tranquillitatem, ille curas parit: hic vitam rectè informat, ille deformat, &c.

31, Matt. xix. 19, perform those duties and exercises, even all the operations of a good Christian.

"This love suffereth long, it is bountiful, envieth not, boasteth not itself, is not puffed up, it deceiveth not, it seeketh not his own things, is not provoked to anger, it thinketh not evil, it rejoiceth not in iniquity, but in truth. It suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things," 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5, 6, 7; "it covereth all trespasses," Prov. x. 12; "a multitude of sins," 1 Pet. iv. 8, as our Saviour told the woman in the Gospel, that washed his feet, "many sins were forgiven her, for she loved much," Luke vii. 47; "it will defend the fatherless and the widow," Isa. i. 17; "will seek no revenge, or be mindful of wrong," Levit. xix. 18; "will bring home his brother's ox if he go astray, as it is commanded," Deut. xxii. 1; "will resist not evil, give to him that asketh, and not turn from him that borroweth, bless them that curse him, love his enemy," Matt. v.; "bear his brother's burden," Gal. vi. 2. He that so loves will be hospitable, and distribute to the necessities of the saints; he will, if it be possible, have peace with all men, "feed his enemy if he be hungry, if he be athirst give him drink;" he will perform those seven works of mercy, "he will make himself equal to them of the lower sort, rejoice with them that rejoice, weep with them that weep," Rom. xii.; he will speak truth to his neighbour, be courteous and tender-hearted, "forgiving others for Christ's sake, as God forgave him," Eph. iv. 32; "he will be like-minded," Phil. ii. 2. "Of one judgment; be humble, meek, long-suffering," Colos. iii. "Forbear, forget and forgive," xii. 13, 23, and what he doth shall be heartily done to God, and not to men. "Be pitiful and courteous," 1 Pet iii. "Seek peace and follow it." He will love his brother, not in word and tongue, but in deed and truth, John iii. 18, "and he that loves God, Christ will love him that is begotten of him," John v. 1, &c. Thus should we willingly do, if we had a true touch of this charity, of this divine love, if we could perform this which we are enjoined, forget and forgive, and compose ourselves to those Christian laws of love.

[1] "O felix hominum genus,
Si vestros animos amor
Quo cœlum regitur regat!"

"Angelical souls, how blessed, how happy should we be, so loving, how might we triumph over the devil, and have another heaven upon earth!"

But this we cannot do; and which is the cause of all our woes, miseries, discontent, melancholy, [2] want of this charity. We do *invicem angariare*, contemn, consult, vex, torture, molest, and hold one another's noses to the grindstone hard, provoke, rail, scoff, calumniate, challenge, hate, abuse (hard-hearted, implacable, malicious, peevish, inexorable as we are), to satisfy our lust or private spleen, for [3] toys, trifles, and impertinent occasions, spend ourselves, goods, friends, fortunes, to be revenged on our adversary, to ruin him and his. 'Tis all our study, practice, and business how to plot mischief, mine, countermine, defend and offend, ward ourselves, injure others, hurt all; as if we were born to do mischief, and that with such eagerness and bitterness, with such rancour, malice, rage, and fury, we prosecute our intended designs, that neither affinity or consanguinity, love or fear of God or men can contain us; no satisfaction, no composition will be accepted, no offices will serve, no submission; though he shall upon his knees, as Sarpedon did to Glaucus in Homer, acknowledging his error, yield himself with tears in his eyes, beg his pardon, we will not relent, forgive, or forget, till we have confounded him and his, "made dice of his bones," as they say, see him rot in prison, banish his friends, followers, *et omne invisum genus*, rooted him out and all his posterity. Monsters of men as we are, dogs, wolves, [4] tigers, fiends, incarnate devils, we do not only contend, oppress, and tyrannize ourselves, but as so many firebrands, we set on, and animate others; our whole life is a perpetual combat, a conflict, a set battle, a snarling fit. *Eris dea* is settled in our

[1] Boethius, lib. 2, met. 8. [2] Deliquium patitur charitas, odium ejus loco succedit. Basil. l. ser. de instit. mon. [3] Nodum in scirpo quærentes. [4] Hirum canæque admôrunt ubera tigres.

tents, [1]*Omnia de lite*, opposing wit to wit, wealth to wealth, strength to strength, fortunes to fortunes, friends to friends, as at a sea-fight, we turn our broadsides, or two millstones with continual attrition, we fire ourselves, or break one another's backs, and both are ruined and consumed in the end. Miserable wretches, to fat and enrich ourselves, we care not how we get it, *Quocunque modo rem;* how many thousands we undo, whom we oppress, by whose ruin and downfall we arise, whom we injure, fatherless children, widows, common societies, to satisfy our own private lust. Though we have myriads, abundance of wealth and treasure (pitiless, merciless, remorseless, and uncharitable in the highest degree), and our poor brother in need, sickness, in great extremity, and now ready to be starved for want of food, we had rather, as the fox told the ape, his tail should sweep the ground still, than cover his buttocks; rather spend it idly, consume it with dogs, hawks, hounds, unnecessary buildings, in riotous apparel, ingurgitate, or let it be lost, than he should have part of it; [2]rather take from him that little which he hath, than relieve him.

Like the dog in the manger, we neither use it ourselves, let others make use of or enjoy it; part with nothing while we live; for want of disposing our household, and setting things in order, set all the world together by the ears after our death. Poor Lazarus lies howling at his gates for a few crumbs, he only seeks chippings, offals; let him roar and howl, famish, and eat his own flesh, he respects him not. A poor decayed kinsman of his sets upon him by the way in all his jollity, and runs begging bareheaded by him, conjuring by those former bonds of friendship, alliance, consanguinity, &c., uncle, cousin, brother, father,

> "Per ego has lachrymas, dextramque tuam te,
> Si quidquam de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam
> Dulce meum, misere mei."

[1] Heraclitus. [2] Si en gehennam abit, pauperem qui non alat: quid de eo fiet qui pauperem denudat? Austin.

"Show some pity for Christ's sake, pity a sick man, an old man," &c., he cares not, ride on; pretend sickness, inevitable loss of limbs, goods, plead suretyship, or shipwreck, fires, common calamities, show thy wants and imperfections,

> "Et si per sanctum juratus dicat Osyrim,
> Credite, non ludo, crudeles tollite claudum."

"Swear, protest, take God and all his angels to witness, *quære peregrinum*, thou art a counterfeit crank, a cheater, he is not touched with it, *pauper ubique jacet*, ride on, he takes no notice of it." Put up a supplication to him in the name of a thousand orphans, a hospital, a spittal, a prison, as he goes by, they cry out to him for aid, ride on, *surdo narras*, he cares not, let them eat stones, devour themselves with vermin, rot in their own dung, he cares not. Show him a decayed haven, a bridge, a school, a fortification, &c., or some public work, ride on; good your worship, your honour, for God's sake, your country's sake, ride on. But show him a roll wherein his name shall be registered in golden letters, and commended to all posterity, his arms set up, with his devices to be seen, then peradventure he will stay and contribute; or if thou canst thunder upon him, as Papists do, with satisfactory and meritorious works, or persuade him by this means he shall save his soul out of hell, and free it from purgatory (if he be of any religion), then in all likelihood he will listen and stay; or that he have no children, no near kinsman, heir, he cares for, at least, or cannot well tell otherwise how or where to bestow his possessions (for carry them with him he cannot), it may be then he will build some school or hospital in his life, or be induced to give liberally to pious uses after his death. For I dare boldly say, vainglory, that opinion of merit, and this enforced necessity, when they know not otherwise how to leave, or what better to do with them, is the main cause of most of our good works. I will not urge this to derogate from any man's charitable devotion, or bounty in this kind, to censure any

good work; no doubt, there be many sanctified, heroical and worthy-minded men, that in true zeal, and for virtue's sake (divine spirits), that out of commiseration and pity extend their liberality, and as much as in them lies do good to all men, clothe the naked, feed the hungry, comfort the sick and needy, relieve all, forget and forgive injuries, as true charity requires; yet most part there is *simulatum quid*, a deal of hypocrisy in this kind, much default and defect. [1] Cosmo de Medici, that rich citizen of Florence, ingenuously confessed to a near friend of his, that would know of him why he built so many public and magnificent palaces, and bestowed so liberally on scholars, not that he loved learning more than others, "but to [2] eternize his own name, to be immortal by the benefit of scholars; for when his friends were dead, walls decayed, and all inscriptions gone, books would remain to the world's end." The lantern in [3] Athens was built by Zenocles, the theatre by Pericles, the famous port Pyræum by Musicles, Pallas Palladium by Phidias, the Pantheon by Callicratidas; but these brave monuments are decayed all, and ruined long since, their builders' names alone flourish by meditation of writers. And as [4] he said of that Marian oak, now cut down and dead, *nullius Agricolæ manu culta stirps tam diuturna quam quæ poetæ versu seminari potest*, no plant can grow so long as that which is *ingenio sata*, set and manured by those ever-living wits. [5] Allon Backuth, that weeping oak, under which Deborah, Rebecca's nurse died, and was buried, may not survive the memory of such everlasting monuments. Vainglory and emulation (as to most men) was the cause efficient, and to be a trumpeter of his own fame, Cosmo's sole intent so to do good, that all the world might take notice of it. Such for the most part is the charity of our times, such our benefactors, Mæcenates and patrons. Show me amongst so many myriads, a truly devout, a right,

[1] Jovius, vita ejus. [2] Immortalitatem beneficio literarum, immortali gloriosâ quâdam cupiditate concupivit. Quod cives quibus benefecisset perituri, mœnia ruitura, etsi regio sumptu ædificata, non libri. [3] Plutarch, Pericle. [4] Tullius, lib. 1, de legibus. [5] Gen. xxxv. 8.

honest, upright, meek, humble, a patient, innocuous, innocent, a merciful, a loving, a charitable man! [1] *Probus quis nobiscum vivit?* Show me a Caleb or a Joshua! *Dic mihi Musa virum*——show a virtuous woman, a constant wife, a good neighbour, a trusty servant, an obedient child, a true friend, &c. Crows in Africa are not so scant. He that shall examine this [2] iron age wherein we live, where love is cold, *et jam terras Astrea reliquit,* justice fled with her assistants, virtue expelled,

> [3] "Justitiæ soror,
> Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,"

all goodness gone, where vice abounds, the devil is loose, and see one man vilify and insult over his brother, as if he were an innocent, or a block, oppress, tyrannize, prey upon, torture him, vex, gall, torment and crucify him, starve him, where is charity? He that shall see men [4] swear and forswear, lie and bear false witness, to advantage themselves, prejudice others, hazard goods, lives, fortunes, credit, all, to be revenged on their enemies, men so unspeakable in their lusts, unnatural in malice, such bloody designments, Italian blaspheming, Spanish renouncing, &c., may well ask where is charity? He that shall observe so many lawsuits, such endless contentions, such plotting, undermining, so much money spent with such eagerness and fury, every man for himself, his own ends, the devil for all; so many distressed souls, such lamentable complaints, so many factions, conspiracies, seditions, oppressions, abuses, injuries, such grudging, repining, discontent, so much emulation, envy, so many brawls, quarrels, monomachies, &c., may well require what is become of charity? When we see and read of such cruel wars, tumults, uproars, bloody battles, so many [5] men slain, so many cities ruinated, &c., (for what else is the subject of

[1] Hor. [2] Durum genus sumus. [3] "The sister of justice, honour inviolate, and naked truth." [4] Tull. pro Rosc. Mentiri vis causâ meâ? ego vero cupide et libenter mentiar tuâ causâ: et si quando me vis perjurare, ut paululum tu compendii facias, paratum fore scito. [5] Gallienus, in Treb. Pollio, lacera, occide, meâ mente irascere. Rabie jecur incendente feruntur præcipites. Vopiscus of Aurelian. Tantum fudit sanguinis quantum quis vini potavit.

all our stories almost, but bills, bows, and guns!) so many murders and massacres, &c., where is charity? Or see men wholly devote to God, churchmen, professed divines, holy men, [1] "to make the trumpet of the gospel the trumpet of war," a company of hell-born Jesuits, and fiery-spirited friars, *facem præferre* to all seditions; as so many firebrands set all the world by the ears (I say nothing of their contentions and railing books, whole ages spent in writing one against another, and that with such virulency and bitterness, *Bionæis sermonibus et sale nigro*,) and by their bloody inquisitions, that in thirty years, Bale saith, consumed 39 princes, 148 earls, 235 barons, 14,755 commons; worse than those ten persecutions, may justly doubt where is charity? *Obsecro vos quales hi demum Christiani!* Are these Christians? I beseech you tell me; he that shall observe and see these things, may say to them as Cato to Cæsar, *credo quæ de inferis dicuntur falsa existimas*, "sure I think thou art of opinion there is neither heaven nor hell." Let them pretend religion, zeal, make what shows they will, give alms, peacemakers, frequent sermons, if we may guess at the tree by the fruit they are no better than hypocrites, epicures, atheists, with the [2] "fool in their hearts they say there is no God." 'Tis no marvel then if being so uncharitable, hardhearted as we are, we have so frequent and so many discontents, such melancholy fits, so many bitter pangs, mutual discords, all in a combustion, often complaints, so common grievances, general mischiefs, *si tantæ in terris tragœdiæ, quibus labefactatur et miserè laceratur humanum genus*, so many pestilences, wars, uproars, losses, deluges, fires, inundations, God's vengeance and all the plagues of Egypt, come upon us, since we are so currish one towards another, so respectless of God, and our neighbours, and by our crying sins pull these miseries upon our own heads. Nay more, 'tis justly to be feared, which [3] Josephus once

[1] Evangelii tubam belli tubam faciunt; in pulpitis pacem, in colloquiis bellum suadent. [2] Psal. xiii. 1. [3] De bello Judaico, lib. 6, c. 16. Puto si Romani

said of his countrymen Jews, "if the Romans had not come when they did to sack their city, surely it had been swallowed up with some earthquake, deluge, or fired from heaven as Sodom and Gomorrah; their desperate malice, wickedness and peevishness was such." 'Tis to be suspected, if we continue these wretched ways, we may look for the like heavy visitations to come upon us. If we had any sense or feeling of these things, surely we should not go on as we do, in such irregular courses, practise all manner of impieties; our whole carriage would not be so averse from God. If a man would but consider, when he is in the midst and full career of such prodigious and uncharitable actions, how displeasing they are in God's sight, how noxious to himself, as Solomon told Joab, 1 Kings, ii. "The Lord shall bring this blood upon their heads." Prov. i. 27, "sudden desolation and destruction shall come like a whirlwind upon them; affliction, anguish, the reward of his hand shall be given him," Isa. iii. 11, &c., "they shall fall into the pit they have digged for others," and when they are scraping, tyrannizing, getting, wallowing in their wealth, "this night, O fool, I will take away thy soul," what a severe account they must make; and how [1] gracious on the other side a charitable man is in God's eyes, *haurit sibi gratiam.* Matt. v. 7, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy; he that lendeth to the poor, gives to God," and how it shall be restored to them again; "how by their patience and long-suffering they shall heap coals on their enemies' heads," Rom. xii. "and he that followeth after righteousness and mercy, shall find righteousness and glory;" surely they would check their desires, curb in their unnatural, inordinate affections, agree amongst themselves, abstain from doing evil, amend their lives, and learn to do well. "Behold how comely and good a thing it is for brethren to live together in [2] union; it is like the precious

contra nos venire tardâssent, aut hiatu terræ devorandam fuisse civitatem, aut diluvio perituram, aut fulmina ac Sodoma cum incendio passuram, ob desperatum populi, &c. [1] Benefacit animæ suæ vir misericors. [2] Concordia parvæ res crescunt, discordia maximæ dilabuntur.

ointment, &c. How odious to contend one with the other!" [1] *Miseri quid luctatiunculis hisce volumus? ecce mors supra caput est, et supremum illud tribunal, ubi et dicta et facta nostra examinanda sunt: Sapiamus!* "Why do we contend and vex one another? behold death is over our heads, and we must shortly give an account of all our uncharitable words and actions; think upon it; and be wise."

[1] Lipsius.

END OF VOL. II.

Date Due

JAN 1 8 '67

GTU Library
3 2400 00369 6568

PP 90
B3 9
Vol. 2

BURTON